

Journal of the African National Congress

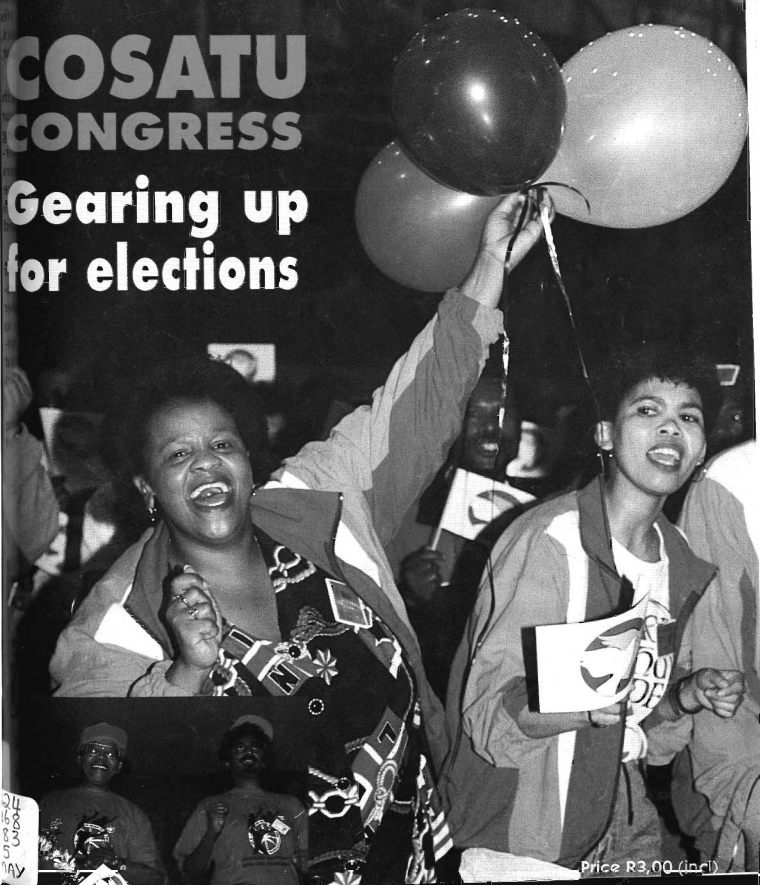
MAYIBUYE

October 1993

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Gearing up for elections



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Editor:
Editorial Board:
Design and layout:

Joel Netshitenzhe
Brian Hoga, Jerry Majatladi
Shaune van Wyk, Philemon
Nzimande, Oupa Mmotsa
Titus Maleka
Sizive Zulu

Advertising and Sales:
Subscriptions:
Photographs and graphics
in this issue:

ANC Photographic Unit, New Nation,
Idaf, Rabia Miller
ANC Photographic Unit

Cover photograph:



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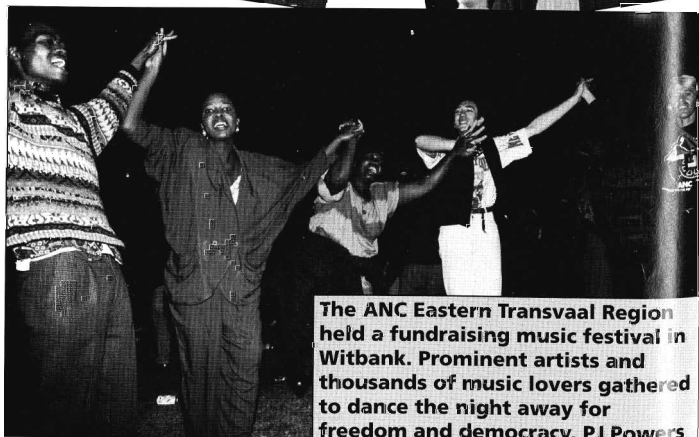
The Transitional Executive Council



• 45

"Selling out" - or why African singers go American?

Music bash in Witbank



The ANC Eastern Transvaal Region held a fundraising music festival in Witbank. Prominent artists and thousands of music lovers gathered to dance the night away for freedom and democracy. P.J Powers and Brenda Fassie were there.

Major advances, new challenges

Soon, the transition will start in earnest. That is, if FW de Klerk is prepared to move forward despite the sulking from Ulundi and other headquarters of the extreme right.

Lately, the vogue in the establishment media is to plead particularly Inkatha's case. There will be widespread violence if the transition goes ahead without them, we are told. Besides encouraging intransigence on their part, this approach ignores the reality that the threat posed by the extreme right is serious mainly to the extent that they continue to enjoy sympathy and active assistance from, at least, the rightwing in De Klerk's cabinet.

Then there is the strange case of the PAC. Their "revolutionary" arguments would be worth considering only if anyone had expected the TEC to assume all executive powers of government. In so far as the TEC will circumscribe the capacity of the NP government to undermine free and fair elections, it deserves the support of all genuine patriots.

What is unfortunately common about those who are throwing up tantrums is that they know they will fare very badly in elections. With their erstwhile delusions of grandeur now facing exposure, they hope to attract attention to themselves through boycotts as part of an electoral strategy.

There are, however, real difficulties of a different type that the ANC and its allies have to contend with.

On the one hand, they have to ensure the effectiveness of the TEC from within. On the other, they have to resolve a new question arising from this major advance: personnel deployment.

Senior leaders should take part in TEC structures in order to ensure that democratic forces make the necessary impact. But this should not undermine the strengthening of the ANC.

In a matter of weeks, choices will also have to be made about deployment of cadres in various levels of government. About 490 for the Constituent Assembly-cum-interim parliament and 470 in regional legislatures. If the ANC wins 60 percent of the seats, close on to 600 will go. Thousands will also be deployed in interim local government structures and the civil service. MK cadres will "disappear" into a new professional non-partisan outfit.

All these individuals constitute an important layer of leadership that no depth of cadre development can compensate for. A multi-pronged approach is needed: an approach which takes into account the centrality of political power structures and the critical need for strong extra-parliamentary organisation.

The process of addressing the new challenges should not blind the movement to the danger that the transition might be disrupted by the regime and the extremists. The show is not over until power is truly in the hands of the people through elections and the implementation of a reconstruction programme. ♦

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Readers speak out

ity, then denied everything when in Goldstone's custody. Who knows what the truth is? The writer of the article just asked why nobody investigated Mbatha's original statements.

Hogarth turns Mbatha into a "terrified country youth" who "tremblingly 'admitted'" his guilt. He implies that Mbatha was forced to tell lies by the ANC, thus assuming the ANC guilty without giving it any chance of a defence. His/her evidence for this lies entirely on his (and his/her audience's) hatred for the ANC. But this doesn't stop her/him from accusing the ANC of "witch-burning" for daring to question the perfection of the Goldstone Commission.

You'd expect such crude propaganda from the IFP, who have no experience of listening to opposing viewpoints. This attitude appears in white-owned papers because they, too, have no experience of dissent. The ANC never challenges them. A dignified letter from a Regional Executive member, perhaps someone involved in the Mbatha case, would have taken 15 minutes to write and fax, and have a good effect. But this never happens.

You can't ignore newspapers. They are the biggest and cheapest source of publicity, and with proper pressure and persuasion they can be very useful for little effort. But if they are allowed to, the anti-ANC press will run stories on every anti-ANC nitwit in the country, from Hennie

Bester in Cape Town to Duncan du Bois in Durban, and readers will get used to seeing the ANC as a bunch of criminals and crazies. If we want much of the white, Indian or coloured vote, hadn't we better learn to use the print media?

MB, Mtunzini.

FAITH IN THE LORD

Dear sir
I would like to make an earnest request to all companions of Jesus and those who are his subjects not to rely on political leaders regarding their future freedom but on God, who will never fail nor forsake us.

*Chief Gregory
Tshawe, Xhosa Tribal
Authority, Zola South,
Soweto.*

CONGRATS JACQUI!

Dear comrade
I hereby wish to thank you for placing my letter in your July edition. Your kindness is highly appreciated. I want to make use of this opportunity to congratulate South Africa with their gorgeous Miss South Africa. She will be a very fine ambassador for her country.

Comrades, would you like me to publish your feelings in my book early next year? Very well then, just write to me and please make sure you write my zip code. Use the following address: Mrs L Oliver, Box 218, Sherwood, Oregon, OR 97140, USA.

I am looking forward to reading your letters. You could also enclose photos of yourselves, age, name and your last name

must be clear, please. Your cooperation will be appreciated.

IRISH NATIONALISTS ARE FIGHTING APARTHEID

Dear comrades
I am writing in response to your July article on the Irish war, which had the insulting title "Europe's oldest tribal war". The description of the Irish liberation struggle as a tribal war comes straight from British government propaganda.

It is the British equivalent of presenting the problem in South Africa as tribal "black on black violence". In the British version, the Irish conflict is fought out between two tribes, Catholic and Protestant, who are motivated by irrational and ancient enmities, while Britain is presented as a benevolent and neutral peacekeeper.

In fact Irish nationalists are fighting for the destruction of the apartheid system that Britain established and maintains by force in "Northern Ireland". They fight for equality (not superiority) and their right to national self-determination. Their enemy is the British state - not Protestants.

Imperialism perfected its use of the "tribal" excuse to justify its brutal depredations against Africans and to portray its racist colonialism as of a "civilising" mission. It is extraordinary that MAYIBUYE's London correspondent should reproduce this garbage.

Your reporter argues, like the British govern-

HADN'T WE BETTER LEARN TO USE THE PRINT MEDIA?

Dear Editor
I think we can learn something from the *Sunday Times* of 12 September. "Hogarth" is meant to be the newspaper's political joker, though this piece isn't funny. It's a response to an article: "Goldstone's credibility at stake" in the September 1993 edition of MAYIBUYE.

Hogarth feels that the Goldstone Commission's failure to find evidence of the existing "third force" encouraging political violence proves that the third force doesn't exist. Why did De Klerk sack so many generals after the Directorate of Covert Collection scandal? Why did the Commission announce that the Caprivi-trained KZP (KwaZulu Police) troops were not a hit-squad, only to have this announcement contradicted in court by one of these troops? Hogarth ignores both indictments of the Commission, though both were mentioned in the article.

S/he focusses on Bongani Mbatha, who confessed being involved in police third force activ-



NEW ZULU KING MUST BE CROWNED

Dear comrade

I am a Zulu by birth and I must democratically say whatever I want with my Zuluism. It is clear that the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, is interested in South African politics.

Zwelithini must realise that he is above politicians due to his kingship. He must stop putting the IFP next to him. Always when Zwelithini calls all Zulus to a meeting, he tells us that the call is not politically motivated. He tells Zulus to meet irrespective of political affiliation. But, surprisingly, you will find Buthelezi next to him.

Zwelithini must stop going to stadia with the IFP leadership. If he continues to do this he must do it to other parties to show that he does not take sides. He must remember that Zulus are all over South Africa and belong to different parties. Zwelithini is not ashamed of excluding Zulus who are outside the IFP. He thinks the IFP represents all Zulus. Buthelezi is really pulling Zwelithini by his nose.

Now Buthelezi and Zwelithini are talking about the state of KwaZulu/Natal. They believe that all Zulus inside KwaZulu/Natal want their region to be a state. I am from Natal and we do not want to be a member of South Africa through federalism. We want to be a region, with a strong central government.

We, Zulus who are opposed to Zwelithini's deeds, must choose a new king who won't take sides.

JMX, KwaMhlanga

ment, that the only way forward is the "constitutional process", and that the armed struggle is a dead end. Simple facts are ignored. Northern Ireland is a "Protestant state for a Protestant people". It is an apartheid system. Catholics are systematically discriminated against. This is getting worse, not better. Thirty-two thousand armed British personnel enforce this regime and murder those who fight against it.

The precondition for equality in Ireland is the removal of British rule. Are you suggesting that freedom and democracy are achievable within an apartheid state? Surely

you don't believe that the British establishment will peacefully let go of what it claims to be part of the United Kingdom?

Support the fight to kick British imperialism out of Ireland - don't run it down.

Alex Farrell, Irish
Freedom Movement,
London.

The MAYIBUYE correspondent responds: Firstly, and most important, there is a vote in Northern Ireland for all the people, and Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, polls very little indeed (The figures were in my article).

Secondly, if Farrell

thinks Ireland has an apartheid system, he knows nothing about apartheid (this is not to deny social discrimination against Catholics in the north).

Thirdly, I think more can be understood about the British state in Ireland by considering inertia in foreign policy - and in its military and state security mechanisms who benefit from a training ground and continued employment - than by trying to find an active "racist colonialism" at work.

Finally, narrow nationalism - even when understandable as a frustrated ultra-left re-

sponse - is pernicious, and, as you know, can only too easily be picked up by confused people in South Africa who would be happy to see a "parallel", and that of the IRA. I'm sure Farrell doesn't know it but his antagonism to the "constitutional process" would go down just fine with the AWB. ♦

Write to:

MAYIBUYE
PO Box 61884
Marshalltown
Johannesburg 2107



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roundup

Where was the SB?

Where was Colonel Eric Winter, head of Cradock's Security Branch (SB), on 27 June 1985, when Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Siculo Mhlali and Fort Calata were murdered? Winter told the Goniwe inquest he cannot remember where he was that day.

But, according to Fred Koni, a Cradock SB Sergeant at the time, Winter and two other officers left their offices the morning Goniwe died and returned the following day. They did not say where they were going or leave a contact number, which was "unusual", according to Koni.

Koni also revealed that Winter had ordered surveillance of Goniwe to be stepped up shortly before the activist's death. If Goniwe had been tailed effectively, said Koni, his tail should know who killed him.

A local farmer, Barbara Butters, also told the inquest that there was a massive security force roadblock near the spot where the bodies of the Cradock Four were found the night of their death.

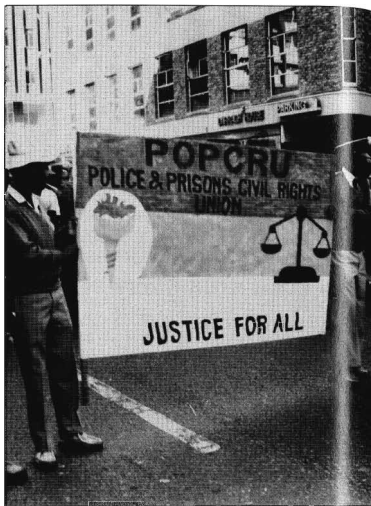
Legal counsels for the police and the South African Defence Force told Butters she was mistaken.

Changing guard at Cosatu

A Brazilian trade union delegation visiting the country has warned that, when their unionists moved to parliament, they forgot their roots. Their departure had also weakened the Brazilian trade union movement.

This timely warning came in the wake of Cosatu's recent congress which saw the beginning of a new era for the giant federation as many of its founder leaders were relieved of union responsibilities in order to be available for the ANC's election list.

Leading the group of 20 Cosatu officials forwarded to the list is Jay Naidoo, who has been Cosatu General Secretary since the



launch of the federation eight years ago. He is succeeded by his deputy, Sam Shilowa, while National Organiser, Zwelinzima Vavi, becomes Shilowa's deputy. The change of leadership opened the way for a woman office bearer, Connie September, the first woman to be elected to national office in Cosatu's short history. She becomes second Vice-President, replacing Chris Dlamini.

Inkatha digs in its heels

Despite the National Party's efforts to woo Inkatha's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Buthelezi has ruled out the possibility of his party (IFP) being part of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and/or contesting the 27 April elections.

This comes against the background of recent surveys which show that Inkatha is losing support daily, even in its traditional stronghold in rural Northern Natal.

