

MK - THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

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The image shows the cover of a VHS tape titled "MK THE PEOPLE'S ARMY". The cover is divided into several sections. At the top, the title "MK THE PEOPLE'S ARMY" is written in large, bold, black letters. Below the title, there is a photograph of two men in military uniforms, one of whom is saluting. To the left of the title, there is a graphic of the letters "MK" with a figure running through them. Below the title, there is a yellow banner with the ANC logo and the text "MK THE PEOPLE'S ARMY". To the right of the banner, there is a "PAL VHS" logo. Below the banner, there is a quote from the MK Manifesto dated December 1961. To the right of the quote, there is a paragraph of text. Below the text, there is a photograph of a group of people in military uniforms. To the right of the photograph, there is a logo for "MK The People's Army" and contact information for the Department of Information and Publicity Video Unit.

MK
THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

ANC

MK
THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

PAL VHS

THE challenges that MK set for itself in 1961:

• The time comes in the life of a nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. The time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

MK Manifesto December 1961

This documentary is a tribute to all the gallant sons and daughters of our country who sacrificed their lives for the noble cause of freedom and democracy. Their sacrifice was not in vain.

MK
The People's Army

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MAYIBUYE

December 1993

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MK: END OF AN ERA

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MAYIBUYE

Volume 4, No 10 • December 1993

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• 16 Profile: Sibongile Khumalo

The editorial team of MAYIBUYE wishes our readers well over the festive season. There will be no January issue. See you in February.

People's Forums

On 6 November, the ANC started a People's Forum campaign which has introduced a new culture into election politics. The idea has caught like wildfire. The demand for sufficient housing, proper facilities like water, schools and roads featured prominently side by side with complaints about lack of policing.



A New Dawn at dawn

Future historians will muse on the anti-climax of a climax that was barely noticed: that fateful night when leaders across the colour and political divide finally turned the key and opened the door to democracy. At dawn they emerged, confident that South Africa was entering a new era.

There was pomp and ceremony. Some of it falling flat given the odd hour. But this did not subtract from the solemnity of the occasion; its epoch-making character.

Often, immersed in our day-to-day chores, the sense of occasion eludes us. Thus we tend not to notice the contrast: the wars of past centuries; decades of repression and peaceful protest; armed struggle; and, since 1990, talks-about-talks that seemed to have no end.

And on 18 November, a white minority government finally conceded that that past should be put behind us. Concrete steps towards majority rule have now been agreed upon.

While magnanimity might discourage those who have been at the receiving end of racist terror from beating their chests, at least they can say: all the sacrifices were not in vain.

In 1989, more particularly, the ANC gave the lead on the concrete measures needed to achieve democracy through negotiations:

- free political activity;
- multi-party talks to agree on transitional mechanisms;

- elections for a constitution-making body; and
- interim government during the transition.

This has, to all intents and purposes, been achieved. There is much more detail and there have been compromises: a convoluted interim constitution spanning over a hundred-and-fifty pages; a multi-party cabinet for five years, and so on. All this is an accurate reflection of the actual balance on the ground. Numbers and well-equipped armies have something to do with it. But central is the victory of legitimacy over illegitimacy.

The upshot of some of the detail, ANC negotiators will correctly argue, is that on issues such as land restitution, the democratic movement achieved what it had hoped to realise only after the adoption of a new democratic constitution.

Yet we dare not forget that everything is still on paper. The interim constitution still has to be passed by the white parliament. Structures to supervise elections still have to start working. There are the blood-thirsty ones who chose to stay out. Above all, there is an election to be won, if these achievements are to be transformed into a living reality.

And when this is done, the elected representatives will need to start delivering. This is the real make-or-break issue. But, at the same time, attention should not veer from a goal yet unfulfilled: a real democratic constitution reflecting the will of the electorate which will have, at last, spoken. ♦

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Readers speak out

INTERIM CONSTITUTION FLAWED

Sir,

As "D" Day rapidly approaches for all South Africans, it is our democratic duty to carefully examine all the proposals now being negotiated at the World Trade Centre.

Political change in SA is necessary in order to transform or restructure the political component of society into a political system which can achieve the normative goals of a better balance between democratic political participation of all citizens in governmental processes, the maintenance of law, order and security for everybody and a better redistribution of scarce resources among all citizens while maintaining a satisfactory level of economic growth in the country.

It is generally accepted that drastic and substantial changes will have to be brought about to address the need for political change adequately. The present interim draft constitution contains numerous flaws which must be corrected as a matter of urgency:

- The entrenchment of a constitutional state. According to the draft

constitution, if the elected Constitutional Assembly cannot agree on a new constitution by a two-thirds majority, a new constitution could, after further procedures, be adopted by a 51 percent majority in the government. That constitution need not be subject to the interim Bill of Rights or a Constitutional Court.

- The granting of significant powers to regions (SPRs). The draft interim constitution does not entrench the granting of significant powers to regions. They are given only the following relatively insignificant powers: town planning, fire-fighting and other protection services, language policy, road traffic, delivery of water, electricity and other essential services, gambling, regional transport, SPR roads, SPR media, SPR tourism and SPR cultural affairs.

The central government is given final authority (concurrent power) with regard to local government, civil service, policing, health, education, cultural affairs and finance.

I strongly support the entrenchment of the following exclusive powers to regions: local government, civil service, health, education, policing, cultural affairs and finance. If negotiators are not prepared to entrench these powers now, why should they concede them when the new government is in power?

The central government should have the right to collect taxes and have exclusive power over control of borders, foreign affairs, finance between regions, while residual power rests with the regions.

Regionalism of this nature makes leaders more accountable, devolves power and caters for cultural diversity. It is critical to peace in SA. If the entire country profits, who loses?

- The constitutional court. The suggested model of selecting constitutional court judges gives power to a parliamentary committee and will make it possible for alleged human rights abuses to be adjudged by virtual government appointees. This makes a mockery of a Bill of Rights and of a negotiated constitution. I reject this model and call for a political and judicial method of appointment.

It is both our duty and mission that all those who inhabit the Southern tip of Africa must never cease to struggle to retain a democratic and non-racial SA, and to observe the importance of maintaining constitutional safeguards.

FA, Benoni.

APPLICATION FOR AN ID

I am a South African citizen from Venda. I hereby wish to apply for an ID. I have a Venda one which I want to change. I did go to the Department of Home Affairs to change it but they refused. They said Venda is not under

SA as it is an independent country. So help me as soon as possible as I would like to vote.

If you do process ID applications please do inform me so that I can send you ID photos and my particulars.

AM, Mayfair

Ed: Contact the ANC PWV regional office at Lancet Hall, 207 Jeppe Street, Johannesburg. It is your right to have South African citizenship and ID. But De Klerk's government refuses to extend this right to TBVC "citizens". However, you can use the Venda ID to vote on 27 April.

PUBLISH THESE POEMS

Dear sir

In my spare time I write poetry in the Afrikaans spoken by people in so-called coloured areas. My poetry is directed at this community. I see it as part of making this community aware that they, and myself, are part of the oppressed people of this country and that it is time to associate with the liberation movement. I therefore request you to publish my two poems.

Furthermore, I am concerned that the ANC can do much more to get support from "coloured" communities by implementing correct measures. One of these is to launch an Afrikaans newspaper like the now defunct *Grassroots*. This newspaper can be one such tool to expose NP lies. The ANC should take this initiative by funding such a newspaper.