Over 100 Popcru (Police & Prisons Civil Rights Union) members, mainly black, who took part in a recent protest march against racism and poor working conditions in the police force have been warned that disciplinary action will be taken against them.

There are also increasing rumblings within Inkatha itself over the party's withdrawal from talks and refusal to contest the April elections. Mike Tarr, MP who defected to Inkatha from the Democratic Party (DP) stated publicly that

...katha would be "shooting itself in the foot" if it failed to fight the elections. He also revealed that ...katha has established an election machinery, which indicated that it may change its mind.

Meanwhile, the Bophuthatswana government has also said it will not take part in the TEC and has still undecided over whether to contest the elections.

PAC joins IFP, Bop, CP ...

The Pan Africanist Congress will contest the 27 April elections but will not be part of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), according to secretary general Benny Alexander.

Speaking on board a SAA jumbo called the Kempton Park, during an overnight flight from Johannesburg to New York, he said the decision was taken at a two-day meeting of the PAC National Executive Council in Johannesburg.

"The PAC has decided not to participate in the TEC, but to continue in negotiations and contest the April election," Alexander said.

But in Johannesburg, at a news conference, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the organisation would only participate in elections for a Constituent Assembly (CA), not for an Interim Government. How he hopes to separate the two is not clear, unless he meant that the PAC knows it will not get enough votes to make it into the cabinet. Otherwise the CA will also act as an interim parliament.

The PAC has joined the IFP, CP, Azapo, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana in rejecting the TEC.

Reacting to the PAC announcements, the ANC said it remains satisfied that the TEC bill, if and when approved by the tricameral parliament, will put sufficient constraints to ensure that the government does not undermine the creation of a climate for free political activity during elections.

"Those organisations opposing the TEC bill unwittingly encourage the retention of

powers by the regime with serious consequences that could delay the liberation of our people. This is to be expected from defenders of apartheid, to be found in the white extreme right and employees of the system in some bantustans.

"It will be unfortunate if the PAC, at this crucial hour, were to be seen to be on the side of those who wish to retain the status quo ..." said the ANC.

Bartlett blunders - and we pay

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett must rank as one of the National Party's most inept leaders. After announcing a petrol increase of 7¢/litre, Bartlett said he was not prepared to discuss the increase or explain how it came about. Only once the UN's oil embargo against South Africa was lifted would the government lift the veil of secrecy surrounding the oil industry, said Bartlett.

This is a convenient cover for the minister, who would, no doubt, hate to reveal to the electorate that the high petrol price sponsors the NP's white elephants, Moss gas and Sasol.

Meanwhile, enraged taxi drivers in Cape Town and the Eastern Cape forced Bartlett to meet them after blocking traffic. Little, however, was achieved by the talks.

The National Economic Negotiating Forum (NEF), after discussions with Bartlett and Finance Minister Derek Keys, formed a task force to draw up proposals on the fuel industry and submit them to a summit on 4 October. The task force consists of government, business and union representatives. Taxi organisations have been invited to join.

Rightwing cops unite

The SAP's hierarchy is trying to start a "union" of their own, apparently in a bid to counter the anti-apartheid - and mainly black - Police and Civil Rights Union (Popru).

A committee headed by SAP public relations head, Colonel Johan Mostert,

was formed recently to pave the way for the union's launch. The meeting to elect the committee was held at the Police College in Pretoria, which indicates that it had official blessing.

Peace in the Middle East?

On 13 September the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, and Israel signed a Peace Agreement. This was unthinkable a few years back, and US President Bill Clinton described it as a "brave gamble that must endure."

The agreement, signed at the White House, outlines a set of compromises by each side. Israel has given the Palestinians not a state but a set of governing institutions ranging from an elected council to an export promotion board.

The Palestinians will also inherit an infrastructure of hospitals, schools and other institutions now controlled by Israel. It has also given the Palestinians jurisdiction over land it was previously unwilling to cede.

Israeli troops will withdraw from the West Bank town of Jericho and the Gaza Strip, and later from Arab cities throughout the West Bank. The Palestinians, on the other hand, have recognised Israel's right to exist and have postponed their aspirations for statehood.

They have also agreed to postpone tackling the most difficult question, the jurisdiction over Jerusalem, until talks are held on a final Israeli-Palestinian settlement.

ANC President Nelson Mandela sent messages of support to Yasser Arafat, Chairperson of the PLO, and Yitzhak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Israel. He expressed optimism that this Peace Accord will bring hope to millions of Israelis and Palestinians and that this is the beginning of a process that will eventually lead to a permanent settlement between two historically linked peoples, bringing peace and stability to the entire region. ♦



Cosatu Congress

The Path to Reconstruction

On 10 - 12 September, Cosatu held a Special Congress to chart the role of workers in the transition. Decisions included the tasks of its members in elections and a programme for reconstruction.

A MAYIBUYE correspondence was there.

Cosatu affiliates argued for a Special Congress earlier this year to discuss whether or not Cosatu should sign an Accord with the ANC on a programme for Reconstruction and Development. And, after the election date was announced, it was further decided that the Special Congress should finally endorse the names of Cosatu candidates on the ANC election list.

This is exactly what the Congress did over three days of constructive discussions, debate, excitement and sadness from 10-12 September. While Congress was clearly excited to nominate their General Secretary Jay Naidoo to lead the team of Cosatu candidates to contest elections under an ANC-

led banner, it was sad for the federation which he had served so ably for so long to see him go.

All in all twenty people have been nominated. Conference was informed that ANC leadership would ensure candidates appear in the top 51 percent of the ANC's national

and regional election lists. Congress gave their candidates a clear and unambiguous mandate: you are leaving us, but to take forward the demands of the working class and the poor. The candidates are being looked towards to secure rights for workers and implement the Reconstruction

Cosatu Nominees

National List to the National Assembly

• Jay Naidoo • Chris Dlamini • Moses Mayekiso • Alec Erwin
• Kgabisi Mosunkutu • John Copelyn • Nathie Nhleko
• Marcel Golding • Don Gumede • Duma Nkosi • Phillip Dexter

Regional List to National Assembly

• Siphon Gcabashe • Salie Manie • D. Oliphant • T. Mafumadi
• Leeuw • J. Mabudhafasi • E. Thabethe • S. Shabangu • G. Oliphant

Nominees for Regional Parliament

• Thami Mohlomi • Dennis Neer • S. Mthethwa

IMPORTANT CONGRESS DECISIONS

On constitutional negotiations the Special Congress reaffirmed Cosatu's position that the Constituent Assembly be completely sovereign as well as Cosatu's commitment to a unitary state to ensure that there is effectively government to implement a Reconstruction and Development Programme. Regional government should not have exclusive powers and the Constituent Assembly should have, except in respect of the Constitutional Principles, the right to reverse any provisions contained in the interim constitution, including the question of regional demarcation. Cosatu would campaign against any infringements on the rights of workers contained in the Chapter on Fundamental Human Rights in the interim constitution.

UNILATERAL RESTRUCTURING

The Special Congress resolved to continue to campaign against unilateral restructuring especially in relation to the renewal of contracts of key government personnel. A particular example was made of the unpopular Director General of Manpower Joel Fourie, whose contract has recently been renewed for three years. A moratorium on the renewal of all civil service contracts and on any unilateral changes to the state civil service pension schemes until a democratically elected government is in place was called for.

NATIONAL ECONOMIC FORUM

The Special Congress agreed that the role of the National Economic Forum must be strengthened as an overall policy and co-ordinating body linking with the various regional and issues based forums as a means to achieve agreement with key constituencies in implementing a Reconstruction and Development Programme.

SITE TAX CAMPAIGN

The Special Congress agreed to embark on a Site Tax Campaign to ensure that all money unfairly taxed is returned to workers. It is estimated that the amount could be as high as R1 billion.

WORKER UNITY

The Special Congress agreed that Cosatu should convene a Workers Summit to focus on worker rights in a new constitution before the April 1994 elections.

SOCIALISM

The Special Congress also re-affirmed the 1991 decision to host a Conference of the Left consisting of working class organisations with a mass-based constituency.

NON-VIOLENCE

A detailed resolution on violence was adopted, stressing the relationship between strong organisation and peace and agreeing on a number of concrete steps including general meetings to reinforce worker unity and combat attempts to create ethnic polarisation and calling on employers to take responsibility in supporting workers and communities affected by violence.

and Development Programme developed by the Alliance.

A fourth draft of this programme was debated at the Congress and accepted as a working document. It was further agreed that the draft would need to be detailed by the Alliance in conjunction with mass democratic formations. An inclusive process would then be developed to mobilise all civil society behind it.

It was argued that the Reconstruction and Development Programme is a historic attempt to galvanise all forces of society in decisively ending the poverty and deprivation caused by apartheid and capitalism. The Reconstruction and Development Programme will empower workers and trade unions to

play a central role in shaping the future of our country.

In addition to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the Special Congress also adopted a "Platform on Workers Rights" which details what rights Cosatu would like to see enshrined in the constitution as well as included in legislation. Areas covered include basic organising rights, education and training, health and safety, workplace empowerment and collective bargaining.

Congress argued that this platform should be incorporated into the Reconstruction and Development Programme as well as its inclusion in the ANC-led election platform.

Extensive lobbying and canvassing marked the run-up to the elections for the transitional team to replace the Cosatu national office-bearers who were nominated as election candidates.

For the first time in Cosatu a woman, Connie September from the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU), was elected to the position of national office-bearer as second vice-president. Sam Shilowa, the former assistant to Jay Naaidoo replaces him as General Secretary. Zwelinzima Vavi was elected in his place as Assistant General Secretary. George Nkademng replaces Chris Dlamini as first-vice-president. ♦

The ANC's TEC blues

Formal installation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is expected to start in November. But preparations are already in full swing. The implications of these developments for the ANC are many, writes a correspondent.

Imagine an unmarked building in Pretoria, with a peculiar assortment of guards: some easy-going chaps from MK and others from state security services, stiff with officialdom.

Imagine Corollas and Jettas driving in daily into VIP parking bays, bringing in the ones with that township gait which formal suits can barely hide. Then the BMW's out of which emerge the officious ones.

These are the Ramaphosa's, Joe Modise's, Mavivi Manzini's, Trevor Manuel's, Zam Tituses (Transkei), Roelf Meyers... Once in a while, the VIP parking bays overflow with Mercedes Benzes and other affluent varieties of the Rajbansis and Others.

And imagine, a typically South African cherry on top: a toyi-toying crowd from Thokoza on one side

demanding more National Peace-keeping Force soldiers and, on the other, khakhi-clad extreme right-wingers shouting something about a volkstaat.

This is TEC House, nameless because the negotiators, as usual, cannot agree on an intelligible combination of letters to give the building.

REPRESENTATION

By the end of November, this will be a reality. The centre of power will have somewhat shifted from the Union Buildings as the body with the most important task for this phase of the transition settles down to work.

The TEC as a whole will be made up of one representative each from all the parties in negotiations (as well as an alternate member

from each party to take over when the full delegate is not present). Its meetings will take place once in, say, a fortnight. The Management Committee, whose task it will be to run the affairs in-between full TEC meetings, will be composed in much the same way as the Planning Committee at the World Trade Centre: individuals chosen on merit but reflecting some balance among the main tendencies.

Members of the TEC's Management Committee and sub-council representatives will be full-time.

Somewhere else, preferably not even Pretoria, will be offices from which the Independent Electoral Commission and Independent Media Commission will operate. These are the bodies to be made up of eminent non-partisan South Africans with the task of ensuring that the elections are run properly with equal opportunities for all participants.

COMPLICATIONS

Quite an exciting prospect, as what were mere abstract concepts a few months ago become a reality - concepts which many had brushed aside as ANC day-dreaming. There are complications, including the convoluted decision-making mechanisms. But the days of NP action at will and without accountability are over.

With this achievement, there are numerous questions confronting the ANC and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

Senior personnel has to be deployed in these structures, and this is going to have a negative effect on the organisation. Has the time come to kiss MK soldiers goodbye as political cadres of the ANC, as they become professional non-partisan peace-keepers? And this will also mean senior commanders, some of whom are currently in leadership structures at national and regional level.

RELIABLE CADRES

Besides, the senior people deployed will need a mass of assistants. And if extra-parliamentary parties have to ensure that the TEC bureaucracy is not run by government employees alone, they will have to second reliable cadres at this level as well. The government has already shifted experienced bureaucrats and even Intelligence chiefs into the Constitutional Development Service which will be literally "manning" their TEC operations.

These are the wages of victory. Is it a worthy investment?

The ANC would be judged harshly by history if it so downgraded its participation in the TEC that it ends up unable to assert its authority.

In this phase of struggle, a decisive electoral victory is the most urgent and central task: if the objective of transfer of power to the people as a whole has to be finally realised.

In order to achieve this, two inter-related things have to be done. Firstly, ensuring the effectiveness of the TEC and other bodies meant to ensure free and fair elections. Secondly, to strengthen the organisation and ensure systematic mobilisation for an electoral victory.

The latter task is, unmistakably, the most important; and the ANC has to ensure that its able organisers are not swallowed up in the TEC bureaucracy.

ELECTORAL STRATEGY

But the organisation would be judged harshly by history if it so downgraded its participation in the

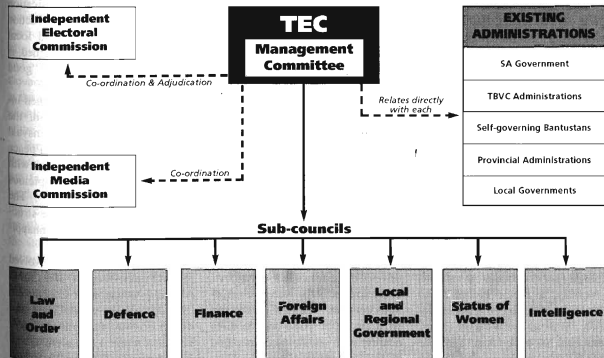
TEC that it ends up unable to assert its authority. A well-oiled organisational machine and the most brilliant electoral strategy will not, on their own, open the political space.

As the (usually unhelpful) saying goes, a balance will have to be struck between these two tasks.

And in this balance, note will have to be taken of the fact that, both in the TEC and on the ground, no one but the ANC itself will ensure that ANC interests are protected. The ANC should have effective monitoring networks capable of rapidly processing information, with fast and efficient communication lines. Within the TEC, representatives should have the necessary experience in multi-party engagement and should have a clear idea about how to operate within the new system.

So, the gentlemen and ladies in TEC House will have massive work to do. But their effectiveness will depend on an organisational machinery running in top gear out there. The two challenges are inseparable! ♦

TEC AND RELATED STRUCTURES



Infiltration of Peace Accord structures

John Hall, chairperson of the National Peace Committee addressing a Transvaal NP Congress one of whose main themes was to portray the NP as a party of peace. "This is what we have always suspected—that he is a tool of the NP", comments an irate ANC activist.

Little did the activist know that, a few days thereafter, Hall would be addressing a meeting of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) on the same issue. And that he has addressed many meetings of many organisations to preach the message of peace.

The most intriguing development, however, has been the recent expose in a Johannesburg daily of the involvement of state intelligence agencies and the Broederbond in the Socio-Economic Reconstruction and Development Programme (Serd) of the NPA. Serd was set up to assist in rebuilding violence-torn areas and uplifting socio-economic conditions generally, a factor identified as being connected to outbreaks of violence. Since the newspaper report, John Hall has undertaken to investigate the matter.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

One of the prime consultants of Serd is a Dr Theo de Jager, deputy president of Rapportryers, the Broederbond's version of clubs such as Rotary and Lions. He was an operative of National Intelligence Services (NIS) from 1986 until, according to him, he resigned in 1991. But he admits that he still does "presentations" for NIS on "conflict studies".

DELTA

De Jager and his fellow consultants are paid through Delta Consulting Services (Pty) Ltd, an obvious front company not even listed in the telephone directory. The three consultants, who have refused to supply their CV's to enquiring reporters, were hired by the executive director of the NPA's Serd, Warwick Barnes, seconded to Serd by Barlow Rand. They earn about R1 500 a day.

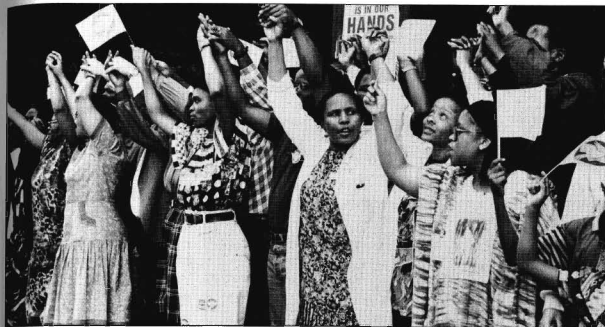
These lucrative sums are themselves a cause for concern. But obviously sinister is the web of connections between state intelligence and what are supposed to be structures dealing with communities ravaged by violence.

Reconstruction and development programmes of the National Peace Accord (NPA) were recently reported to be under the throes of NP state agents. A correspondent examines the web of connections from the highest levels of government.

A Delta consultant is reported to have proposed that the Rapportryers should man all the communication centres of the NPA's reconstruction programme at regional and local level. This, the consultant argued, is because Rapportryers are "good christians and businessmen".

Already, Delta had assigned individuals to various parts of the country. In the Western Transvaal and the Western Cape, local peace structures decided to cut ties with them because of their suspicious backgrounds and activities. The Wits-Vaal and Natal peace structures have also expressed unhappiness.

Another front company involved in such activities is the South African Foundation for Conciliation (Safcon), run by Sean Cleary and Robert Conway. Remember Cleary? The man reputed to have played a central role in efforts to "manage"



**Joining hands for peace:
Peace Accord structures
are not hijacked by the
NP government.**

Namibia's transition in close co-operation with SADF's Department of Military Intelligence. He again rose to prominence in Angola, expelled by the MPLA government for alleged close connections with Unita after it went to war having lost the elections.

Safcon was awarded an R8-m reconstruction project for Natal by Tertius Delpot, former Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs and now Minister of Local Government. It is these connections at the highest level that have raised questions about the overall strategy of the NP.

From the government's side, Peace Accord structures have been run from the Ministry of Justice, headed by Kobie Coetsee. He is also the chairman of the Security Intelligence Committee, an arm of the state Security Council co-ordinating NIS, DMI and other intelligence agencies. He is now also Minister of Defence.

There has been disquiet about this from many quarters. At its last conference, the South African Council of Churches was very criti-

cal. Angela King, head of the United Nations monitoring mission, has also, expressed concern. Last March, John Hall called for the setting up of a new national fund of the NPA so as to "de-link" it from government. "While I have the greatest respect for Kobie Coetsee and his department", he said, "the issue of our relationship with them is sensitive."

Some governmental restructuring has taken place, with a number of functions hived off with Coetsee's former deputy and now Home Affairs Minister, Danie Schutte. Other functions have been passed on to Kriel in the Law and Order Ministry. This will obviously be seen by critics as cosmetic.

SECURITY, WELFARE AND PROPAGANDA

The government's Peace Accord operations are linked to its National Security Management System, whose three arms are security, welfare and propaganda. The latter two are central for the NP's election strategy, as part of the erstwhile "winning-hearts-and-minds" campaign.

For their implementation, provincial administrations have a central role to play. Three recent developments illustrate this:

- Olaus van Zyl: Second most senior in the Transvaal Provincial

Administration (TPA), member of the top executive committee of the Broederbond and now appointed to the NP's National Information and Management Committee.

- Piet Coetzer: NP MP for Springs, Transvaal NP executive member and Director of its Federal Information Service and recently appointed to the executive of the TPA.
- David Chuenyane: NP's first black organiser and few weeks later appointed to the TPA executive with the portfolios of Community Development, Welfare and Pensions.

From Delta to the TPA, these then are the NP's good christians and businessmen. Many of them most likely the self-same strategists of Low Intensity Conflict, now earning huge salaries for diligently providing bandages and pretentious relief. Like in Namibia and Angola, they hope to "manage" the transition in favour of the National Party and its allies. Once entrenched, they will seek to "manage" the new government's reconstruction programme, sabotage it and discredit the ANC enemy. That is, if nothing is done to root them out in good time.

"The NPC", says an ANC representative, "has formed a multi-party committee to investigate these allegations". ♦

After Motsuenyane

Once again it is the ANC which has had to show the government the way to deal with human rights violations, says **Kader Asmal**, member of the NEC of the African National Congress.



At its meeting in August, the National Executive Committee received the 172-page report of the Commission headed by Dr Sam Motsuenyane and which included two jurists from Zimbabwe and the United States, Advocate DM Zamchiya and Hon. Margaret Burham respectively.

Earlier this year, the President of the ANC, on behalf of the movement, had established this Commission to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in some of the camps operated in exile and to determine the extent of responsibility for transgressions against our code of conduct. The Commission recognised that its establishment was a historic event insofar as it is the first time that a liberation movement has engaged an independent commission "to review allegations that its members violated human rights guarantees within its ranks."

The NEC, following a serious and candid discussion, recognised

that abuses did occur, representing a breakdown in the difficult chains of command and communications that can occur under the difficult "siege" conditions under which we operated. On behalf of the organisation the NEC expressed its "profound sense of regret, collective moral responsibility and apology to all who suffered" as a result of breaches of our norms.

IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS

Press comments have neglected to emphasise the importance of such a response. It is the first time that a liberation movement has made such an acknowledgement. The Commission was not a court of law and did not have the capacity to play a judicial or criminal investigating role. Yet the emphasis by those who ought to have known better, was on what the ANC should do in relation to specific findings against identified individuals.

There have been 14 such commissions since 1971 in various parts of the world where an attempt has been made to learn the past so that the future can be built on a surer

foundation. Apart from the example of El Salvador where the United Nations – as part of the peace process – set up a commission, in nearly every case, governments established commissions of enquiry in order, not only to establish the truth, but to acknowledge its own responsibility.

In no case has the report been the basis either for prosecutions or for the taking of disciplinary actions. The ignorance of what has happened in the rest of the world among the South African media is astonishing. But this is no excuse for ignoring an important dimension concerning how we deal with our past.

DEALING WITH THE PAST

"Dealing with the past" for the ANC is both philosophically and politically of a different nature compared to the attitude of the regime.

For us, violations of human rights must always be condemned, no matter by whom, against whom. Our movement has always held that the standard by which we judge ourselves has never been the same as

Dr. Sam Motsuenyane led the ANC appointed commission of inquiry which looked into human rights violations in ANC camps.

the apartheid regime's. As we celebrate, on 16 December this year, the 50th Anniversary of the first full Bill of Rights drawn up by any liberation movement, we will continue to invoke the norms which have motivated our struggle.

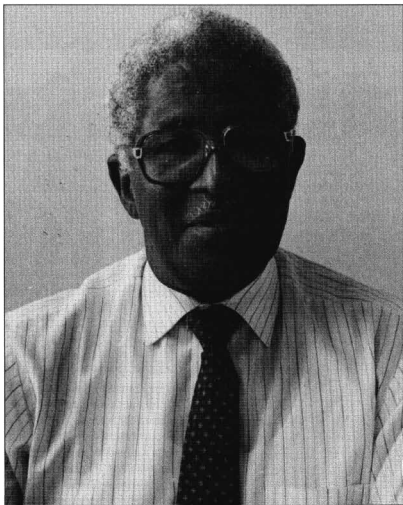
We therefore appreciate the fact that the Commission has judged us by the highest standards, according to internationally accepted norms.

TRAGIC EPISODES

It is especially painful for us, as the NEC statement recognised, that the heroism of our combatants in exile should be tarnished by such "unacceptable and tragic episodes" as are revealed in the report. The NEC accepts the Commission's findings that, periodically, abuses did occur in some of the camps. But we acknowledge that it was not established that there was any systematic policy of abuse.

On the contrary, as the Commission itself illustrates, the ANC made a consistent effort to establish mechanisms of accountability and oversight, as evidenced by the appointment of the Stuart, Thami Zulu, Skweyiya and the Motsuenyane Commissions themselves. The context of these acts and omissions is also important. First, at various times, the ANC ran eleven camps in Angola, as well as several other camps in other Frontline states. The Commission refers to abuses, in the main, at one detention centre, Quadro, in Angola.

Secondly, we must recognise the outstanding work our security personnel did in protecting our leadership and organisation under extremely difficult conditions. They



were defending, not an evil system where torture, killing, ill-treatment and violence were inherent in the philosophy of apartheid, but a movement dedicated to democracy. For us, therefore, to act against the sin, as one speaker put it, was central to our philosophy.

Pretoria made no bones about their all-out war against us. They tried to destroy us with bombs, bullets and poison. They infiltrated large numbers of assassins and spies into our ranks with a mission to sow confusion and to attack our leaders.

CODE OF CONDUCT

It is no measure due to the vigilance and the effectiveness of our security that we managed to preserve our core leadership and to come back home again. We are confident, as the NEC statement lays down, that the department will adhere strictly to the newly-adopted Code of Conduct for members and to the principles of justice, humanity and accountability

set out in our policy document *Ready to Govern* of May 1992. These principles must regulate the philosophy of a future security system in a democratic South Africa.

It is because we believe that there must be full disclosure and accountability that the NEC has proposed that a Truth Commission be set up to investigate all abuses that have flown from the policy of apartheid. Instead of self-indemnity, we need the whole truth, so that all the victims of disappearances, murder, torture and dirty tricks or their families know what happened.

The NEC believes that any response on our part – whether it is to compensate victims or not – must be based on principles of equity and fairness to all. Compensation must not go to some and not to others. It must be part of an overall clearing of the books. The Motsuenyane Commission report must therefore be seen as part of this process of dealing with our past. ♦

What forms of action, what timing?

Sadtu strike



The monster in black education is once again rearing its ugly head, ready to strike. This was evident when the government rejected the demand for a 12,5 percent salary increase from the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) during a two-day meeting in Pretoria in early September.

The government had earlier offered a five percent across the board increase from 1 July 1994 and this was turned down by the union. It was then that the government increased its offer to 7,5 percent from July next year or 5,6 percent from April next year. These options were also rejected by Sadtu which is demanding an increase of 12,5 percent this year, lower than the original 20 percent.

Sadtu warned that the resumption of a national teachers strike cannot be ruled out. Thulas Nxesi, the union's Assistant General Secretary, said: "We are going to report to our members at the end of the month and we will probably consider appropriate forms of action to put pressure on the government." He said that the two days meeting with the government were unsatisfactory.

Nxesi also pointed out that the government will not be allowed to take unilateral decisions on next year's education budget. He said that Sadtu would negotiate with the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on finance, to establish the availability of funds for immediate salary improvements.

CATCH-UP PROGRAMME

Throughout the country both the teachers and students are engaged in meetings to map out a system for a catch-up programme to compensate for the recent teachers strike. The government is exploiting this desperate situation to try and black-mail teachers.

Lindi Sibeko, a matric student, is not very certain whether she will

be able to pass her end of the year examinations.

For three weeks in August, teachers belonging to Sadtu went on strike to protest against, among others, low wages, unilateral restructuring of the education system and retrenchments. Though a huge salary increase was offered to lowest paid teachers, the other problems remain.

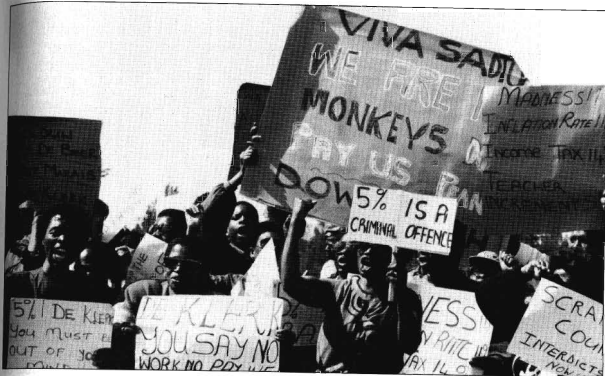
During the strike, heated debates took place when teachers called parents to explain the strike action. Some teachers were even threatened with violence by the angry parents who accused them of not taking children's education seriously. But the teachers argue that it is this lack of community involvement which has forced them to take strike action. This is the greatest weakness of the education struggle thus far.

In some areas, such as Lebowa, teachers are still on strike. They are demanding that the government refund them the money deducted during their 1991 and 1992 strikes before they resume their duties.

DISRUPTING SCHOOLING

The government's arrogant attitude has not been helpful. During the national strike, it threatened to withdraw the recognition agreement with Sadtu. It threatened to take "firm action" against the union and accused it of disrupting schooling. Department of Education and Training (DET) spokesman Corrie Rademeyer said that by engaging in strikes and disruptions, Sadtu was breaking the agreement with his department.

The DET further accused the union of intimidating teachers and principals who did not agree with the strike and that they were taking



The debate about forms of action and their timing continues

over the administration of schools by using the same methods. He said that the nature of future relationships between his department and Sadtu will be determined by the union's ability to honour the agreement.

MAYIBUYE spoke to some teachers, students and parents on the recent teachers' strike.

Dorah Moloi believes that the strike was unjustified. "We support our teachers all the way but they could have chosen the right time to strike. This government does not listen to black people. They should have known that."

MULTI-RACIAL SCHOOLS

Lazzie Mosele argues that most of the people who embarked on this strike action have their kids in multi-racial schools and are therefore not bothered by what happens to students in the townships. Sadtu challenges this as an exaggeration. A line needs to be drawn between personal family circumstances and their campaign as a union for a better dispensation for both teachers and pupils, Sadtu leaders argue.

However, on balance, Sadtu members are very popular with the students because they care more than teachers who are members of

other organisations. They enjoyed tremendous support from the students during the strike.

Suzie Tshekedi, a matric student, says: "We supported the strike because experience has taught us that you can never get anything from the DET and other authorities without a fight. We lost time during this strike, but we formed study groups to try to catch up in their absence."

"My only worry is that matric students won't know what to write at the end of the year but the teachers are working very hard to assist us catching up with the syllabus. We feel the blame should be placed squarely at the door of the government because of its arrogance. The government is not interested in solving the teachers' problems. What is most annoying is that when some people attack residents and disrupt not only education but community life, the government and others have nothing to say. But if it's Sadtu or the students then they make a lot of noise," said Lindi Sibeko.

Some of the teachers who are not members of Sadtu do not agree with the sort of action that was taken by Sadtu. "We have to ask ourselves questions such as who suffers most when teachers go on strike.

Naturally it is the student. The government does not lose anything. That is the reason why they won't listen and will drag their feet instead of solving the problem quickly. Our responsibility as teachers ... should be regarded as a call rather than a profession," argues Winston Radebe, a high school teacher.

MATRIC RESULTS

The president of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association, Leepile Taunyane, said it was unfortunate that further disruptions of schooling could be entertained while exams were around the corner. "So much school time has already been lost this year ... that it was doubtful there would be any improvement at all in the matric results."

No one can question the right of teachers to demand a living wage and to stop retrenchments in the face of an extensive demand for teachers. But the debate about forms of action and their timing, as well as community involvement in the education struggle will continue.