OPPOSE BUTHELEZI'S FEDERALISM

Dear sir

I think the time has come to stop Buthelezi from dominating Natal. He wants Natal to be a federal state under his autocratic rule. I think we Natalians must start acting before our brothers, countrywide, support us.

The government of SA must take control of KwaZulu and dissolve the KwaZulu National Assembly. Now is the time to oppose a federal Natal, ruled by Buthelezi. If federalism succeeds we, Natalians, will sooner or later be called upon to face the full power of Inkatha on our own and that we may well have to do so before we have time to equip ourselves to fight Inkathism.

Now the Rhino asks five rands from his subjects in KwaZulu. If he's in desperate need of money, why didn't he take the money offered to him in 1979 during the funeral of Robert Sobukwe in Graaff-Reinet?

Now is the time for Dr Mandela to rule a united SA. Away with the Rhino of Ulundi, the Tiger of Mmabatho and the Butcher of Bisho.

GKN, Koekemoer.



OPEN LETTER TO CHIEF MG BUTHELEZI

Dear sir

We are the concerned community of Nquthu under Chief Zakhe Ngobese. We've been living very peacefully during the reign of the late Chief Mdonswa Ngobese (father to the present chief). Ever since Chief Zakhe took over there's been stock thefts and senseless killings (by faceless killers) in the area.

It started when the chief allowed people from the Tugela Ferry to settle in the area.

Furthermore, he forbade free political activity. No other political organisation, other than the IFP, is permitted to function in Nquthu. You dare question that you'll be maimed! Whoever

opposes this, the chief has the audacity to "expel" that person from "his" land.

We would also like to make Chief MG Buthelezi aware of the fact that the chief is running his own private hit squad. These are the people who carry out these brutal killings in the area. We've got proof. We are concerned because those faceless killers are paid by our taxes.

Unless Chief MG takes drastic steps to curb this anarchy, Nquthu will soon be like Beirut.

PZ & SSK, Nquthu.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate our President, Nelson Mandela, for winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

TEJ, Sunnyside

Ed: Due to space constraints, we haven't been able to publish your two

poems in this edition but will try to create space in future editions. We'll also pass them on to some of the literary journals we know.

GREETING CARDS

Dear sir

I think it is time the ANC's Marketing

Department considered printing greeting cards, good wishes cards, which celebrate important days of our struggle. Birthday and condolence cards may also be needed.

Surely, the ANC has a wealth of material from which to obtain the necessary wording for the cards.

The people shall celebrate!

SS, Winterton. ♦

Write to:

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Johannesburg 2107



N**E****W****S****roundup**

Tow the line, bantustans warned

If any of the TBVC states or self-governing territories failed to cooperate in their own dissolution the "tanks will roll in", senior African National Congress official Mathew Phosa warned.

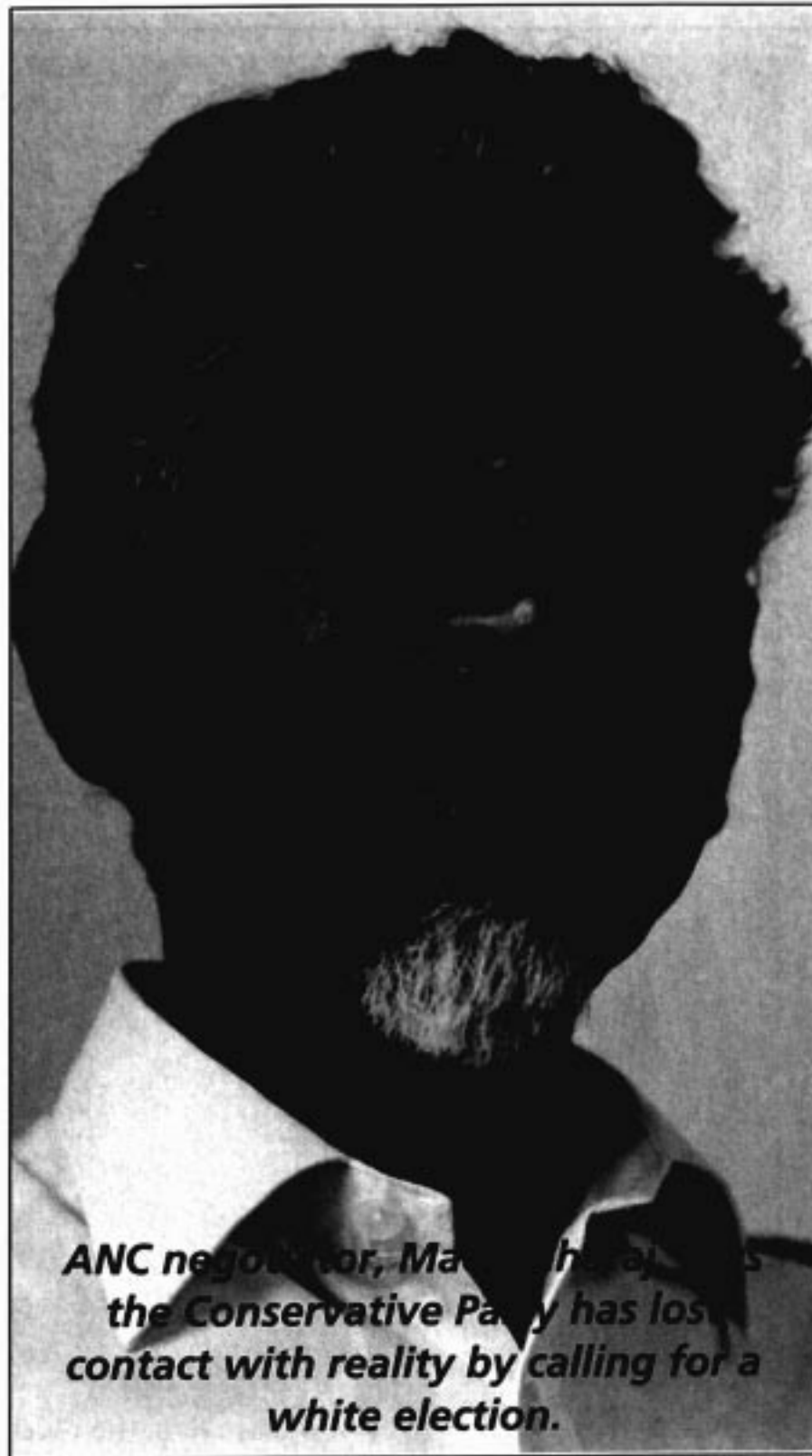
The rightwing Freedom Alliance was also warned by South African Communist Party Chairperson Joe Slovo that, if its actions led to the spilling of blood, the government would have a duty to meet such actions "with resolve".

Speaking at a news conference by ANC/SACP negotiators, Slovo said the right wing had a right to mobilise in the political sphere against the agreements reached at multiparty negotiations.

"What we object to is the underlying threat from the leaders of the Freedom Alliance that, if they don't get their way, they will use force. If it comes to that and they continue to threaten to spill blood, it is the duty of the government to meet that threat with resolve."

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj rejected Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's call for a white election. "He is losing contact with reality. A white election will never take place in South Africa again and it is impossible for their demand to be realised."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa told the conference that, if the TBVC states and self-governing territories failed to cooperate by participating in the 27 April elections, certain clauses in the interim constitution would have to be invoked and the "law would have to take its course".



ANC negotiator, Mac Maharaj, says the Conservative Party has lost contact with reality by calling for a white election.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has wide-ranging powers to ensure everyone had the right to campaign and to vote.

The interim constitution makes provision for the scrapping of the Status of Self-governing Territories Act and the Acts governing the independent status of the TBVC states. This would be legislated during the November sitting of Parliament.

Phosa said the activities of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and other structures would include levelling the playing fields throughout the country, including the TBVC states.

"If the process is undermined, the relevant authorities must be empowered to expedite (the implementation of) the relevant provisions of the (interim) constitution. We are not in a helpless situation.

If the only option left to us is to roll in the tanks, then that is what we will do."

Valli Moosa said the TEC would probably hold its first meeting within two weeks and preparations for its work have already begun.

They hoped to establish the IEC and Independent Media Commission (IMC) before the Christmas break so they could be "up and running" by the New Year.

Peace Day II

January 1 has been declared National Peace Day by Cosatu and business. Thousands of special peace T-shirts will be manufactured by South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactwu) members for the occasion.

"The idea of manufacturing local peace T-shirts stems from work-

ers who want to contribute towards peace in our country," said Sactwu General Secretary, Ebrahim Patel.

The T-shirts will be sold for R10.00, and the money used to fund peace structures.

New corruption unveiled

The De Meyer and Parsons Commissions have revealed extensive corruption in Lebowa and the former KwaNdebele administration, running into millions of rands. Fraud, theft, tax evasion and unnecessary expenditure – found in virtually every department of the homelands – are just some of the cases uncovered.

Some of the funds were used on lavish parties, including a R180

000 welcome home party for KwaNdebele's chief minister, for which departments coughed up R10 000 each.

The then KwaNdebele Police spent R300 000 on pantihose and buttons, and ministers generally lived in luxury. In Lebowa ministers became the owners of state cars after using them for 18 months.

Bribery was also rife in the bantustans, with officials being paid by contractors to consider their contracts favourably. Reports have been handed to the attorney general, who will decide whether to prosecute individuals.

Will central government appoint commissions to investigate its own departments' corruption with the same vigour?

Get your ID!

The government has agreed to foot the bill for ID photographs for those who cannot afford them. This means that ID books are within reach of all South Africans – provided that they can get to the relevant government offices.

The Home Affairs department plans to spend R3,5 million on an awareness campaign aimed at encouraging people to get their ID books in time for the 27 April election. The ANC has already launched its own ID book campaign.

Meanwhile, the Bophuthatswana government has warned people living in the bantustan that they may not get South African ID books, as the homeland will not tolerate "dual citizenship".

Local democracy in sight

The Local Government Negotiation Forum (LGNF) has so far succeeded in doing what the national negotiators failed to do: keeping the Conservative Party-aligned Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) within its fold. But the TMA's continued participation comes with a price: the ANC and South African National Civic

Organisation (Sanco) have agreed, in the transition, to give traditionally white, coloured and Indian areas a greater say in local government than their numbers warrant.

This will be done by guaranteeing that half the seats allocated to councillors elected by wards (30 percent of the vote) are reserved for "established" white, Indian and coloured areas.

The ANC and Sanco have also agreed to give local councils more time to "democratise" than originally demanded.

However, ANC local government negotiator Billy Cobbett points out that, if final agreement on local transformation can be struck with the TMA, the TMA will then be obliged to implement the agreement. This would mean the TMA would have to ensure that its white local authority members set up transitional councils with their black neighbours.

Transitional councils are to be replaced by elected councils by the end of 1994. Forty percent of councillors will be elected by proportional representation, while the other 60 percent will be drawn from wards.

Once the interim constitution, which devotes a chapter to local government, has been enacted by parliament, the ANC and Sanco will campaign for an end to the rent and service boycott. Townships in the Transvaal alone owe R1,4 billion for services.

Spoiler Buthelezi plans revenge

KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi has vowed that he and his followers would resist the implementation of the new interim constitution.

Buthelezi is calling a special meeting of Inkatha to decide what the party should do. And Inkatha officials continue to force Zulu speakers to contribute to the party's coffers.

The money is used to train and arm "self-protection" units. There are indications that Inkatha

intends to contest the election – with or without Buthelezi.

During the recent tour of Natal, ANC President Nelson Mandela warned the bantustan that it would be "finished" after the 27 April election. Mandela also warned KwaZulu cops that they would not be included in a future police force if they had been involved in "killing our people".

Meanwhile, Ciskei has approached the ANC for talks about its future and Bophuthatswana has indicated it would not be prepared to resist the new constitution with violence.

Sanco supports ANC

Sanco's biggest region, the Southern Transvaal, has voted to support the ANC in the forthcoming elections. The region is confident that its decision will be adopted nationally.

Sanco's Regional Secretary, Dan Mofokeng, said his organisation had decided to support the ANC on the basis of the ANC's commitment to a Reconstruction Accord.

Meanwhile, Sanco has issued its own draft Reconstruction and Development Accord. This focusses mainly on housing, economic reconstruction, transforming financial institutions and rural development.

Sanco wants a new constitution to recognise housing as a basic right. It also wants a new government to help set up community finance institutions to help the poor get access to loans. ♦

A victory for democracy

he framework for the transition to democracy has been adopted. Lest this sounds familiar – haven't many said this after Codesa I and II? – this now includes details and relevant legislation.

Most delegates could themselves not fully savour the moment, half-awake as they were. But perhaps, at plenary, they could afford to do so, because most of the nitty-gritty was settled in bilateral meetings and the Negotiating Council earlier on. The plenary was billed for the afternoon of Wednesday 17 November. But many issues had to be resolved before it could start (see story on page 13).

CRUCIAL FOR ELECTIONS

The package now adopted completes the set of issues that were supposed to be concluded before the transition could really start. Parliament had already endorsed Transitional Executive Council (TEC), Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority legislation – the first three of which are crucial for elections.

What has now been settled are, firstly the law on elections; and secondly, repeal of re-

Well into the wee hours of the morning of Thursday 18 November, delegates at the World Trade Centre were still adopting the framework for the transition. Now, practical work can start, writes a correspondent.

pressive and discriminatory legislation. This completes the pre-election scenario. Thirdly, the interim constitution which deals with how the country will be run after elections and how the democratic constitution will be drafted.

The ANC has fought for this process over the past four years. Central has been the demand that the new democratic constitution should be

drafted by elected representatives of the people. And for these elections to be free and fair, none of the parties or administrations should act as referee and player.

There were, however, modifications and compromises on some questions. The five-year multi-party cabinet, a regional dispensation that would be difficult to change on the part of the Constitutional Assembly (CA), and so on.

However, most of this does not seriously impact on the sovereignty of the CA, nor does it change the basic principle of a transition in which the mass of the people have a major say.

FINAL CONSTITUTION

There is much detail in the interim constitution. Some of it has been blown up beyond proportions. This has tended to subtract from the fact that this is a constitution with a short life-span – essentially not more than two years – to see to proper government while the final constitution is being drafted. Soon the central issue will be the content of the new democratic constitution on the basis of election results.

But before then, the task is to set in place the TEC and other pre-election structures and ensure that the political field is levelled in all corners of the country. ♦



At dawn – no holds barred as delegates celebrate a great victory.

The eleventh hour:



Part of the ANC delegation at plenary. Front row: Mandela and Ramaphosa. Sitting behind them are Mbeki and Modise.