It is quite clear, though, that the crisis will only be comprehensively addressed by a democratic elected government. ♦

The strange case of Blaustein

The 8 January 1993 statement marking the 81st anniversary of the African National Congress explicitly attacked those notions of "federalism" which would leave South Africa "fragmented into racial and ethnic compartments", and reminded the world that the ANC has strongly spoken out against "the demon of tribalism" since 1912. That "demon" has a particular history which is rooted in colonialism and has been a faithful mechanism for maintaining domination.

Recently, there have been constitutional proposals seeking "federation" along the lines of ethnicity. There are several tasks at hand: we need to examine how concepts such as "race," "tribe" and "ethnicity" came into being and see how these concepts have been applied throughout history; we must ask whether or not "federalism" has any relationship to these concepts at all; and we must ask those constitutional experts making these proposals for a list of success stories — after all, what good is a proposal if it has no record of success?

"RACE" HAS AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

To begin with, it is important that we understand that "race" and "tribe" are not truths that we were born knowing, but are concepts that were developed, taught and learned. Race-thinking can be traced to developments in 18th and 19th century Europe. When the French ruling class was chased out of France dur-

Joseph Reilly is an American who has worked in the anti-apartheid solidarity movement for the past six years. He writes about Ethnic Nationalism, Federalism and Anthropology.

ing the French Revolution, these aristocrats found refuge in the mansions and castles of other European elites. While languishing in exile, these elites constructed formulas arguing that all aristocrats around the world were of common ancestry: in other words, they believed that the wealthiest people on earth were related by blood. This made it possible to describe others as belonging to a different "race".

In England, however, intellectuals such as Edmund Burke rejected the

idea of an international race of superior beings, and believed instead that the very land one lived on determined inferiority or superiority. And keep in mind that all of these notions were not on the basis of skin pigmentation alone but of the blood beneath that skin. Mayhew wrote of the poor as constituting a separate race. Throughout the 19th century, we find this formula modified, expanded and developed to the point wherein the assault on the African continent could be justified as a right based on biology.

"Polygenism" was a concept isolating every human community and justifying separation of people on the grounds of "blood". Evolutionists asserted that groups of humans separated by land and language developed at different rates as if humanity were in a race.

Intellectuals who were working for European governments justified colonisation by linking the darkness of skin with charts ranking progress in terms of "civilised" or "barbaric". Sometimes these justifications became ridiculous: for example, as the Irish increased their resistance to British occupation, it became fashionable to refer to the Irish as belonging to a "darker" race.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND "TRIBES"

Similarly, it has been demonstrated again and again that "tribe" is a concept developed by European scientists and policy-makers who classified the subjugated along self-defined notions of "progress": natural-



*IFP negotiators at multiparty talks, Messrs. Mdlalose, Matthews & Felgate
The draft constitution for a KwaZulu-Natal state was prepared by two
US constitutional lawyers, Blaustein and Dr Oriani-Ambrosini.*

ly, they ranked themselves and their cultures at the top. Anthropologists such as myself are faced each day with the fact that our discipline played a crucial role in constructing these phony schemes of "development".

In the 19th century we encouraged scientists to measure the size of skulls and regularly altered the data to "prove" that Europeans were of superior intellect. In the 20th century we lined up outside colonial offices in London with our resumes, willing to lend a hand in "governing the natives".

What could we offer? Anthropologists throughout this century would draw maps of what language dominated what area, of how different cultures ran their own affairs, and of different tensions that may or may not have existed between different peoples. We took those maps and studies to colonial governments, who used this material to better control the people they had subjugated.

South Africa knows all too well about shifting populations around, about manufacturing phony crises between groups of people, about arming individuals to the teeth and extending vast privileges to hand-picked "leaders". These things were not invented in 1948. They are part

of a history that has much more to do with wealthy individuals such as Cecil Rhodes than it does with Afrikaners as a people.

1993: ALBERT BLAUSTEIN AND "ETHNO-PLURALISM"

Recently, it has come to our attention that the draft constitution for a KwaZulu-Natal state was prepared by two US constitutional lawyers, Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini. Their 44-page constitution provides that no federal government will have ultimate jurisdiction over the affairs of the new state. It was also reported that Blaustein is the law partner of Bruce Fein, who drafted a "constitution" for Renamo and who is also a foreign agent for that organisation.

The work of Blaustein and his partners in Southern Africa is typically promoted as being based on the federalist example. The first thing we must immediately dispel is that this so-called "federalism" is a misnomer, and should have nothing to do with democratic discussions on issues of centralisation vs decentralisation, discussions which are quite legitimate. For example, the "father" of federalism, James Madison, wrote in *The Federalist*, No. 39 (one of the historic documents of the US

federalism debates after the American Revolution):

"We may define a republic to be... a government which derives its power directly or indirectly from the great body of people... It is essential to such a government that it be derived from the great body or society, not from an inconspicuous portion, or a favoured class of it..." (quoted in Herbert Aptheker, *Soul of the Republic*, 1964, New York).

Hence, in recent weeks committees at the multi-party negotiations have demonstrated that Blaustein and Ambrosini's proposal is not of federalism, but of a much more dangerous confederalism. This, of course, is in line with a penchant for race-based separatism, and fits in with the very strategies that manufactured one-party fiefdoms such as KwaZulu in the first place.

Blaustein and Ambrosini's so-called "federalism" is in fact ideologically allied with the fascism of the New Right in Europe, which asserts a sophisticated racist notion called "ethnopluralism". The essence of "ethnopluralism" is that "all cultures should have sovereignty over themselves" (in *Green Perspectives, From left to right: New Right ideology as a problem facing leftists today*, No. 26, May 1992). That is, the obsession with

The danger to progressive and democratic forces here is that the rightwing is trying to suck them into a very attractive debate on colonial destruction of indigenous cultures.

the artificial notion of "pure blood" has been replaced with that of an unpolluted "pure culture". This has been done by taking out old ethnographic maps and literally turning those haphazard studies into constitutional law, as if they really did represent African history.

The danger to progressive and democratic forces here is that the right-wing is trying to suck them into a very attractive debate on colonial destruction of indigenous cultures. New fascist theorists in Europe, like Alain de Benoist of France, will present this "cultural purification" scheme couched in the most politically correct terms:

"Missionaries sought to impose on 'colonised people a religious belief that was alien to them... Because of this, these people underwent a massive loss of their cultures' (see *"Pogroms begin in the mind"*, in the above cited issue of *Green Perspectives*).

Indeed, New Right realities are quite Orwellian: movements such as the ANC are seen as racists because "it sees all people as 'equal' and denies the existence of any differences among various ethnic cultures" - a true perversion of the demand for equal treatment, equal rights and equal opportunity. (*Ibid.*, p.4).

HAVE ANY SUCCESS STORIES?

When any "experts" from other nations arrive, regardless of what political organisation has invited them, we must seek the aid of solidarity workers in researching the creden-



tials of these "experts". In the case of Blaustein you will see a resume listing dozens of international consultations on draft constitutions and proposals.

But when one sees that they were in South Vietnam, Pinochet's Chile, Muzorewa's Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, El Salvador at the height of its death-squad government, Guatemala, Mozambique at the bequest of Renamo, Namibia at the bequest of anyone other than Swapo, Nicaragua at the bequest of the CIA's proxy Contra forces, various remnants of Yugoslavia, Angola at the bequest of Savimbi, and a dozen trips to this country beginning in 1974 questions must be raised. And when you read of their work on behalf of "indigenous peoples", much of which sounds quite progressive, do not be sucked into their racist trap.

South Africans should know more than anyone that the nation needs a constitutional model that will bring about peace, and that peace can only come with a consti-

tution that promotes a national identity under a united government. This is not to preclude debate on centralised vs. regional and local government.

But ask Messrs. Blaustein and Ambrosini if they would recommend that each state of the USA be divided by ethnicity: New York for Germans; Georgia for Africans; Florida for Italians; Texas for Mexicans, etc. Their model, despite the way it is marketed, is that of Yugoslavia, whose atomising logic can only lead to fascism, something which South Africans have decided they've had enough of.

In every debate that takes place, we must keep in mind that "race" and "tribe" are ideas that were invented for but one purpose: "No matter what learned scientists may say, race is, politically speaking, not the beginning of humanity but its end, not the origin of peoples but their decay, not the natural birth of man but his unnatural death." (Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, p.157) ♦

Appropriate strategies for affirmative action

While business conference after business conference try to work out measures to "affirm" and promote certain black or, less frequently, women members of their staff, Cosatu looks in a different direction to try and address the white male dominated nature of higher level employment in the country.

Through a participatory research programme, Cosatu is developing extensive policy on an integrated education and training system which will give all workers a career path: not only a selected few. This will include eradicating all racist and sexist discrimination in the work place. Some of these issues are being put to a tripartite National Training Task Team negotiating a new education and training system for workers in South Africa.

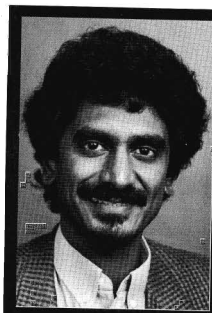
UNEMPLOYMENT

And, through forums like the National Economic Forum, Cosatu is trying to address the problem of unemployment. Because despite 30 years of affirmative action in the United States, disproportionately large numbers of black people and women remain unemployed or in lower paying jobs. Solving racism and sexism needs to go hand in hand with reducing unemployment and low wages.

What then are the appropriate strategies to achieve what affirmative action in the United States has not yet achieved?

Firstly, a fundamental pre-requisite to promoting greater quality for women and blacks is political transformation. Black people need to be regarded as equal in law and in society. Equalising provision of pensions, health services and education will make a significant impact on reducing racial inequality.

Secondly, economic reconstruction is vital. Making the rich richer will reduce opportunities for the poor. Cosatu is proposing a Reconstruction and Development Programme whose key pillar is em-



"We want affirmative action programmes to mean more than just a black face in corporate boardroom," said Jay Naidoo, former Cosatu General Secretary, in the secretariat report to Cosatu Special Congress held last month.

ployment creation and measures to attack poverty.

Thirdly, there needs to be changes at the work places and a single integrated grading system in factories, mines and shops.

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

All too often, management and workers are on different scales which are measured by different criteria and which serve to justify essentially ideological differences about the worth of different types of work. We need to fight against the notion that some

jobs or sectors should be done by one race or gender.

Once everyone is on the same pay scale, then wage differentials need to be addressed. In South Africa differences between predominantly white artisans and black semi-skilled workers are much larger than elsewhere in the world.

Work needs to be redefined and the different values according to different types of work. Traditional notions of affirmative action focus on providing individuals from disadvantaged groups with opportunities in more highly valued positions.

Cosatu would rather argue that one needs to change the value attached to some positions occupied by members of disadvantaged groups. And since pay is the best indicator of value, a more equitable pay structure where differences between the top and the bottom is radically reduced, should be introduced.

Fourthly, the education and training system in South Africa has to be radically restructured. Meaningful education and training opportunities need to be provided for every level of worker.

ILLITERACY

In South Africa where illiteracy is epidemic, this would need to include the provision of adult basic education which employers have a responsibility to provide at the workplace and during working hours.

The Alliance's Reconstruction and Development Programme argues that all workers should have a career path which would allow anyone to gain skills and knowledge in

The education and training system in South Africa has to be radically restructured. Meaningful education and training opportunities need to be provided for every level of worker.

an incremental way: from sweeper to engineer, porter to medical doctor. There should also be a national qualification system that clearly sets out the links between one level and the next.

Fifthly, special measures need to be taken in the short term to reduce racism and sexism. Racial and sexu-

al harassment should be sufficient cause for dismissal.

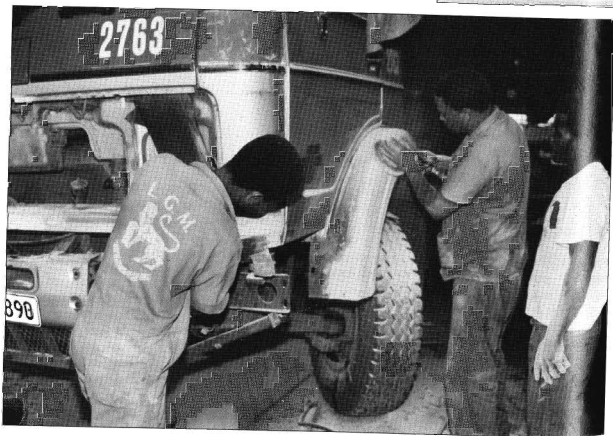
EMPOWERMENT

Targets need to be set which aim to bring the numbers of blacks and women in any particular category in line with the population as a whole, linked to strategies to bring these into effect.

Victims of racists and sexists should be empowered to defend themselves. For example, Numsa has put forward a Code of Conduct to End Unfair Discrimination to metal sector employers.

The Code requires employers to negotiate their recruitment, selection, training, promotion and termination procedures with the union and provides guidelines for how these can be done fairly. ♦

Semi-skilled labour: Precision of skills and a new approach to education and training are crucial to an affirmative action programme.



The Interim Constitution

Separating jargon from reality

The month of October will witness intense debate on the final pieces of legislation defining the

transition. Details of the electoral law will be one aspect of negotiations. But all eyes will be focused on the Interim Constitution which has to be finalised before the end of the month, if elections have to take place on 27 April 1994.

AGREEMENTS

The main purpose of the Interim Constitution is to set out in legal and constitutional language agreements concerning the drafting of the new constitution and governance between elections and the adoption of that constitution. This might take a few months - at most two years if there is a deadlock in the constitution-making body.

But why an Interim Constitution? An impression had been created that the ANC was opposed to an Interim Constitution in principle. Thus when it drafted the Transition to Democracy Act (TDA), and later billed some of the agreements in the Interim Constitution as "break-throughs", there was bewilderment among many.

The ANC has always been in favour of multi-party agreements not being left as gentlemen's agree-

In more than 100 pages, the multi-party forum defines how the new constitution will be drafted and how the country will be run in that period. This is contained in the Interim Constitution. MAYIBUYE examines the issues at stake.

ments; but that they should be translated into law. The government of the day and all parties should be bound by them. "We therefore drafted the TDA which was an Act to replace the current South Africa Act of 1983 - the apartheid constitution", says Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC Negotiations Commission. "So in that sense the TDA was itself an Interim Constitution.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

"But in the course of negotiations, one cannot expect the other parties

to use the same terminology as the ANC," Moosa argues.

Many issues, ranging from national symbols, majorities needed to adopt a new constitution and the place and role of a president and deputy president are under discussion. ♦

Of cloths, songs and tongues

The ANC has always maintained that the Constituent Assembly (CA) should determine the flag, anthem and language policy of a future government.

However, in the course of negotiations, the question arose: will an elected interim government during the drafting of the new constitution use apartheid symbols? Will Die Stem be sung when the interim parliament opens?

Certainly, this will not be accepted by the new representatives and the people in general. Should these then be Black, Green and Gold; Nkosi Sikelela and English as a language of record? Or should they be a combination of new and old ones? Passions are already inflamed, and the matter will have to be dealt with sensitively.

The Negotiations Council has set up an independent commission to look into these matters. It is to report by 15 October. Members of the public have been asked to submit proposals. These symbols will operate until the CA has determined the final ones, along with the new constitution. ♦

The process will be democratic

Interview with Mohammed Valli Moosa, member of the National Working Committee and Secretary of the ANC Negotiations Commission.



MAYIBUYE: Is the Constituent Assembly still on the agenda?

Moosa: There is already agreement in multi-party negotiations that an elected Constituent Assembly should draft and adopt a new constitution. It is now being referred to as the Constitutional Assembly (CA).

When the people of this country go to the polls on 27 April, they will be electing a CA made up of about 490 representatives. That CA would draft and adopt a new constitution by a two-thirds majority. It would have to complete its work within a few months.