The 17 November plenary session was delayed by many hours because there were a number of difficult questions to resolve. Those hours were as crucial as decades of possible conflict.

The transitional package was almost complete. Deadlines had been set and a day's postponement would have wrought havoc on leaders' schedules and, more important, the deadline for parliament.

Yet, conventional tactics have it that the most difficult issues are left for resolution last. They had been explored in many ANC/NP bilaterals to no avail.

It was at this moment that Mandela and De Klerk were drafted in. And if they could not find solutions, then everything would come crumbling down like a house of cards.

What were the issues and why were they so difficult?

1. DECISION-MAKING IN CABINET:

A balance had to be struck between reconciliation and executive paralysis. NP wanted high majorities. ANC feared that this would mean a veto by small parties. Finally it was agreed: strive for consensus but this should not prevent effective government.

Verdict: The NP accepted the normal convention.

2. TIME FRAME FOR GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY (GNU):

ANC spokespersons had all along said GNU would last until elections, "about 3 to 5 years". In other words,

When everything balanced on a knife-edge

elections could be called after the adoption of the new constitution, resulting, under new conditions, in changed proportions in parliament and cabinet. Now, while the new constitution (with the GNU provision) will immediately come into force, elections will be held only after five years, except if there is a deadlock in constitution-making or if parliament loses confidence in the cabinet.

Verdict: ANC negotiators call it a nuance, but the vagueness is gone.

3. BOUNDARIES AND POWERS OF REGIONS:

An earlier Codesa approach was that regional representatives would have a special role to play on regional matters. This fell by the way-side as the interim constitution evolved. Now, all provisions of the constitution will still require a CA two-thirds majority and, for these regional matters, a further two-thirds of the Senate.

Verdict: Back to the Codesa tentative common approach.



At plenary: Advocate Dikgang Moseneke member of the technical committee which drafted the Interim Constitution (left) and leader of the Transkei delegation General Bantu Holomisa

4. REGIONAL CONSTITUTIONS:

The ANC had been opposed to regional constitutions being adopted before the final democratic constitution, and without CA approval. NP wanted them even before elections. Now, regional constitutions can be adopted by elected regional legislatures on condition that they are consistent with Constitutional Principles and the operational national constitution.

Verdict: Win-win.

5. DEADLOCK-BREAKING ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION:

ANC proposed two-thirds in the CA, then referendum with 60 percent majority and then elections and 50 percent plus one in the CA. NP wanted two-thirds all along the line. Disadvantage of ANC proposal is that it would have resulted in a constitution rejected by almost half of the population. Disadvantage of NP proposal is that it would have resulted in a vicious cycle and encouraged minority parties to stall. Now 60 percent is agreed upon as the required majority in the referendum and in the CA after the deadlock-breaking elections.

Verdict: A happy settlement. In any case, if a constitution cannot be approved by 60 percent of the population in a referendum then there's something wrong with it!

6. NUMBER OF BALLOT PAPERS:

All the small parties, including the PAC and the NP, fought for two ballot papers – national and regional. This, they argued, would allow voters to choose different parties for regional and national legislatures. ANC opposed this on the grounds that it would confuse first-time and illiterate voters and thus undermine the whole democratic process. Now there will be one ballot paper but small parties can transfer votes to an ally at national level or in regions where they are weak.

Verdict: Victory for all concerned, especially voters.

Other difficult issues such as the army and police had been resolved before D-day. Firstly, this was a result of the SADF abandoning attempts to legitimise itself as the national army to absorb all others after elections. On the other hand, Kriel, without the support of even the SAP, wanted as many different police forces as there are regions. This was rejected in favour of a national force and regional accountability.

And the new names? South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and South African Police Service (SAPS). But the content will certainly be much more of a departure from the current norm.

Then there was the Democratic Party which was against a black president and a democratically-elected cabinet playing a major role in the appointment of the Constitutional Court (CC). The CC will resolve constitutional disputes and enforce human rights. The DP demanded a process that is seen to be non-partisan.

It is now agreed that the President will still appoint the Chief Justice of the CC, appoint 4 of the 10 members in consultation with the Chief Justice, and the rest on the recommendation of the independent Judicial Service Commission. If s/he does not like the recommendations, s/he can send them back. This is much closer to the ANC's own policy position, and it does not change the essence.

Sometimes individual pieces in a jigsaw puzzle seem unrelated. So it is in negotiations. And when the going was really tough, trade-offs became the norm. Thus, for instance, the apparent "compromise" to the DP on the CC opened the way to entice them to accept a single ballot paper – allowing for sufficient consensus on the issue.

Hopefully, the process in the Constitutional Assembly will be less complicated and more principled. Especially that the people will have made their choice; and the noisy "small players" left savouring their small games outside parliament. ♦

"June 16 was an important landmark in the history of the armed struggle. It brought into the ranks of MK thousands of angry young people. Clearly these young people were determined never again to allow the regime to enjoy the monopoly of violence."
— The late Chris Hani, former Commissar and Chief-of-Staff of MK.



It was the 1960 massacre of unarmed protesters and the subsequent outlawing of the ANC and PAC that shattered all hopes of achieving freedom through peaceful means alone.

The tactic preferred at that initial stage was sabotage. Given the long history of non-violence, the sabotage campaign aimed to demonstrate practically the break with the non-violent past and give confidence to the people in their ability to engage the enemy. It was also an appeal to the apartheid government, even at that last hour, to let reason prevail and change the course it was leading the country and the sub-continent into.

EXILE

The regime's answer was all-out war. A myriad of draconian laws were passed. Detention without trial and brutal torture – leading to death in many cases – became the norm. Scores were thrown into jail and many driven into exile.

The most severe blow was the capture of Nelson Mandela and other leaders at Rivonia and their subsequent life imprisonment. The task of rebuilding the ANC inside fell on the exiled leadership and cadres.

Umkhonto we Sizwe had to find ways of bringing back its soldiers who had acquired military skills and the art of revolu-

MK: End of an era

Bomb blasts in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban announced the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe on 16 December 32 years ago. December 16 1993 will be the last anniversary of the people's army in its present form as the country prepares for the first ever non-racial election and the integration of the various armed forces.

tionary warfare. Numerous attempts to come back – by land, water and air – were made. The 1967/68 Wankie/ Sipolilo campaign in the then Rhodesia was one such attempt.

ARMED STRUGGLE

June 16 1976, in particular, was, in the words of the late Chris Hani, former Commissar and Chief-of-Staff of MK, "an important landmark in the history of the armed struggle. It brought into the ranks of MK thousands of angry young people. Clearly these young people were determined never again to allow the regime to enjoy the monopoly of violence."

The attacks on Moroka, Boyseens, Orlando and police stations, Sasol, Voortrekkerhoogte and Koeberg are but a few in the catalogue of MK's heroic operations of that period.

MK remained an important pillar in the multi-pronged strategy of the ANC which eventually led to the unbanning of political organisations and the current negotiations process.

Now, MK will be assembling in camps in preparation for integration into the new South African National Defence Force. Others will immediately be drafted into the National Peace-keeping Force. MAY-IBUYE examines the implications of the developments. ♦

A new defence force: The melting

pot

Interview with Joe
Modise, MK's
Army Commander.

MAYIBUYE: How far is the process of integrating the armed forces and what are the snags?

JM: Integration, as far as the ANC is concerned, will only take place after the elections. But preparations are expected to begin long before that. What is holding the process up is the creation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Once established, under it there will be a sub-council for defence which will set up a Joint Military Coordinating Council (JMCC). This body will be charged with the task of planning and preparing for integration. It will suggest the size and recommend policy for the new defence force. It will also look into the various arms of the force, determine the type of training, syllabus and programme.

MAYIBUYE: What force levels are envisaged?

JM: The first step is to bring all the forces together, ie the SADF, MK, Apla, and the armies of the TBVC states. These will form the national defence force. Then there will be rationalisation to meet the required force level.

The force level is the subject of discussion for the JMCC. It will examine details and report to the sub-council for defence. This will be further processed by the TEC after exchanges with the sub-council. Naturally the size of the army, as a recommendation from the TEC, will be decided by the future democrat-

ic government. The armies of the TBVC states differ in size but the idea is to take all of them initially.

The figure that is being considered for the entire defence force is plus-minus 70 000.

MAYIBUYE: How do you assess the level of training of MK, up to officer level, compared to the SADF?

JM: There is a big difference. MK has been trained as an irregular army while the SADF is regular. We do have a number of officers trained in regular warfare, many of whom have been trained in academies with a very high reputation. Many have been trained in the Soviet Union.

MAYIBUYE: Following up on that, how are you going to standardise training and weaponry?

JM: The JMCC, which will be representative of all armed formations, will set up various technical groups, one of which will work on the syllabus. In this exercise we would also like to

involve the international community.

We as the ANC have already approached the British and others to advise us through this stage. Left to ourselves, we think there would be a lot of complications. The response from those we have approached has been positive. We are also basing ourselves on the Zimbabwean and Namibian experiences. ♦



Publicity shy James Skhosane (codename) is a rare black South African.

He is a qualified helicopter gunship pilot. He flies the MI-8, MI-25 and MI-35.



Conversation with an MK helicopter gun-ship pilot

His group left for the Soviet Union in 1987 and underwent a four-year course in aviation.

The selection of cadres for the helicopter pilot course was made from MK cadres who had either undergone basic military training or had been in the ranks for a while. Other criteria were physical fitness, state of health, educational background, discipline and, of course, age.

"Upon arrival in the Soviet Union we were faced with the task of learning Russian. This was during the first year. We also underwent an introductory course in our various specialities, viz air traffic controllers, radar, engines, airframe, armaments and avionics technicians.

"At first the task seemed daunting but the patience of Soviet instructors and their dedication to us helped tremendously. We appreciated that very much," says James.

BEST AMONGST GROUPS

After the first year, he says, their group proved to be one of the best amongst groups from other countries. There were groups from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Madagascar, Nigeria, Algeria, Libya, GDR, Hungary, Vietnam and Laos, to mention a few.

"We acted as role models for other African groups. Our discipline and endurance fascinated the institution's administration and the various groups. They held us in high esteem. And it was only discipline and determination which made us achieve what we did," he says.

On their stay in the Soviet Union, James describes it as an experience the group shall treasure for the rest of their lives.

"The morale of the group was ever high, despite the problems we encountered. Life out there was extremely difficult: away from home, your people and loved ones, financial problems, etc. We managed to adapt and the school authorities tried to make us feel at home. I'm really thankful for the education and assistance we received."

QUALIFICATIONS AND SKILLS

Unemployed at the moment, James exudes hope and optimism. He is looking forward to the day when the various armed formations in the country, that is the SADF, MK, Apla and the armies of the TBVC states will be integrated. He refuses completely to be drawn into the politics of integration but is ready for the next order to put his qualifications and skills into use in the new army of a democratic South Africa.

"The knowledge gained from the Soviet Airforce is very valuable to us as a liberation movement. We hope that it will be put into use in the very near future in a post-apartheid South Africa," he says.

TECHNOLOGY

Won't conversion cause any difficulties – that is switching over from Eastern to Western technology?

"Not really," he says, "today technology is the same wherever you go. And pilots are just like drivers. If you can drive one car you can drive any other.

"As a matter of fact Russian aviation technology is very advanced. With the solid foundation one has presently, I see no problems whatsoever in converting," he concludes. ♦

MK and the National Peace-keeping Force

The elections will be meaningless if they are not free from intimidation. And all agree that a non-partisan force will be necessary to ensure this.

The present security forces lack the legitimacy to effectively deal with political violence. In fact they are perceived to be part of the problem.

There is also no armed formation or security force which will be capable of playing the role of peacekeeper solely on its own since acceptability, legitimacy and neutrality are critical in the functioning of any peacekeeping force.

The international community will not, for numerous reasons, send a peacekeeping force to South Africa. The primary role they have identified for themselves is monitoring. Monitoring on its own, however, cannot resolve the problem. It has to be complemented by effective peacekeeping operations on the ground.

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

It is against this background that MK proposes the creation of a National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF), comprising of all the relevant armed formations in negotiations. The NPKF will have the responsibility of dealing with the unacceptable level of political violence, thereby creating the necessary climate for free and fair elections.

It will consist of all elements party to the negotiating process and who can legitimately account for the existence of their armed forces or/and security structures. Elements of the following forces should be included in the NPKF: SADF and SAP, MK, Apla, KZP and the security forces of other bantustan administrations.

The NPKF will be responsible and accountable to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The TEC will establish a National Peacekeeping Committee (NPKC), which, in turn, will be responsible for practically establishing the NPKF and run it on a day to day basis.

The NPKC will consist of individuals from the international community, National Peace Accord structures, the Churches and other religious institutions, reputable members of the public and



experts on peace-keeping. It should be chaired by someone from the international community, who will be appointed in consultation with the TEC.

SUBSTITUTE

The NPKF will be established by the passing of relevant legislation defining its objectives, mission and mandate. Such legislation will emanate from the TEC. It will not be a substitute for the SAP or SADF and will not form the basis of the future National Defence Force.

For it to be distinct in its role and function, it must

have its own uniform and insignia. The SADF should be confined to its conventional brief and the SAP to law enforcement. The NPKF will liaise with all relevant structures: civic, political, security/law enforcement agencies, government, etc to facilitate its work and establish trust and confidence. It will have powers of arrest.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION

The NPKF's most senior structure will be a Command Element (CE), with one commander at its head. The CE will be established by the NPKC in consultation with the commander. Each military formation will have equal representation on the CE.

The commander may include additional staff officers from the international community to assist it. NPKF training will be supervised by the international community. The TEC will be responsible for providing finances and logistics, drawing upon the resources of all the formations in the NPKF.

The NPKF will exist up to the establishment of the Interim Government of National Unity which will then decide its future. ♦

Sibongile Khumalo

Born and bred in Soweto, Sibongile Khumalo has spent the better part of her adult life doing things that she loves: singing and teaching music.

She was doing matric when she decided to study music and train as a music teacher. She has a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in music from the University of Zululand and a BA honours in music from the University of the Witwatersrand.

After completing her studies Sibongile used to work as an administrator/music teacher at Funda Centre in Soweto and, for two years, was a member of the Imilonji Kantu choir.

It was by no means a mistake that she ended up as a performing artist. Her family background has very strong roots in music. "I grew up in a home where all kinds of music were played and appreciated. We were exposed to classical music. We would listen to Beethoven, Bach and others," she reminisces.

Sibongile loves what she's doing. "I often say at least now I get paid for what I like doing." And she gets a lot of satisfaction when people respond positively to her music.