However, if there isn't a two-thirds majority for the adoption of the constitution, a deadlock would arise. And that deadlock would then be resolved by means of a general referendum. The masses of the country would then be asked to break the deadlock.

MAYE: How sovereign will the CA be?

MVM: The CA would be completely sovereign except that it

would be bound by a set of Constitutional Principles agreed to before-hand.

The ANC, from the time of the Harare Declaration, had proposed that the elected CA should draft the constitution within the parameters provided for in Constitutional Principles agreed upon in multi-party negotiations. The CA would not, for example, be able to decide on a system which does not allow for multi-party democracy and regular elections.

This is exactly the same approach which was adopted in Namibia. Their CA was also bound by Constitutional Principles which were referred to as "the holy cow."

MAYE: Will the other parts of the Interim Constitution such as Interim Bill of Rights and regional boundaries not be binding on the CA?

MVM: The CA will be free to decide on what the new government, including parliament, should look like.

The Bill of Rights will be

drafted by the CA. The Interim Constitution merely has a chapter on human rights that will apply during the interim. But the CA will have full power to decide on a full Bill of Rights and what the boundaries of the new regions should be. The boundaries being drafted now will not bind the CA. It will also be able to decide on the powers and functions of regions.

MAYE: But interim regional governments will have been formed already!

MVM: Some parties are arguing that the boundaries as well as the powers and functions of interim regional structures should not be changed by the CA. Our firm view is that these are interim arrangements. The CA should have full power to change them if it so deems necessary.

MAYE: What is the position on Government of National Unity?

MVM: There is already multi-party agreement that an Interim Government of National Unity

(IGNU) should be set up. There is also agreement that the cabinet should be composed on the basis of proportional representation. In other words, the number of cabinet ministers that each party has would be determined by the number of votes that that party has won in elections: 10 percent of votes would translate into 10 percent of cabinet seats.

There can be no arrangement beforehand about which parties would be in the IGNU and how many cabinet posts they would have. This should be a result of elections.

MAYE: What about the presidency?

MVM: There is also agreement that the President should be elected by a simple majority by the interim parliament, which means most certainly from the majority party.

There are a number of areas still being debated. Firstly whether a position of Deputy President should be established; and whether s/he should come from another party in order to provide for national

unity and reconciliation. The ANC has been having discussion on this question and we are of the view that we should consider this positively.

MAYE: Will the president have the right to appoint and fire a minister?

MVM: The president will appoint all ministers. When s/he appoints those from other parties, s/he would consult the leaders of the other parties. But the leader of such a party would not be able to impose anyone on the President. S/he could say I do not want so-and-so for given reasons, give me another name.

A minister could be dismissed on a number of grounds:

- if s/he does not abide by cabinet policy;
- if parliament expresses a vote of no-confidence on such reasons as misconduct or incompetence.

Then the party from which that minister comes would have to provide a new minister.

MAYE: Who determines government policy with so many parties in the cabinet?

MVM: There are a number of proposals. One of them is that the leaders of all the parties in the cabinet should come together to determine government policy. We are opposed to this because it would amount to giving the minority parties a veto.

Another suggestion is that the cabinet as a whole should decide on policy, say, by a majority of two-thirds.

The third approach is that parliament should decide on policy. The President and Prime Minister would put such policy forward to parliament for a decision on a given majority. The ANC favours the involvement of parliament.

MAYE: For how long will the Government of National Unity operate?

MVM: The position of the ANC is that the GNU could continue until the first elections under the new constitution. But the actual life-span may depend on the needs or other factors. If it's not functional you would want to end it sooner rather later.

MAYE: So the Interim Constitution will also continue until the next election?

MVM: No. As soon as the CA adopts a new constitution – suppose elections are on 27 April and by November 1994 a new constitution is in place – that new constitution replaces the interim constitution. The new constitution may provide for the GNU to continue for a while longer. ♦



*Deciding our future:
The Multi-party
Planning Conference.*

Regions in the interim

How big the carving knives?

Knives are out at the World Trade Centre; big and sharp ones to cut deep and create a chasm among various parts of South Africa. Facts are often cast aside as narrow interests take the foreground.

Take the debate on the Eastern Cape: The Delimitation Commission (DC) had proposed one region incorporating the Eastern Cape, Border, Ciskei and Transkei. All the white parties (NP, DP and Afrikaner Volksunie) are up in arms: because whites in the Port Elizabeth area do not want to contribute to the development of the other centres left economically depressed by apartheid.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS

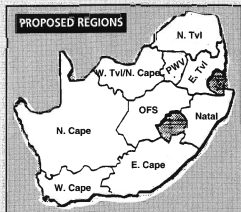
What are these regions about in the first place? "One must understand that these boundaries are interim in nature: for purposes of elections and for interim regional governments which will replace the bantustans and provincial councils", says Mohammed Valli Moosa. "The CA will have the right, if it so deems necessary, to change these borders".

Nine regions were proposed by the DC (See map). There are concerns about the sparsely populated Northern Cape region; the inclusion of Sasolburg in the PWV; the location of the Natal/Eastern Cape border...

Further, "...there are people on both sides - including Intando Ye Sizwe of KwaNdebele - who hold the view that Pretoria should not be part of the PWV region. But also very strong views in our ranks that it should be, given the economic integration of the PWV as a whole", explains Moosa.

"This, as well as other problems, should be settled in a manner that satisfies communities", Moosa argues. "It would be unwise to make Pretoria part of Eastern

Progress or deadlock will depend on the debate on regions.



Transvaal, for instance, if the majority of the people living in Pretoria are unhappy with that."

The DC has been consulting communities and will finalise its report by 20 October.

On regional powers, the IFP, NP and other right-wingers demand more exclusive powers for interim regional governments. They also want the Constitutional Principles to be further fleshed out beyond the definitive criteria about regional powers already agreed upon.

We do not want our resources to be squandered by other people, argues Chief Buthelezi. But the IFP knows too well that Natal currently has a bigger share of the

national population (20%) than that of production (14%).

In other words, to cut it off from the rest of the country would be to fence in poverty. And Buthelezi does not say to his supporters in the PWV hostels that his proposals are meant to deprive them of benefits from the wealth they create in the PWV.

REGIONAL CONSTITUTIONS

What is at issue is that the IFP, NP and other rightwing parties have all but accepted defeat in national elections. They hope to make a good showing in one or two regions which they can then use as centres to prevent national restructuring.

But they are doubtful even about this prospect. Thus, lately, they demand that regional constitutions should be negotiated now in regional multi-party forums. The ANC and others argue that, if there have to be regional constitutions at all, they should be drafted and adopted by elected interim regional legislatures and be in line with Constitutional Principles.

Are we witnessing a replay of Codesa II: deadlock around the attempt to turn the CA into a rubber stamp? The consequences are ominous. ♦

Departure of outstanding colleagues



Born on 5 February 1951, Selby started school at the age of seven at Sizanane LP School and went to do his higher primary at Bhele HP School in Orlando West. He matriculated at Orlando West High in 1970 and proceeded to the University of Zululand, doing B. Admin (1971-73).

He worked for Unisa as a researcher in 1974. Thereafter he joined IBM and was dismissed for refusing posting to a Bantustan. He was then employed by Allied Publishers between 1975-76.

UNDERGROUND

During this period he joined the underground structures of the ANC. In April 1976 he left the country and, in mid-1976, went to the then Soviet Union for military training.

Upon his return he joined the panel of instructors and specialised in marching drill and then later in ar-

tillery. From 1978 to 1980 he was part of a select group that underwent a specialised course in politics in Cuba.

Upon his return he was deployed with Radio Freedom in Lusaka. He later joined the editorial board of MAYIBUYE and also acted as deputy editor in 1981. He became editor during 1982-86.

DELEGATIONS

In 1988 he became the Administrative Secretary of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP). He became editor of Sechaba in 1989 until he was transferred to Johannesburg after the unbanning of the ANC and winding up of DIP external operations.

He was part of a unit which produced all propaganda materials directed inside the country. During this period he was also part of many delegations led by the then President of the ANC, the late Oliver Tambo, and the current president, Nelson Mandela.

On Sunday, 5 September 1993, death robbed the MAYIBUYE editorial collective of the outstanding talents of Selby Mandla Msimang. He died with a friend and comrade, Norman Papa Msimang, when their car overturned on the Rosslyn highway near Pretoria. They were on their way back from an MK conference held in Nelspruit over that weekend.

At the time of his death he served in the editorial board of MAYIBUYE in charge of sales, advertising and distribution group. He leaves a gap that will be very difficult to fill.

He is survived by his wife, Lillian, three children Lebogang, Naledi and Nozizwe, a brother, sister and mother. ♦

Norman Papa "Shezi" Msimang was born in 1951 in Alexandra township. He left the country to join the ANC and MK at the height of the June 16 uprisings.

He served in several MK camps as a political instructor and was later deployed in the Transvaal Urban machinery in Swaziland. He returned from exile in 1991 and continued serving in the ANC and MK. At the time of his death he was a Personnel Officer in the Military Headquarters of MK.

He is a former vice-president of the Alexandra Football Association, and was a member of the Alexandra Rangers Football Club and of the Board of Control of the Alexandra Football Association.

He is survived by his wife, Khanyisile, and two children, Busi and Sibusiso. ♦



Winds of change



Like tidal waves, the winds of change are blowing. The once Afrikaner-male-dominated Auckland Park Towers are no exception. Former exiled sociologist, Dr Ivy Motsepe-Cassaburi is the new chairperson of the SABC Board and she's ready to tackle the challenge head-on.

Chairpersonship of this decisive Board was the last thing on Motsepe-Cassaburi's mind. As a private person being catapulted into the limelight was no child's play. She also had to face the specifics which would have probably faced any other woman or black person - coming to the leadership that has been closed to us as black people and particularly women, irrespective of race.

"So you have to try and understand the organisation, its functioning and its structures in the context of a changing social and political environment. But also in the context of having inherited the baggage that comes with the controversy around our appointment, and that presented my specific case with greater problems. I'm a woman, black, and some people like the idea and others don't.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

"I come from a collective style of leadership and this may not be the experience of many South Africans, especially the corporate world that has been associated with the State. I always want to speak on behalf of the Board. I do not want to appropriate the views of the Board as if they are mine.

"I would like to see the SABC being a resource for all the people of South Africa whether they are in the rural areas or in the cities. The language we use should be accessible to the people and the community should participate actively. The challenge facing us is transforming the corporation from existing in an undemocratic culture to a democratic culture which is an unusual but necessary role," she says.

To concentrate on her new job she had to take "a painful decision" to give up and cut down much of her other responsibilities which were very close to her, like the education sector and women's organisations.

"I'm keeping those aspects of work which still link very closely to my professional work, eg the areas of research and the university at which I'm a council member. At first

people were not so sure whether that was the right direction to go but working 16 hours a day was just not going to deliver. And I've been going at that rate since I came back to South Africa two years ago," says Motsepe-Cassaburi. She also feels strongly that the problem of violence has to be addressed, and how the SABC covers it. As a Board they would not want to interfere in the work of journalists. "We don't want to offend sensibilities of people who are talking about a free media. We are quite open to views on how we can face this problem together and there's a special role that communities, journalists and SABC can play in this regard," she says.

ELECTIONS

On elections Ivy says everybody has certain ideas about what the role of the SABC should be. However, she adds, the Corporation must assist in the process towards the delivery of a democracy, at least via next year's elections.

But why the recent increase in television licences? "We want to do voter education in a broad sense of promoting a culture of democracy. We want to be able look at the extension of access to different people and rural areas receiving radio as far as possible and, hopefully in the near future, receiving television and other programmes, many of which may not necessarily be generators of income for the SABC because the Corporation has been getting its income from advertisements.

"We are doing additional things with, at best, the same amount of money but, at worst, with less money since the economy is in a decline. By taking such an unpopular decision we hope, at least, people will begin to see something out of it. Something must change ... the quality of what we deliver must be different and that will make the decision a popular one when the people begin to see there is a difference at last!" ♦

Mozambique:

Peace or just an interval in the war?

On 4 October the peace agreement between the Mozambican government and the apartheid-backed Renamo rebels will be exactly a year old.

It has been a year in which the level of violence in the country has declined dramatically. Villages are no longer burnt down by Renamo gangs. The regular pre-dawn raids on outlying suburbs of Maputo or Beira have stopped. Roads closed by the war, in some cases for well over a decade, have been re-opened.

Twenty percent of the 1.5 million Mozambican refugees in neighbouring countries have returned. Most have simply walked over the borders, without waiting for the UN to provide transport. Many tens of thousands of people who fled from the war into major cities are returning to the countryside.

DELAYING TACTICS

The uneasy climate is more one of a mere interruption in the hostilities than of a genuine peace. The major problem is that Renamo signed the peace agreement reluctantly, under heavy international pressure, and ever since has been trying to back out of its key clauses.

Renamo's delaying tactics have already forced the country's first multi-party general elections, origi-

In general the ceasefire is holding. But the potential for renewed violence is certainly present, since not a single soldier on either side has been disarmed or demobilised, writes Paul Fauvet, a correspondent in Maputo.

nally scheduled for October this year, to be postponed to October 1994, and there are ominous signs that they may be postponed again, into the middle of 1995.

The UN bears some of the blame for the slow pace of implementing the peace accord. The timetable approved in the negotiations in Rome in October 1992 assumed that a UN Peacekeeping Force would arrive in Mozambique almost immediately after the ink had dried. UN observers at the talks encouraged this illusion.

The UN Security Council, in fact, did not even pass a mandate for the UN operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) until 16 December, and the UN troops only started arriving in March.

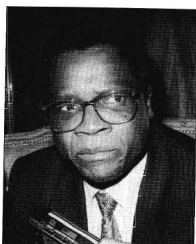
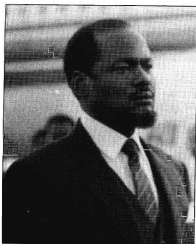
Renamo used this as an excuse not to demobilise its army. It said it would send nobody to UN-administered assembly points to hand in their weapons until two-thirds of the UN force were present. Then it said demobilisation would only start when all the more than 6 000 UN troops were in the country.

DEMANDS

Then Renamo demanded new uniforms for its troops, saying it would not send them to assembly points dressed in rags. It demanded money. It demanded housing for its political staff, and cars, phones, fax and telex machines ...

In March, Renamo staged a boycott of all the various commissions set up under the accord. For three months it refused to take any part in the commissions until the government or foreign donors stumped up more cash for its Maputo operations. This blackmail worked, and the UN established a trust fund for transforming Renamo from an armed rebellion into a political party. This frog-to-prince metamorphosis is costed by the UN at US\$10 million (as against the 100 million Renamo wanted).

As from June the focus of Renamo's demands shifted to the



Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano (left) and Renamo President Alfonso Dhlakama: It is to Renamo's advantage to postpone elections as long as possible.

question of territorial administration. The peace accord is quite clear about this: it states that existing Mozambican law, and existing state institutions have jurisdiction over the entire country. A UN Security Council resolution called for the extension of central government control over all of Mozambique.

Renamo disagreed. First, it insisted on "equal administration" under which it would go on ruling the areas it occupies until the elections, and would enforce its own rules.

AGREEMENTS

When UN Special Representative Aldo Ajello insisted that the country could only have one administration, Renamo changed tactics and demanded a share in that administration. It wanted the right to appoint half the country's provincial governors. Without a settlement of this question, Renamo threatened: "There will be no peace and no elections."

Renamo leader Alfonso Dhlakama held talks with President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo in late August and early September, and the talks reached a complicated agreement under which Renamo will integrate its zones into the overall state administration – but at a high price. Renamo will appoint, not governors, but three "advisers" to each of the governors, who must be consulted over every decision concerning Renamo-held areas. These

"advisers" have an effective power of veto, and the agreement establishes a de facto form of power-sharing at local level.

CONCESSIONS

This major concession by the government brought no corresponding gesture from Dhlakama. Instead, he announced that he was postponing demobilisation yet again.

He would wait to see whether the new mechanism was working to his satisfaction before sending any troops to the assembly points.

Dhlakama also made demobilisation conditional on the arrival of UN police officers to monitor the Mozambican Police Force and guarantee its political neutrality. He wants 5 000 such monitors.

The UN finds this figure absurd and is likely to offer less than a thousand.

Twenty one assembly points are now fully operational and staffed by UN military observers. But they have nothing to do, since neither side is sending anyone there.

The government says it is willing to send troops to the assembly points at once – but it is not prepared to do so unilaterally. It will not start disarming its forces without a guarantee that Renamo will do likewise. One lesson learned from Angola is that disarming unilaterally, while the enemy's army is left largely intact, is a recipe for catastrophe.

Meanwhile, a multiparty conference called to discuss the country's future electoral law is hopelessly deadlocked over the composition of the National Elections Commission (CNE), the body that will organise all aspects of the electoral process.

The deadlock was deliberately engineered by Renamo, which demanded a two-thirds majority for the opposition on the CNE – something which it must have known the government could never accept.

After over a fortnight of haggling, Renamo made a slight change to its proposal, calling for the opposition to be granted 13 rather than 14 seats on the 21-member CNE.

The government seems prepared to accept a formula whereby the government and the opposition each appoint ten members, under a neutral chairman, and votes would be taken by a two-thirds majority.

But Renamo (and eight small parties that support it) boycotted the meeting that was to have firmed up this proposal.

According to Labour Minister Teodad Hunguana, one of the government's key negotiators, Renamo's strategy is "to drag the process out, to gain time, and to postpone the elections".

EXPENSIVE MISSION

Opinion polls indicate that Renamo would do very badly if elections were to be held now. So it would certainly be to Renamo's advantage to postpone elections as long as possible, giving it the opportunity to whitewash its past record of massacre and destruction.

So far, the UN has been insisting on October 1994 as the cut-off date for the elections, largely on grounds of cost. "This is a very expensive mission and the UN cannot stay here forever", Ajello points out.

ONUMOZ is currently costing about a million dollars a day. This is money provided by western taxpayers, whose governments are not prepared to take on an indefinite commitment to funding Mozambique's transition to peace and to multiparty elections. ♦

Last year I met with some comrades from the Philippines. They raised some interesting ideas about reaching women voters and ensuring that women's issues are central to the election campaign. In a recent *Work In Progress* article, it was reported that one delegate had said: "It doesn't really matter which political party wins the election, as long as the winning party addresses women's demands." (*WIP* No 90, July/August 1993)

Now is the time for ANC members and supporters, men and women, to think about women voters and the gender content of our forthcoming election campaign. We cannot support the view that women should vote for a party simply on the basis of what is said about women's rights. We need to educate women to assess parties on the basis of the gender implications of their economic programme, health policy, housing policy, regional policy as well as their policy on women's rights. But we also must ensure that the ANC and our allies in the election campaign and in the Constituent Assembly are sensitive to the demands of the women members of the nation.

WOMEN'S PARTY

In the Philippines women only got the vote in 1936 after 20 years of campaigning. The key issue which political parties faced was how to convince women that the political system was going to serve them. This was necessary in order to motivate women to use that voting paper.

In order to try to correct the male dominance of the programmes of political parties, the progressive women formed an "All Women Political Party" to provide a focus for broad front women's politics. Obviously, in our election we cannot afford to form new organisations, as we need to fight the election under the ticket of the ANC, rallying all democratic forces together against those who are against democracy or who want a neo-colonial change to simply put black faces in parliament.

Women can vote you off that list

ANC women should approach nominees on this basis: if you take up the issues of women such as job training, child care, access to permanent jobs, as part of what you campaign for during the election campaign, then we will vote for you and mobilise votes for you from branch to national level, writes ANC activist **Jenny Schreiner**.

The Philippine women's election campaign was very much issue based. They chose reproductive rights – the right to choose motherhood, the right to safe contraception and abortion, the right to safe and healthy environment for children and mothers – because these are issues that all women can be mobilised around. They mobilised across class, religion and colour. They are social issues that relate to all other social and welfare issues such as education, health, etc. Reproductive rights are an issue of basic human rights.

Many of the politicians were lobbying women to try to win their votes. NGOs set up a network, called Women in Nation Building, to train women in the process of lob-

bying. We, women in the ANC, should consider approaching men and women nominees for our national and regional candidates lists on this basis: if you take up the issues of women such as job training, child care, access to permanent jobs for women, as part of what you campaign for in reconstruction during the election campaign, then we will vote for you and mobilise votes for you from branch to national level. This can be done to get women onto the national list, as well as to make the men on the list more sensitive to gender issues.

In addition, there was a specific voter registration campaign aimed at getting Philippine women to register so that they could vote. They set up a phone brigade that targeted

women, by phone, to ensure that they knew why they should register and how to do it. In South Africa we cannot do this by phone, but it is a very important challenge to ensure that women, particularly in the rural areas and squatter camps, have IDs so they can vote.

WOMEN'S ISSUES

The Philippine comrades emphasised that in order to include women in the election process, the whole campaign also needed to address the practical problems that made it more difficult for women to participate, such as access to safe transport, child care facilities, violence, etc.

In the Philippines, the fact that the Presidential candidate was a woman served as an important symbol for women and helped to raise the consciousness of women voters. It was important for the campaign to have high profile women candidates.

As a sober reminder that women's franchise has not meant the equal participation of women in political structures, here are some facts. We cannot deny that recently women have made gains regarding political power but, despite this, in the best cases women are only about one quarter of the elected national representatives. In many countries women are hardly represented at all, and this is certainly true of those countries

ruled by the military, since nowhere are women in power in armies.

The pattern which emerges is that women are elected to lower levels of the legislature and are not included in the executive or cabinet where real power lies. Where women are elected to these posts, it is often in areas of traditional women's concern – such as Consumer Affairs, Welfare, etc, and not the Ministries of Defence, Justice or Reconstruction.

It is generally true that women are better represented in local government than in national bodies. The only countries where women have a significant representation in the legislatures are the Scandinavian countries where they are over 25 percent of the elected representatives. The first world countries such as Australia, Belgium, Canada, Britain, America, Italy, Switzerland are all between five and ten percent of women in their legislatures. This is despite the fact that women have had the vote in these countries for at least four decades. Disappointingly, socialist countries have a poor track record, if one goes by the number of women on the Politburos of the Communist Parties – in 1985 in most of them it was either zero or one.

The population density in South Africa has a particular gender unevenness due to

apartheid and, particularly, the migratory labour and homeland systems. The banustans have a far higher concentration of women than any other area in the country. The mining areas have a far higher concentration of men than any other area of our land.

WOMEN CANDIDATES

The question we must address is: are the lists from the Border, Transkei, and from other areas where there is a higher proportion of women than normal going to select lists with the majority of women candidates? Or even, to be more lenient, are those regional lists going to reflect a higher proportion of women on them than the lists from regions where the proportion of women is lower? That is part of the challenge of building equal participation of women in all areas of our society and political structures.

As has been said in the Women's Day memo to the Union Buildings on 7 August 1993, a country cannot be said to be free while the women of that land are themselves not free. The election date is 27 April 1994 – the Freedom Day is still to be determined. The struggle for women's representation in all political and civil structures and in the reconstruction programme in the coming period can significantly move the day of liberation forward. ♦ ♦

Candidates beware: Have you thought that the women can vote you off that list?



Should the ANC work with the Labour Party?

A formal pact needs to be concluded with the Labour Party (LP) as with all Patriotic Front (PF) parties. Singling the LP out simply means that puppets are good if they are African and bad if they are coloured, argues **Mpumie Gaba** of the ANC's Political Department in the Western Cape.

With the release of our leaders from prison the form and approach of our politics to parties within the tricameral system and the bantustans changed. Mandela spearheaded this approach which was very accommodative of these "puppets and sell-outs".

This was against the understanding of the ordinary cadre, and not without reason. In Namibia, and Zimbabwe before it, the liberation movement was on one side of the negotiations table and the puppets, together with the master, on the other. Only Chirau went over to Zapu before the elections and was accepted.

In SA it was different. We deliberately went out to these discredited

parties, particularly in the eyes of the youth. Maybe this approach was nascent even during the days of the armed struggle. The ANC's strategy and tactics had no illusions about the effect of repression on our people. It recognised that some would join these structures simply out of fear for the enemy.

That is why, maybe, MK cadres were not encouraged to kill bantustan leaders. In the case of Gatsha there was a time in the movement when he could not even be called a puppet, despite evidence to the contrary.

OPINION POLLS

The shock of the opinion polls that show that coloured support is going to the NP has caused the ANC to find every explanation for it. We were even prepared to clutch at very thin straws. And yet the situation changed marginally. The latest opinion polls indicate that the ANC will get 20 percent, the Nats 30, and the LP three percent of the coloured vote.

We then ask ourselves: Is working in alliance with the LP going to increase or reduce our vote? What about the notorious Management Committees? Why don't we let the LP die naturally? Why don't they join as individuals?

We can't have joint rallies with them. These people were rejected in their own election and got only 11 percent of the coloured vote, we say. But do these arguments make the LP different from the United Patriotic Front? From Intando ye Sizwe and all the PF parties? The answer is no.

NATURAL DEATH

As for Management Committees, the LP also disowns them as they were there even when it was boycotting apartheid structures. Regarding dying naturally, the same can be said of other PF parties.

No one said they cannot join us as individuals. They can do so and this process will be accelerated if they campaign for an ANC-led Front in the elections. The argument against joint rallies is weak because we are prepared to have them with Inkatha, which is not even in the PF, simply because they kill us.



ANC President Nelson Mandela with LP leader, the Rev. Allan Hendrickse: "What makes the LP different from other Patriotic Front parties?"

The argument that the LP was rejected in their own elections is true but now is the time for the truth, not propaganda. We must not be victims of our own propaganda. We know that the reason why these people did not vote is not because they supported us. They may not have liked the LP because it betrayed them and, maybe, it was physically safe to stay at home, and we know why.

The latter may be very true considering the support the Nats have. The argument that we shall lose more votes than we shall gain because of closer links with the LP is also flawed. The LP is already in the PF and we did increase our standing in the opinion polls. Secondly, in the first polls we had dismal support without the LP. So what are we going to lose?

INFANTILE DISORDER

The only tangible reason now that disqualifies the LP is the "activist pride", the "we told you so" attitude, especially from coloured comrades. The need to see these opportunists

suffer and on their knees is there in all of us. But the noble task of uniting the people against tribalism, racism and ethnicity makes this attitude an infantile disorder. Singling out the LP from other PF parties is inconsistent and borders on racism. It simply means, here in the Western Cape, we say puppets are good if they are African and bad if they are coloured.

IGNORANCE

Let us call things by their names as revolutionaries. The coloured vote problem is a race problem and, therefore, largely a problem of ignorance perpetrated by apartheid. The ordinary coloured voter sees the ANC as a "kaffir" organisation which has communists. The struggle here was to be as white as possible for survival. Ordinary people know this and we can forget it as activists to our disadvantage.

The leadership of the LP is above this level of ignorance and will, therefore, help us fight it out in the next eight months. Now we need people who are going to expose the

Nationalist lies to our people. We need coloured leaders who are going to tell coloured people that African leadership does not mean African domination. That because our past is together as the oppressed, so must be our future as builders of non-racialism and democracy. If the LP can say this, which is what they are saying by being in the PF any way, then we need them in our election front.

OPPORTUNISM

To avoid embarrassment with loose and ill-defined relationships that are ad hoc and opportunistic, a formal pact needs to be concluded with the LP as with all PF parties. This will also clear the confusion now prevailing. To gauge how many of them will be on our list, we can ask *South* (an alternative Western Cape newspaper) to draw an independent list for us and see how many of them will come from the LP. We might even ask them to call a rally as a show of support. Whatever we do, we must be decisive and consistent. ♦

Towards a Department of Defence

South Africa does not have a Department of Defence (DoD). This is an important point to bear in mind when approaching the question of civilianising the defence bureaucracy.

The non-existence of a DoD presents us with problems and challenges. It requires recapturing the civilian tradition which existed before 1965/66 when the post of Secretary of Defence, and with it the rest of the DoD, was wiped out.

LEGISLATION

This situation was legislated in March 1969 with the Defence Amendment Act stating that "the officer appointed or lawfully acting as the Commandant General of the South African Defence Force shall for all purposes be deemed to be the head of the DoD" (Section 83 A).

This places the ANC in the advantageous situation of not having to replace an existing bureaucracy, as is happening with other agencies of the state.

Any DoD needs to meet the following demands:

- an adequate level of political control/oversight;
- dynamic communication between military strategists and the treasury;

Should the new government have a Department of Defence? This should be informed by the nature of civil-military relations, writes Abba Omar of the Military Research Group, in this first article of 2-part series.

- close and unbiased contact with the different services;
- close liaison on science and technology.

BUREAUCRACY

Keith Campbell (*Men without a Ministry*, *Star*, 25 November 1992) suggests a further function for the Ministry of Defence: "to preserve the armed forces from the threat of bureaucratisation ... The consequences of the lack of a Ministry of Defence in South Africa can be described as wholly bad. The SADF is afflicted by bureaucratisation. Defence and Army headquarters especially contain specialists such as accountants, archi-

ects, historians, linguists, etc who wear uniforms but cannot be described as soldiers.

"There are commandants, colonels, even generals, who do not know how to change the guard at their gates."

CIVIL SERVICE

Some of the structures which currently fall under the SADF and which elsewhere would be civil service function include finance (for which the SADF and its component services have an entire staff branch), Medical Services (where we can see the ludicrousness of the situation in its extreme: the Medical Services have their own Intelligence Branch).

"The lack of civil service oversight has clearly led many in the Permanent Force, especially in the army, to see their service as their exclusive property and not as a branch of the state and a servant of the electorate. At the national level this attitude has resulted in what appears to be whole divisions of the SADF/Army (most notably Military Intelligence) going out of control."

Campbell concludes that "civil servants are often a pain to military men, but they also protect the military men from many professional and political perils."

In looking at the military as an institution, analyst Eboe Hutchful suggests that "an understanding of how the military defends and repro-

duces its organisational boundaries and coherence should be a major objective of institutional analysis."

He suggests that the military should be seen as any other social institution while being unique due to two factors: "First the divorce between directive functions, exercised as a monopoly by the minority (officers) and the physical function of repression and mass violence – the effective source of organisational power – exercised by the institutionally "disfranchised" majority (the ranks); second that this involved binding social strata of disparate origins to the common purpose of exercising violence in defence of a class structure status quo."

MILITARY-SOCIETY RELATIONS

Discussions on the process of integration will have to be taken on this question in full. But an important consideration is on what Eboe Hutchful describes as "military-society relations".

"This refers to broader relations in the non-constitutional sense, denoting the general structure of relationships between the military and social structure."

This relationship, which is a product of historical trends, political cultures and broad socio-economic factors, forms the base for the development of the more constitutionally defined relationships.

According to African political scientist Samuel Huntington military professionalism appears to have first arisen in Prussia in the early part of the 19th century. It placed emphasis on discipline, logic, scientific knowledge, and lack of intuitiveness and emotionality. Military honour meant that officers be gentlemen and the military a cohesive brotherhood having the right to self-regulation. (Then, ladies and sisters were not included).