"I feel grateful when people show that they understand what I'm saying through my music. It's sometimes a tricky thing. Audiences don't respond the same way, some people just sit there, gape and walk away from the music. And this is not because they don't appreciate the music but the way music touches them."

And generally she thinks her music has been well received across the board – black and white people relate to it. "I think it has to do somewhat with the

Sibongile Khumalo may be a superstar to music lovers but she sees herself as an ordinary South African woman with the usual kinds of aspirations and ambitions. Ntokozo Gwamanda spoke to her.



fact that I make music that tries to reach people as music. I don't go out of my way and make political statements. And that does not mean I'm not politically aware in my thinking."

Her advise to budding artists is simple: "There are no short-cuts. Even when people perform what is known as popular music or bubble-gum, it still got to be quality music. It's got to be music that ten, twenty years down the line people will still want to play. If you listen to music performed by Letta Mbulu and Miriam Makeba in the 70's now, it still means something. The way it was put together, arranged and the instruments done.

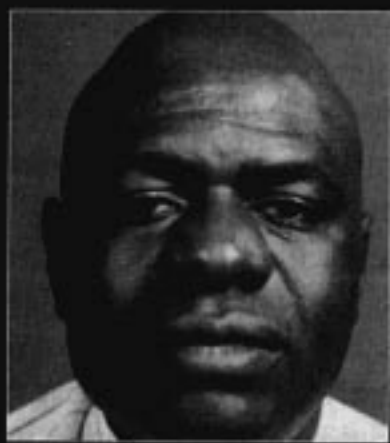
Making music is not just skin deep but it's got to have value. When you create music it must reach people, even if it's a dance tune. There must be an element which makes it value for money."

Her plans for the immediate future include taking a rest before the end of the year and, even more important, to release her first album which, she says, is coming soon. "I've been saying this for two years now but I feel more optimistic now than I did seven months ago," she adds.

And her message to MAYIBUYE readers: "I believe very strongly that with hope and a positive mind we can translate a lot of the pain, the hardships and the negative experiences that we've been having all along to the future. I'm not suggesting that people must turn the other cheek. But with putting our minds and focusing on drawing the best out of ourselves we can draw the best out of other people and, hopefully, we can be able to translate that into positive actions," she concluded. ♦

Storm in tea-cup?

By some weird way, the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre (WTC) had endorsed a clause entrenching employers' right to lock-out workers in exchange of workers' right to strike. As if that was not enough, the Technical Committee on constitutional matters proposed another clause virtually entrenching jobs and pensions of the civil servants in the interim constitution. Cosatu, in particular, saw red and both matters had to be reviewed. To find out what the real issues were, MAYIBUYE spoke to South African Communist Party (SACP) Head of the Department of Information and Publicity, **Jeremy Cronin**, and Cosatu Secretary General, **Sam Shilowa**.



Cosatu staged a huge demonstration outside the WTC and threatened to call a national strike on 15 November, 1993, in protest against the two clauses being entrenched in the constitution.

It was largely due to the intervention of the tripartite alliance that the two clauses were amended, and the strike was called off.

"Workers in a democratic society should be able to exercise a complete and unqualified right to strike for the purposes of collective bargaining without fear of dismissal," says Jeremy Cronin. This message was echoed by all in the ANC-led tripartite.

The alliance, however, is not opposed to employers using lock-outs as a limited defensive mechanism subject to regulation in parliament. A clear line of distinction needs to be made here: the right to strike is a fundamental human right and the right of employers to lock-out workers can, under no circumstances, be entrenched in the constitution for it's not a fundamental human right.

"Workers don't just go on strike for the fun of it. When they go on strike, they don't get paid and there's a possibility of losing their jobs and wages which support families, especially with over half of the population unemployed," explained Cronin.

Cosatu contends that there was no agreement of any sort to have the right to lock-out workers included in the Interim Constitution as a fundamental basic human right.

CHEAP POLITICS

"Employers presently have enormous powers in their hands through their property rights protection and subsidies from the government to ensure that they run their businesses efficiently. Both the government and the employers are trying to play cheap politics," said Shilowa.

"The reality of the situation is that the lock-out clause was formulated by a technical committee at the World Trade Centre. The ANC-SACP delegates at the talks accepted it on the wrong understanding that the clause was a product of the National Manpower Commission (NMC) – a forum made up of labour, employers and government representatives," added Shilowa.

Contrary to this, the issue was neither endorsed by the NMC itself nor any constitutional structure of Cosatu. "But beyond that, even at the time of its adoption earlier at the talks, both the ANC and the SACP made it clear that employers should not have the right to lock-out."

After a fierce exchange between the ANC and Cosatu, on the one hand, and employers and government, on the other, the clause was reformulated in favour of worker rights.

The agreement reached recognises workers' right to strike for purposes of collective bargaining and restricts employers' right to lock-out strikers subject to labour relations legislation.



Cosatu demonstration outside the World Trade Centre, protesting against clauses entrenching employers' right to lock-out workers and jobs and pensions of the civil servants in the interim constitution.

This is not the end, though. Cosatu will "continue the struggle inside and outside the Constitutional Assembly (CA) to ensure that in the final Bill of Rights workers have a full and unqualified right to strike for social, economic and political issues."

CIVIL SERVICE

On the restructuring of the civil service, Cronin said, it was important that the alliance took a position that the current civil service was bloated and needed major transformation.

The revised version of the clause merely ensures continuity of administration and provision of services. It

also goes further to guarantee pensions not only to the current civil servants but to all those who have made a contribution to the realisation of democracy in South Africa. The latter includes former political prisoners and exiles.

"In its upper echelons the civil service is overwhelmingly white, male, often corrupt and grossly overpaid," Jeremy Cronin observes. At the bottom of its hierarchy the majority of the workers are black and underpaid in schools, hospitals and municipalities.

"The civil service must become what its name says – a service – and less of a gravy train that it is at the moment. It must understand the needs and aspirations of the people and be accountable to the people it's meant to serve.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

"To reconstruct the civil service, a policy of affirmative action will need to be adopted. And there's a tendency to think affirmative ac-

tion is simply the promotion of blacks and demotion of whites for the sake of it," he said.

What seems to escape some people is the emphasis, which is not on promotion and demotion of individuals, but on the empowerment of people who have been systematically sidelined by the policy of apartheid.

Shilowa said Cosatu, as a labour movement, was against retrenchments and dismissals. He, however, added that the new government must be able to cancel contracts, promotions and massive salary increases should it find that they are fraught with irregularities. ♦

The days and nights are continuously boiling. Report-writing, phone-calls, conference preparations, debate on customary law ... it goes on and on, endlessly.

When the history of the ANC Women's League is written, the outgoing National Executive Committee led by Gertrude Shope and Albertina Sisulu will emerge as having been the hands that grabbed the bull by the horns. The full import of this statement can only come out of conference discussions of the major reports that will be presented to the National Conference at the University of Durban-Westville.

Be that as it may, some things need to be mentioned as part of reflecting on this tenure. Firstly, the outgoing leadership had to build the Women's League from scratch in terms of a physical office interlinking with its regions throughout the country. There were no procedures, policies or even structures at the end of the 1991 Kimberley Conference.

Days after the Kimberley conference the Women's League leadership was thrown by events into one of its most successful mass actions, taking up the issue of political prisoners.