The model of our civil military relations should be one which sees the military as a tool for nation-building, for "healing" within the overall context of a competitive-democratic system.

One of the basic elements of professionalism was that the soldier be above politics in domestic affairs which, according to Janowitz (*The Professional Soldier*), was historically achieved in American society as a result of fighting the British colonialists, especially during what is called the Revolutionary War.

This was reinforced on numerous occasions during the Civil War, where for example, Lincoln instructed his successful field commander, General Ulysses Grant "not to debate, discuss or confer (with General Lee) upon any political question. Such questions the president holds in his own hands and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions."

MILITARY RULE

Between such a situation and the scenario of total military rule exists

a number of variations and permutations of civil/military relations.

Janowitz, on the basis of top government functions, described five types of civil military models, the most relevant for South Africa being the democratic-competitive and semi-competitive systems and the civil-military coalition.

NATION-BUILDING

Fuad Khuri draws four types by focusing on the initial formation of military institutions and the way they related to society then. The one I wish us to consider is the nation-building model.

We do not have in mind the experience of Algeria which the Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuscinski described as: "Boumedienne's ambition is a political army, in the sense of the army-state. Saving the homeland: by means of the army. Development: by means of the army. Civilians never accomplish anything worthwhile: they mean demagoguery and corruption; civilians always drag the country into a crisis."

The model of our civil military relations should be one which sees the military as a tool for nation-building, for "healing" within the overall context of a competitive-democratic system. The potential for it to develop in that direction is immense. ♦

Science and Technology conference a big success

Answers to Science and Technology (S&T) problems do not come from only the ANC. The ANC wants all stakeholders in S&T – science and technology educators, the engineering community, unions and business – to participate in forming S&T policy, Trevor Manuel said in his opening address to the conference on Science & Technology Education and Training in Economic Development.

Eleven out of 14 ANC regions sent delegates to the conference, including regional S&T departments, Education departments and other regional structures. The Institute of Electrical Engineering, the Association of Scientific and Technical Societies, Anglo and Barlow also sent representatives.

RECONSTRUCTION

The Centre for Education Policy Development did much spadework, preparing all delegates in advance with the 39-page discussion paper "Building the Future".

The reconstruction of our society will be even more difficult than the destruction of apartheid, said Franklin Sonn, rector of Peninsula Technikon. The decline of South Africa's science, engineering and technology graduates has now reached the point where the system produces 1 500 new engineers

Reports Keith Gottschalk, Chairperson of the ANC Western Cape Science and Technology Policy Department.



per year. By contrast, other African countries such as Egypt graduate 9 500 new engineers annually, while Algeria produces 2 200 engineers each year from a nation with less than two-thirds the size of our population.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, Secretary of the ANC Negotiations Commission noted that the ANC is the first liberation movement in the world to develop a science and technology policy, and to negotiate with the research parastatals before coming to power.

CONFIDENCE

Even though S&T is not a mass vote-winning issue, the ANC values building confidence among many in the science, engineering and technology educators, and business com-

ANC pro-labour on technology

The Conference proposed the ANC-led government should legislate to ensure that licence agreements on the importing of foreign technology include a commitment to train local labour to use, maintain and adapt imported technology.

Workers in Cosatu unions were angered that Mossas constructing companies flew in European welders at treble the salary of Western Cape welders, alleging that South African welders lacked certain skills, instead of training local welders.

To add insult to injury, claimed the local welders, they were then instructed to teach certain things to the imported welders.



Trevor Manuel (right), Head of the ANC's Department of Economic Planning and National Working Committee member gives the opening address at the "Science and Technology for All" Conference. Roger Jardine, National Coordinator of Science and Technology Policy looks on.

munities, who are not yet in the democratic movement, said Roger Jardine National Coordinator of the ANC's Science and Technology Policy Division, in his closing remarks to the conference.

CHALLENGES

Two challenges face the ANC's science and technology supporters. First, we have to encourage viable S&T Education groups, in more and more ANC regions. Second, after 27 April, over 200 ANC MPs will need support on S&T policies. Some will specialise as front-benchers in S&T policies. We must prepare to work with them, argue with them, and service them, especially when they are lobbied by vested interests.

As MAYIBUYE went to press, the Conference Steering Committee was still editing and synthesising different drafts targeting issues of curriculum, access, redress finance and governance. Roughly, some of the proposals made by delegates are as follows:

- Science and Mathematics to be

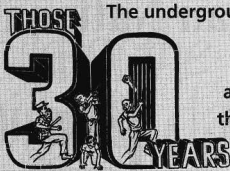
core subjects throughout schooling;

- review curriculum in a process involving all stakeholders;
- promote open learning (adults) and distance learning (including using radio, videos, TV) especially for science and technology education;
- implementing affirmative action requirements for research funding;
- in-service training especially for science and maths teachers;
- provide a laboratory, or at least initially a science kit and a personal computer for every school, and facilitate twinning of schools and sharing of expensive facilities;
- augment school library budgets with a specific line for science and technology books, magazines and computer shareware;
- facilitate establishing Science and Technology Clubs at all schools, perhaps linked together to organise on the lines of Cuba's Movement of Young Innovators;
- establish a system of mentors to tutor maths and science students

in matric and the first year of tertiary education, possibly through national service by senior science and technology tertiary students;

- facilitate and organise access by black schools to extra-mural educational resources such as planetariums, museums, hi-tech factories and company laboratories;
- constantly review the South African Post Secondary Education (SAPSE) allocation criteria so as to reverse the decline in uptake of science, engineering and technology students. This will include special consideration for institutions who accept a high proportion of "at risk" students;
- encourage participatory decision-making on the introduction and use of new technologies by all stakeholders; and
- promote developing long-term planning for science and technology with five, ten and 20-year goals; but ensure flexible direction of R&D to match fast-changing innovations and advances. ♦

Danger – amateurs at work!



The underground, detention, jail, exile. Abnormal experiences from abnormal times. For those 30 years when the ANC was banned, its activists often avoided capture, torture or death only by luck or quick wits. **MAYIBUYE** recounts some of the amazing tales. Contributions are welcome.

To be exposed by a traffic cop is the utmost humiliation. There we were, engaged on the first nail-biting sabotage operation by MK, and because of a drastic mess-up, a traffic cop nearly blew the whole countrywide operation.

The story goes back to 15 December 1961, when an MK unit I was leading in Johannesburg decided to place an incendiary device in the Rissik Street Post Office. We had cased the place and decided that we could put three such devices on different floors which would then go off in the middle of the night, thus avoiding casualties.

On the chosen day I met my contact in a city restaurant where he handed me a small suitcase containing three canisters filled with a powder used for high-temperature welding, and three little bottles containing sulphuric acid. I was told that the bottles were already primed and when the acid ate through the rubber stoppers it would ignite the powder and burst into a powerful flame.

My contact was to accompany me to the rendezvous. So we got into his car and started driving down Commissioner Street. I was driving while he was putting the bottles into the canisters. Just as we hit the traffic light at Eloff Street there was a whoosh and the car filled with thick smoke.

I slammed on the brakes and got out of the car, expecting it to blow up. But my colleague had stayed in the car and was fiddling with the cans. Rather tentatively I got back into the car and saw that he had opened his door and kicked the smouldering can into the street. He then picked it up and put it back in the car.

A traffic cop came up and asked: "What is the matter, sir?" He replied: "Oh, it's only some fireworks." He turned to me and said: "Drive fast."

Off I went, my hair singed, my clothes slightly burnt, straight to our rendezvous where we met the other comrades, and then proceeded to place the remaining canisters in the Post Office.

That evening Ben Pogrand of the *Rand Daily Mail* phoned me at home to say that a traffic cop had recognised me in town and that there had been a strange chemical burning in Eloff Street. I denied all knowledge but when the paper printed the story the next morning I consulted the High Command and it was decided that I go underground until we knew the outcome.

The device failed to go off properly so it was not discovered for some three months when I was finally arrested and charged with arson. The only evidence was a fingerprint on the paper covering the can. Imagine my horror when, sitting in the Fort awaiting trial, I found shining traces of the chemical in my shoes, easily enough to convict.

I had to get those shoes out of jail and managed to do so. I was nevertheless convicted on the fingerprint and spent three years in Pretoria Central Prison thinking about what amateurs we had been.

Ben Turok ♦



African National Congress

51 Plein Street
Johannesburg 2001
PO Box 61884
Marshalltown 2107



Tel: (011) 330-7000
Fax: (011) 333-4509
Telex: 421252

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The Children of Soweto Action Centre (COSAC) Drama Academy is a project being run in the needy township of Soweto. It is a project serving the congested township through which many young people of our deprived community can find their cultural worth. Without assistance by donors from sympathetic countries this valuable initiative will be lost to the community.

The African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, after assessing the project, and the services which it provide to our people, hereby requests that the project should be rendered any assistance – material, financial, or any other – which will be deemed necessary to ensure its continuation.

Yours in the struggle for democracy

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be 'Nelson Mandela', is positioned above the typed name.

NELSON MANDELA

PRESIDENT

African National Congress

Johannesburg

02 December 1992

The People Shall Govern!

"I am a Child of the ghetto and I am going to dance"

"My name is Lerato. Lerato Xaba.

*I am 8 years old and I am a pupil of
the Children of Soweto Drama Academy.*

*I have many interests - singing, laughing, acting,
but I love dancing most of all.*

*I dance all the time, everywhere. I dance to school, in my
mother's little kitchen, and I dance as I play.*

Even as I sleep, I dance. Some day,

I am going to dance on stage."



COSAC

EDUCATIONAL AND ARTISTIC TRUST

*You can help make Lerato's dream come true
by donating generously to the Children of
Soweto Drama Academy in Newtown. Lerato
and many other children receive lessons in
drama, singing, dance, etc. in temporary
quarter in the Market Theatre area.*

Individual and business can send donations to:

*The Secretary
COSAC Trust,
Reg. No. 91/05831/08
Box 107 Newtown 2113*

Tel: 838-2642/3/4 Fax: 833-1408

*Trustees: Adv. Jules Browde S.C. Dr. N. Motlana. Mr. SS Morewa. Mr. M. Nxumalo. Mr. CS Rachilo. Mr. H Hachler.
Mr. W Mokoape. Miss Barbara Masekela. Mrs. Fieke Ainslie. Mrs. S Lebthe. Mrs. J Kanyago. Mrs. L Xaba. Mrs. J Mavimbela.
Mrs. VG Gcabashe. Mr L Maisela. Mr. Peter Fincham. Secretary: Miss. Pearl J Smith.*

Androgena's jigsaw puzzle

- a short story by **Zachariah Rapola**

*SHE,
Androgena would emerge
bearing the universe on her shoulder,
sample on tomorrows
arranged like her plaited hair ...*

Androgena was a compulsive jigsaw puzzle player. Addict might be the more appropriate term. Nineteen ninety-seven was to be her 25th birthday. That meant she was nineteen now. As a mother I was certain of my predictions for her. Certain and confident my schemes for her would prove true. Certain her life would just fit one piece next to another in that revered jigsaw puzzle. The jigsaw puzzle was the only heirloom bestowed on her, despite its being cause for heated and ugly quarrels between her father and I.

"You! Let that child play with dolls like other normal children." My husband used to rant.

"Not with my special child." I used to respond. But later on I would always have to mumble the words. Who wouldn't, with those terrible beatings I used to receive. All these were despite Thabiso's pretences at being a cultured gentleman, which naturally he projected and exhibited outside, among friends, girlfriends and strangers. That was also despite his enviable status in the township of having been one of the few Standard Eight Town Council clerks. Yet in the end, like it always does, womanly willpower prevailed, and Androgena was permitted to play with her jigsaw puzzle whenever she wished.

My suspicions that the jigsaw puzzle was increasingly becoming a life distorting feature became confirmed after Androgena's 16th birthday. Amid apprehension, anxiety and hope I waited and watched for her to start showing an interest in boys. Anxiety changed to panic when I discovered she was not even menstruating. Then ...

Initially, with reluctant forays, and then later on in desperate hysteria, visits to different gynaecologists followed. Then to urologists. And all concluded and confirmed: "Nothing wrong with the physical features of your daughter, ma'm." Then those gave way to psychiatrists. Spurned on by hackless of relatives, we ended up consulting sangomas and Zionist prophets.

Then Androgena was 18 ...

All my paranoia, self purgings and panic were unappreciated. For despite all my trials and hankerings, Androgena

remained calm and unperturbed. She blossomed, gained that oily radiance possessed by celibates.

It was immediately after that period that legions of young men started patrolling our street. Some settled in posting themselves opposite our gate. Some even recruited the neighbourhood kids to maintain surveillance of her movements. Our street block became a hype of activity; cheerful young men with confidence; jerky, nervous young men with unsteady eyes; ridiculously amusing bald-headed and pot-bellied local businessmen, and then, there were also those skinny snot sucking young taxi drivers. Not to be left out of the snare, were young sergeants, detectives and even informers.

My motherly anxieties were left suspended on a tightrope. Each morning's sun rays fuelled and fed on the emotional inferno raging within me.

"Badimo! Nthuseng maimeng akhuni!" I ended up mumbling and lamenting that ambivalent phrase whenever I had nothing to do, or to keep me occupied.

Hopes that my daughter was becoming normal were increasingly becoming confirmed, yet the consequences! Then one afternoon, spying from behind curtains I saw them. It was apparent they liked each other; the way she beamed and kept on turning aside shyly, and the way his eyes radiated. Then I saw him take her hand - and edged even closer, my heartbeat quickened.

Then Androgena was 19 ...

(She would...)

*rave, scribble and unscramble words,
works and rites deformed by
metaphoric speeches...*

One night I was awakened by mournful wailings. It turned to be our neighbour's four dogs. An owl then decided to add its hooting to their chorusing. Still awe stricken, I tip-toed to my daughter's bedroom. I found her sitting on her bed looking through our east-facing window, the one overlooking the East Bank and Lombardy East. With instinctive reflexes bordering on that clumsy and naive habit of taking things for granted and shielding behind relief of quick solutions, I quickly and quietly ended started putting the jigsaw pieces together.

"I see ... her young man should be staying in the East Bank, probably the son of some well-to-do family, hmmm!" I proudly concluded. Was I right?

It was during that same time that nagging feelings that Androgena was relapsing back into her strange world



started resurging. I observed back and noted she preferred the company of females only. Strange enough, she didn't prefer living ones, but dolls. Dumb lifeless dolls. Little white dolls, because then black dolls were rare. And she would spend hours on end with them.

Then that got me hopelessly desperate when even at that age she still would insist on growing up to be a white when she finished school. I couldn't withstand thoughts of psychologists and herbal-healers' consultation fees – again!

My little comfort, though, was that she as yet seemed not to notice that the real jigsaw puzzle, which was her own life, her whole existence, her whole being could not fit into a single integrated piece. At the same time both of us were certain of one thing, the illusionary jigsaw puzzle was closely coming to fit into a nice classical masterpiece. But then that was a sketch shaped with brush strokes of make-believe and wishes. In reality it could not fit, could not make one illustrious painting. Nothing close to what Magandela, Mahlangu or Sekoto would have considered casting a second glance at.

I was still absorbed in such thoughts when lingering memories brought back Mrs Rosettenville, the palm-reader and fortune teller from whom we got warnings about potent omens of the jigsaw puzzle. Even now, I can still vividly remember our encounter with her. Androgena was still an infant then, and we came from seeing Dr Leeuesmann, the paediatrician at 97 Claim Street.

Then Androgena was 20 ...

Whenever I think of it, it was predictable that the words of that fortune-teller would haunt me forever. Everytime I think of them, a chilling shiver would run down my spine. She then had said:

"...her mid-head would sink in, it will result in her main palm lines crossing each other, and ..."

Then her following words were drowned by the drone of a passing double-decker bus. Thereafter, despite my pleading, Mrs Rosettenville would not repeat herself. And ever since, I've dreaded touching or looking at my daughter's palms.

It was then no coincidence that on her 22nd birthday I should be obsessed with determining her future. More especially of what she would be at 25. I had all the time then for such leisurely thoughts; with my husband gone, through a divorce. And that his new wife was a husband-abuser did go some way towards compensating for my punch-bag past with him.

Even my Androgena was gone. She was lost and buried in desperate attempts at unravelling the jigsaw puzzle – that was increasingly becoming dependant on her unpredictable moods. One moment she

would be excited and chattering like a fully nourished infant, while the next moment she would be moaning and swearing like a bully having his tooth extracted. And between those moods, she was never stable enough to have the patience to fit the little jigsaw pieces together. Then there were also times when she would literally cry when she failed to fit the pieces together.

Often the pieces were able to fit interchangeably in various positions. Still, there were a couple that constituted the core of the jigsaw puzzle, but they would only fit in a pre-set position. Yet, of late it seemed they had acquired awkward curves and edges, losing their prime status.

On the other hand, I was feverishly engrossed in patching together those little threads that would shape her destiny. And that approaching 25th birthday worried me, for it was at that same age that my mother, like my grandmother before her, and great grandmother got married and gave birth to their first child. And coincidentally, it was at that same age that I too got married and gave birth of her.

(She would...)

*brave the four winds lashing
from tempest's vengeful mouth,
cohabit with Prometheus, and
set to weaving bulrushes by the Nile
until apocalypse comes to set man free. ♦*

"This thing at Zoo Lake," said the Chap in the suit, "it is going to be jazz, isn't it? I mean, I absolutely love that ethnic stuff, but it's not real jazz..."

"You know what's wrong with these line-ups?" said the Distinguished Critic, surveying a proposed billing for Johannesburg's upcoming international jazz festival, "They're too black..."

Nowhere does the paranoia of South Africa's minority display itself more clearly than in the field of culture, and in my corner of it, jazz.

Outside South Africa, the distinctive musical genre created by black South African artists is accepted – and highly praised. Overseas critics and fans would no more marginalise the work of Abdullah Ibrahim or Bheki Mseleku as "that ethnic stuff" than they would that of Trinidadian Andy Narell, Brazilian Carlos Antonio Jobim or Dutchman Willem Breuker. Like jazzmen throughout the century, all have brought their heritage to the music, created a unique sound and enriched the whole of jazz thereby.

SHEBEEN MUSIC

Yet inside this country, the jazz created by the majority is ignored, dismissed as "shebeen music" or, where it receives critical attention at all, used as the vehicle for a series of – usually unfavourable – comparisons with American performers. ("Kippie Moeketsi...almost manages to sound like Lester Young" was one reviewer's gem.)

The first weekend in October will see South Africa's first international jazz festival in Johannesburg (sponsored by Guinness): three dozen South African bands and an impressive line-up of international stars including Jackie McLean, Airto Moreira and Flora Purim, Herb Ellis, Kenny Wheeler and the Jasper van't Hof Quartet from the Netherlands. But does an event like that mean anything for cultural development against the background of such attitudes?

The arguments against are compelling. Lavish metropolitan events don't just neglect the areas where most people live and socialise, they actually draw resources away from those areas. High ticket prices, transport costs and numerous other factors make it difficult for ordinary people to attend. And why is it necessary to import performers when local artists are desperate for work?

Yet while all of these are valid arguments, the picture is a more complex one. To redress the cultural biases which still marginalise ma-

All that jazz

Events like the Guinness Jazz Festival need to put on probation, rather than either reflex boycott action or uncritical acceptance of their entertainment value.



realities. There is a real need for performers to share skills and ideas with their overseas counterparts, on stage and off – and for audiences to have their horizons widened.

BUILDING BLOCKS

Yet none of that is enough. Major cultural events need to be building blocks for cultural development here. They must provide opportunities for up-and-coming performers and concrete inputs in terms of training and resources. That means, first and foremost, workshop programmes which are more than a few token recitals; which teach and build longer-term links. And this workshoping has to reach out beyond the metropolitan centre to the townships where most aspiring young musicians live.

So, rather than either reflex boycott action or uncritical acceptance of their entertainment value, events like the Guinness Jazz Festival need to be put on probation. A conscious audience needs to ask how far such festivals are redressing the imbalances of the past and building towards the future. And festival organisers need to be encouraged to create consultative forums where cultural workers' organisations like SAMA – and members of the public – can feed their views on these issues into future planning.

And there's a delicious irony in "international" events like these. For those Eurocentric sections of the jazz audience, who follow like sheep what musicians anywhere except South Africa are doing, will learn from Europe and America that South African jazz is great.

"Selling out" – or why African singers go American?

Johnny Clegg was the target of the complaint as I heard it – but you've probably heard it (or said it) yourself, about somebody or other: "I just don't like what he's doing these days. He used to make exciting, original records. Now it seems he's just doing Western-style pop music. I think he's sold out..."

That kind of lightweight analysis is fine, if you're content to think of music only as a consumable, like chewing gum. Unfortunately, it ignores the nature of the cultural industries as industries, and the complex political, social and economic forces at work in them. It provides no understanding, and hence no path towards solutions for what is a very real problem: how can cultural workers resist the pressures of a monopolised market and yet still feed their families?

COMMODITY

A man playing *setinkana* in his own backyard can play what he likes. A woman singing in the village market is almost as free, guided only by the tastes and interests of a small community of which she is a part. But walk through the doors of the record company, sign on the dotted line at the end of a contract so wordy that even the lawyers need lawyers to explain it, and the musician has become a worker, and what he or she produces, a commodity. The company is not essentially in the business of making music, but of making profits, and so the commodity has to be saleable in the existing market.

In South Africa, the market for music has a number of distinctive features. Universally, spending on cultural commodities comes out of disposable income (the money that is left after rent, food and other necessities have been paid for). The richer sections of society have more disposable income, so their tastes tend to dominate. And in South Africa, two-and-a-half centuries of structural inequality and oppression mean that white skins and Eurocentric tastes tend to be disproportionately represented among the rich. For the same reasons, those factors also dominate the upper echelons of recording companies and media institutions.

Universally, spending on cultural commodities is guided by information on what is available – which most consumers get from the music to which the broadcast media give airplay time. In South Africa, which still suffers under media monopoly as distorting as anything dreamed up by the Third Reich, two cultural tendencies are thus rein-



forced. The one is the Euro- (rapidly becoming US-) centric bias. The other is the ethnic music encouraged under apartheid: simplistic, conservative and confined within "tribal" boundaries of language and musical convention.

Although the best South African artists have always found ways to transcend or subvert these limits, the radio stations with their "playlist" system (disk jockeys are not permitted to play records which have not been pre-selected and listed by the station authorities) still serve up music which is predominantly pop – whether home-grown or imported.

Faced with all these negative pressures, in a society which is so monopolised and conservative that alternative performance opportunities are almost non-existent, audiences should not be surprised if performers "sell out." Most of these same artists have in their homes a stack of cassettes of their original music, for which they are unable to obtain recording or performance opportunities.

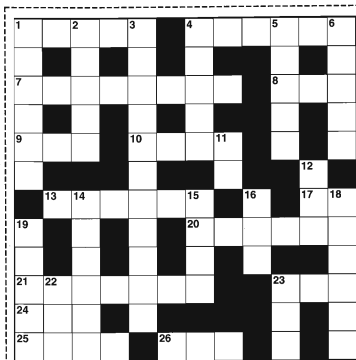
STATE INTERVENTION

The solution lies in more effective state intervention: in anti-monopoly legislation to regulate both media and the recording industries to permit alternative voices, and in arts subsidies which allow creative and original performers to survive. And audiences should be aware that if they want this, they must be prepared to pay for it through the tax system. (Although possibly only through a redistribution of the taxes already used generously to support nearly-empty opera houses and theatres catering to a minority of a minority.)

But there is another side to the argument: Performing artists need to be free to create. Music, like all the arts, is dynamic and subject to all sorts of historical and national cross-fertilisations: if performers genuinely want to change their style (as opposed to merely bowing before market pressures), the cultural space has to exist in a free society for them to do that. As audience, we do not have to like the new style, or listen to it, but we cannot order the performers to stop doing it and revert to music he or she has – creatively – left behind.

That, as yet, is an abstract argument. Musicians in South Africa, subject to the whims of a highly conservative, minority-dominated and almost totally monopolised market are presently no more free than if they were set down in the market place, chained, to perform at the command of a whip-wielding overseer.

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 25



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WIN R100 AND
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TEST YOUR
KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT THE ANC

Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 23



Across

- Dictatorial government.
- Heads the list of Cosatu officials seconded to the ANC's election list.
- First Vice President of the ANC.
- Raymond Suttner heads it (ANC's Department of Political Education).
- ... citizens of 18 years and above will have the right to vote in the April elections.
- Cosatu affiliate.
- Transkei's capital.
- Personal computer.
- Country in East Africa.
- The apartheid mismanaged it to the benefit of the white minority.
- Independent body to regulate the granting of broadcasting licences.
- Adam ... was one of leaders of the Wars of Resistance in the Cape.
- Title of Muslim leaders.
- Signed a peace agreement with Israel in September

Down

- Pallo ... is a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.
- Chief Albert Luthuli and Desmond Tutu won the ... Peace Prize.
- Freedom of ... is a fundamental human right.
- King Shaka's mother.
- Was Chairperson of the South African Communist Party.
- Done openly.
- Supervised the Angolan elections.
- Led by Dr Oscar Dhlomo.
- Preceded Chief Luthuli as ANC President.
- The KZP is Inkatha's private ...
- Opposed to the TEC.
- One of the Cradock Four.
- Chairperson of the ANC.
- Campaigns for open media.
- Threatens not to contest the 27 April elections.



WINNER!

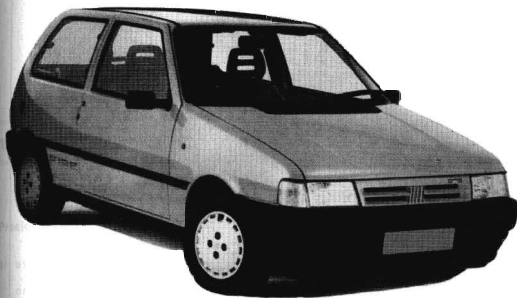
The winner of
MAYIBUYE XWORD No 23
is Gladys Molete
119 Padi St
Saulsville
Atteridgeville, 0125
CONGRATULATIONS!



RULES

- The first correct entry drawn wins.
- Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- MAYIBUYE**, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
- Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE** XWORD No 25, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- Closing date: 15 November 1993.
- See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, December 1993.

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Arena Park
Chatsworth

Josphat Pondo
P.O. Box 1465
Durbanville
Cape Town

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DRAW DATE: 5 DECEMBER 1993



Just answer the questions and send your entry form (with your entry fee) to:

ANC Women's League
UNO Competition
P.O. Box 61884
MARSHALLTOWN 2107

The draw will be held on **5 December 1993**

RULES:

1. The prizes will be awarded for the first correct entry drawn.
2. The judges decisions is final and no correspondence will be entered into.
3. The prizes are not transferable and may not be converted into cash.
4. You may post as many entries as you wish. A R10,00 entry fee must accompany each entry. Cheques and postal orders must be made out to ANC Women's League.
5. Winners will be notified in writing.
6. The competition is open to all.

Nirvana Nissan

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P.O. Box 975 Lenasia 1820
Tel: (011) 854-5896/7/8 Fax: 852-3908

ANC Women's League Competition



QUESTIONS:

On what day is National Women's Day?

Which dealer is supplying the Fiat Uno?

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I agree to abide by the rules of the competition

Signature:

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Four questions that will help you form the only opinion of the ANC that matters.

Your own.

1. The State President

Under the ANC, the State President will be

- a) available for re-election only once
- b) available for re-election only twice
- c) elected for life, subject to a resolution passed by a two-thirds majority of both houses of the National Assembly —

2. Freedom of Media

"The ANC will ensure that the SABC is fully dedicated to upholding the policies of a new democratic government, namely that reporting be fair, balanced and free of racial, cultural or gender bias."

- Is this statement True
- False

How well do
you know the ANC?

Take this test.

Compare your answers to those at the bottom of the page. Surprised?

Then we urge you to read our Policy Brochures.

Because it's only when you know where we stand that you can honestly decide where you stand.

3. The Police

ANC policy states that, in principle, a portion of the police force should be drawn from the ranks of the ANC. Ideally, this portion should be

- a) at least a third
- b) no more than half
- c) fully two-thirds

4. The Law

"To ensure the law is fairly applied to all members of society, the judicial bench should consist of men drawn from all sections of the community."

Which part of this statement is inconsistent with the ANC's official constitutional policy on the importance of a balanced and representative judiciary?



NOW IS THE TIME TO BE INFORMED

For your copy of the ANC Policy Documents, post this coupon to the ANC Department of Information and Publicity, P.O. Box 61884, Marshalltown 2107.

Please enclose a cheque or money order payable to the ANC, R10,00 each or R35,00 for five including VAT, packaging and postage.

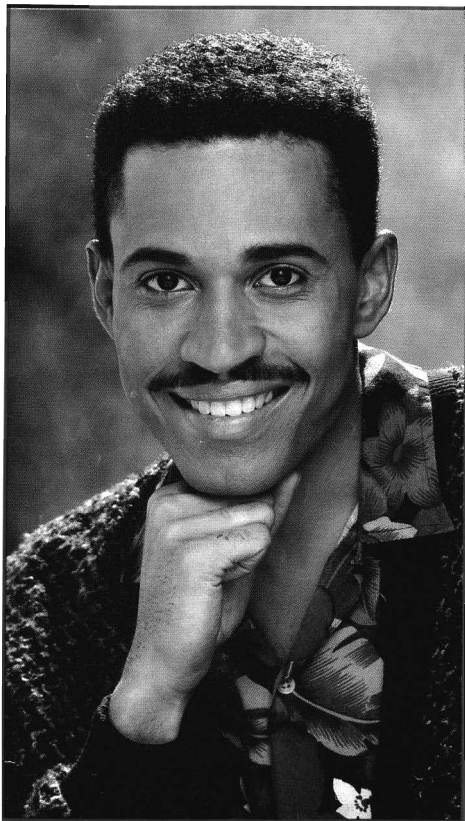
Name

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- Policing in the new South Africa
- Ready to govern Constitutional principles
- Regional policy Bill of rights

Proof that So Curl is best



Anthony Smith is a reputable African American businessman. His home is in Pasadena, Los Angeles, California, USA. He is a well travelled man with contacts in both Europe, Asia and Africa. His knowledge of black cosmetics, hair care products in particular, is beyond doubt.

During his recent visit to South Africa we asked him to try our new So Curl for long lasting curls. His response was overwhelming, "Right on brothers . . . Right on . . . You compare with the best in America. I mean you are the best," he responded with enthusiasm.

We are not surprised by Mr Smith's endorsement of our products. Our new So Curl is another example of our commitment to product quality. A designer sculpting Gel and a no drip Spray that gives hair a wet look yet maintains hair curly and dry looking.

After Mr Smith's overwhelming endorsement of our new So Curl need we say more about our wide range of hair care products? Yes, one final word, "Thank you Mr Smith."

You can ask Anthony Smith about our new So Curl or better still try it yourself. It is available at all leading hair salons and retail outlets countrywide.

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