CHALLENGING FEATURES

One of the most challenging features of the past two-and-a-half years has been the fact that each task loomed large and had to be treated with as much urgency and seriousness. The trickiest part has been to deploy the very scanty human resources in such a way that all tasks received adequate attention. Broadly the areas of work were:

- putting women on the national agenda;
- building a network with other women's formations;
- influencing ANC policy evolution and realisation of a non-sexist culture within the ANC while building and strengthening the Women's League on the ground.

In September 1991 the Women's League convened the first of a series of meetings which culminated in the launch of the Women's National

Women's League

The end of a turbulent term of office. This is how Baleka Kgositsile, Secretary General of the ANC Women's League, views the last three years, as the League prepares for its National Conference on 5-8 December.



Coalition in April 1992. Its specific mandate was to spearhead the campaign to collect the demands of South African women. A Charter of Women's Rights should result from this campaign – hopefully by the time the Constitutional Assembly sits.

The women's demonstration at the World Trade Centre on 1 April 1993 was the highlight of the

League's fight for women's involvement in the negotiations. Experience had left no doubt that, without women's direct participation at the talks, non-sexism would be light-years away. Our victories here by no means indicate that this struggle is over. But a lot of work has been done as some of the agreements prove. The question of focusing on

women will not only be left to the sub-council on the Status of Women. All sub-councils, commissions and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) itself must take a direct interest and responsibility for the most oppressed of our country.

GENDER-SENSITIVITY

The Women's League Policy Division saw to it that the ANC Policy Conference emerged with policy guidelines in which gender-sensitivity had been integrated section by section. Through this division, work has been done with other interested parties outside the ANC on evolving a culture of sensitivity towards the effects of sexual harassment at the workplace. A successful Tripartite Alliance Women's Workshop on Reconstruction was held at the end of September 1993.

Following the Kimberley Conference resolution to have a national training institute for women, the Women's League has opened the Malibongwe National Development Institute in the Border rural town of Stutterheim. The bigger challenge is to develop it – in terms of the content of courses and an efficient administrative infrastructure linked to other regions.

One of the tests the Women's League must fully undergo is to define a clear Code of Conduct. Is it more important to close ranks and turn a blind eye to internal weaknesses? As we talk of readiness to govern, to what extent have we applied a severe introspective eye and asked honest questions to arrive at long-lasting routes to the future? Does the carrying of an ANC card mean loyalty and true cadreship?

League members must play their part in answering these questions and helping the ANC define a new morality for this country. Only in that way can we avoid replacing a corrupt bunch of white masters by equally corrupt black ones.

What started as the Organising Division charged with supervising



*Top: Gertrude Shope;
Bottom: Albertina Sisulu,
the hands that grabbed the
bull by the horns.*

recruitment and organisation has now been transformed into the arm of the ANCWL that must deliver the women's vote to the ANC. After conference, this office must be the single most important centre of our work as all hands come on

deck to secure a decisive victory. As a result of the League's work, the ANC has publicly declared a policy of a minimum of 33,3 per cent women on its list for the National Assembly.

What will be the constraints posed by the ANC assuming governmental office on the Women's League's long-term mission towards women's emancipation? When will it be right for the League to strive for independence as opposed to autonomy? These are questions that need bold answers. A League still cooped up in the womb of the mother body might find it difficult not to be over-protective of the ruling party. In this case it would betray its constituency.

And a broad national organisation of women? This had been shelved since 1990 in favour of rebuilding ANC structures. The ANC Women's League has an important role to play in ensuring that women collectively pursue the ideal of a non-sexist society.

GREY HOUSEWIFE

Sometime in 1992 I heard the comment that the ANC Women's League had the image of the "grey housewife" of the ANC. I was disturbed. I wondered – for months – what the meaning of that comment was. The word "grey" featured quite a few times in another story by a woman journalist on the League's PWV 9 August commemoration. My relief came as I sat looking at our members of the Women's League at the Southern Natal AGM two months ago.

These were ordinary women – workers, unemployed women, domestic workers, women from rural backgrounds, township women etc. I felt proud of the diversity of our organisation. If the calibre of the membership we have in the regions gives us the colour grey, I am happy with our "greyness".

For now we're celebrating a victory won in the Negotiating Council. The clause on Customary Law has been deleted from the chapter on Fundamental Human Rights. ♦

Three roads to freedom Human rights and the ANC

Any movement that ignores the past does not deserve a future. Our history and our strategy have moulded the present and will give direction to the future. Only the ANC in our country has a consistent record of firmly trenching its tactics and policy on the demand for human rights and asserting this claim on the streets, in our factories and in the great revolts in the rural areas.

The golden thread that runs through our history and binds us one to another is not a mere propaganda claim, nor is it based simply on age – that we are the oldest mass-based liberation movement in Africa. We have been the engine of resistance and the fuel that has driven it are our basic policies with their inspiring themes which laid down a standard for us: a democratic vision and legitimacy.

Since 1955, the Freedom Charter has provided a set of founding principles on which a democratic South Africa must be built. As Dullar Omar has said, it became a beacon for further struggles. But the set of inclusive demands reflected in the Freedom Charter flow from a continuous and hard-fought tradition which produced the Charter.

THE TRADITION

The ANC was the first liberation movement in the world

which adopted a comprehensive Bill of Rights at its national congress on 16 December 1943. But as we mark this glorious anniversary, we must recall that our rights-based tradition goes even further, to the days when formal and legally entrenched racism was slowly making its way into the statute book.

It was when the first Hertzog government was in power, 70 years ago on 24 May 1923, that the annual conference adopted what was described as the “following declaration, statement or Bill of Rights”, at a time when the concept of a Bill of Rights had hardly entered the minds of most people, except in France and the United States.

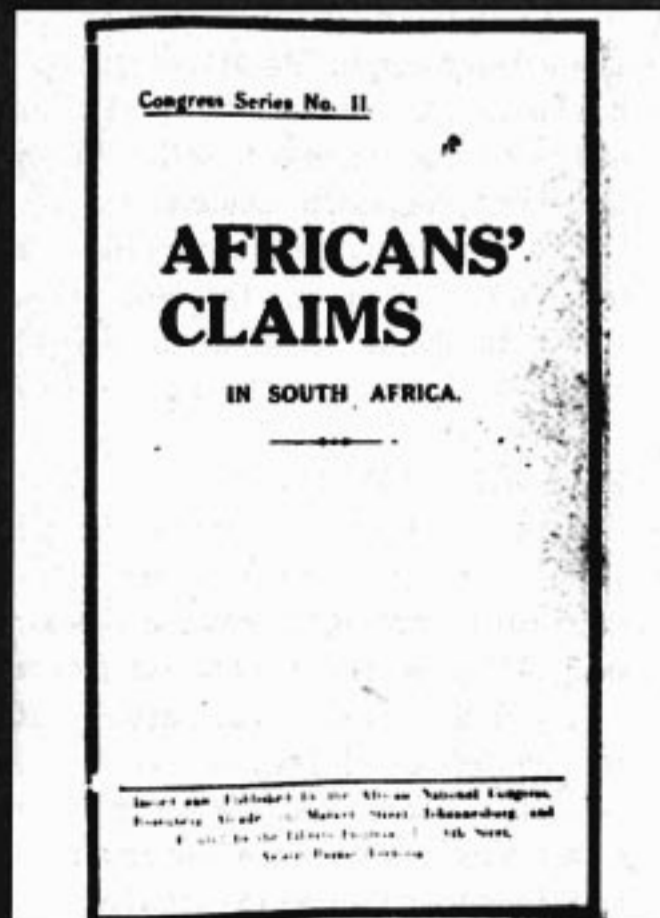
In five clauses, the Bill of Rights laid claim to the national rights to live, to ownership of land, to liberty and equality for Africans “as well as their coloured brethren” and equal participation in the “management and direction of the affairs of this land”.

REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT

Although the 1923 document asked for a qualified franchise through support for Rhodes’ equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambezi, and was written in “respectful” language, it was for the time and place a revolutionary document, surpassing by far, in its approach and content, any other set of claims by oppressed and excluded people. It provided the content for subsequent ANC policy discussions. It was invoked in the great opposition to Hertzog’s Land Bill of 1936, which determined the physical, legal and demographic nature of land rights for the next half a century.

Just as important in its effects was the demand for

Adopted 50 years ago, the ANC's African Claims inspired its 1988 Constitutional Guidelines and the 1990 Bill of Rights, writes Kader Asmal, professor of Human Rights Law at UWC and member of the ANC NEC.





Above: Govan Mbeki, one of the three signatories and still a member of the ANC NEC.

Left: Pride of place after the Freedom Charter must go to the "African Claims" document adopted by the ANC, 50 years ago, on 16 December in Bloemfontein.

equal treatment for the "coloured brethren", the assertion of non-racialism in our ranks and demands which again were unique in the annals of resistance movements against tyranny.

AFRICAN CLAIMS

Pride of place after the Freedom Charter must go to the "African Claims" document adopted by the ANC, 50 years ago, on 16 December in Bloemfontein. Nearly three decades before the liberals in South Africa grappled with the nature of a "democratic" South Africa with their qualified franchise for Africans – the African Claims laid claim to self-determination for the entire people of South Africa.

Integral to the document was the first fully-fledged, systematic and comprehensive Bill of Rights which was ahead of its time in many and exceptional ways.

The two documents were prepared by a broadly-based committee of 28 people whose names read like a roll-call of heroes of our struggle: Calata, Kotane, Mahabane, Moroka, Mtimkulu, Seme and Xuma, the President General of the ANC. It was chaired by the redoubtable Professor ZK Matthews and happily, three of the signatories: Govan Mbeki, C. Mbata and ET Mofutsanyane – are still with us.

This committee, composed exclusively of Africans in South Africa so that, as Dr Xuma put it, "they can declare without assistance or influence from others, their hopes and despairs" was truly internationalist in tone and content. It was drawn up so that the ANC could respond to the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Declaration of 1941, produced in the early days to rally democratic forces worldwide in the greatest anti-fascist crusade of our time, particularly the Declaration's great promise of freedom of people to determine the type of government under which they would live.

The African Claims document applied the Eight Points of the Declaration to Africa and the colonial system, rejecting colonialism in its entirety, supported economic, political and cultural self-determination and freedom for the British High Commission territories around South Africa.

BILL OF RIGHTS

The Bill of Rights, adopted five years before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN in 1948, was "precocious" in its treatment of rights. It was anti-sexist-vote for all adults, rejected the perverted values of segregation and asserted the need for non-racialism and, for the first time in the ANC,

demanded a non-racial suffrage without any qualification and rights. More remarkable – something that Kempton Park has not yet realised – was the assertion of economic, social and cultural rights as human rights, especially with the emphasis on equal pay for equal work, the rejection of a special type of education for Africans, a demand for a national health service and demanded rights which we consider today to be "inalienable" in the claim to full citizenship.

Dr Xuma, in introducing the Bill of Rights in Bloemfontein, said that the adoption of the document was only the "beginning of a long struggle entailing great sacrifices of time, means and life itself" before it would be achieved.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The Programme of Action of the Youth League of 1949 adopted the Bill of Rights of 1943 as the basic demands of the Youth League.

We are today on the verge of achieving what may have appeared to be fanciful and far-fetched. But the 1943 document inspired us in exile when we drafted the Constitutional Guidelines in 1988 and the first Bill of Rights produced in 1990, after our return.

This is a proud inheritance which we dare not betray. ♦

A campaign with a difference

On 6 November, the ANC started a People's Forum campaign which has introduced a new culture into election politics, writes a correspondent.



JOIN NELSON MANDELA

Saturday 6 November,
9am. Outside Volkstrust
plans, Uitenhage



Election machineries of various parties are up and running. The traditional experience is that there is intense lobbying among individuals to place themselves high up on party lists.

Experts and skilful drafters have been assembled to work on manifestos to "sell" parties, influence swing voters and, in reality, fudge the issues.

This, we are told, is the real politics of elections. But is it?

PEOPLE-BASED

The ANC is challenging this conventional approach. It is entering the elections on the basis of a tradition that is democratic and people-based. But, above all, it recognises that the elections are about matters more serious than "selling good images". They are about the restructuring of the whole of society.

This is what the People's Forums are about. The starting point is that the people must play a central role in determining the content of the campaign and the outcome. They should set the agenda.

LONG QUEUES

Since 6 November when the People's Forum Campaign was launched, the idea has caught like wildfire. Long queues at the microphones where people air their views. Frank proposals and questions. The sense that the process is their own, and not that of "leaders" can be discerned everywhere.

Major Forums have been planned for various sectors: "squat-

ters" and the homeless, workers, opinion-makers, rural communities especially women, farm-workers and farmers, the education sector and so on. These are being conducted in Natal, PWV and Northern Transvaal, with the participation of ANC President Nelson Mandela. The OFS, Western Cape and other areas will also arrange such Forums where other senior ANC leaders will take part.

As *MAYIBUYE* went to press, structures of the ANC, its allies and communities through their many organisations were finalising nominations for election candidates to be completed at a national conference in mid-December. Though separate from the People's Forums, this process again reflects the open and democratic approach of the ANC.

ANC GOVERNMENT

The People's Forum campaign itself is to be completed by year-end. It will feed into the process of working out a Reconstruction and Development Plan, in other words, how many classrooms, how many houses, etc the ANC government would build within a given period. All the views, questions and criticisms are being processed with this aim in mind.

But perhaps the ANC has started a movement that will never reach its end. For the people will want to air their views during the whole election campaign and after. This may well become a people's movement for reconstruction and development. Real democracy! ♦

People's Voice in



ANC President Nelson Mandela at a People's Forum campaign in the Bambayi informal settlement in Durban, on Saturday 13 November, accompanied by NEC member M. M. M. and Terror Lekota, Jay Naidoo, the ANC Southern Natal...

As expected, such an event could not go unchallenged by forces opposed to the ANC. Immediately it was known that the Bambayi Ground was to be the venue, the reign of terror and intimidation, spearheaded by the SAP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) and IFP warlords, was intensified.

The night before the event, two people were murdered in the area and another three were shot by "unknown assailants" on Saturday evening. But despite that tense atmosphere, informal settlers from all over the Greater Durban Functional Region turned up in large numbers to make their views heard.

The Forum was handled in an organised manner. Different squatter areas had already met before coming to the Forum and someone was selected from each area to be the spokesperson. So spokespersons were presenting views already agreed upon in area meetings.

ANGELS OF TERROR

The nationwide demand for the immediate removal of the ISU from African residential areas was also echoed at Bambayi. Coupled with it was the demand for the removal of KwaZulu Police (KZP). One speaker after the other catalogued the intimidatory activities of these angels of terror.

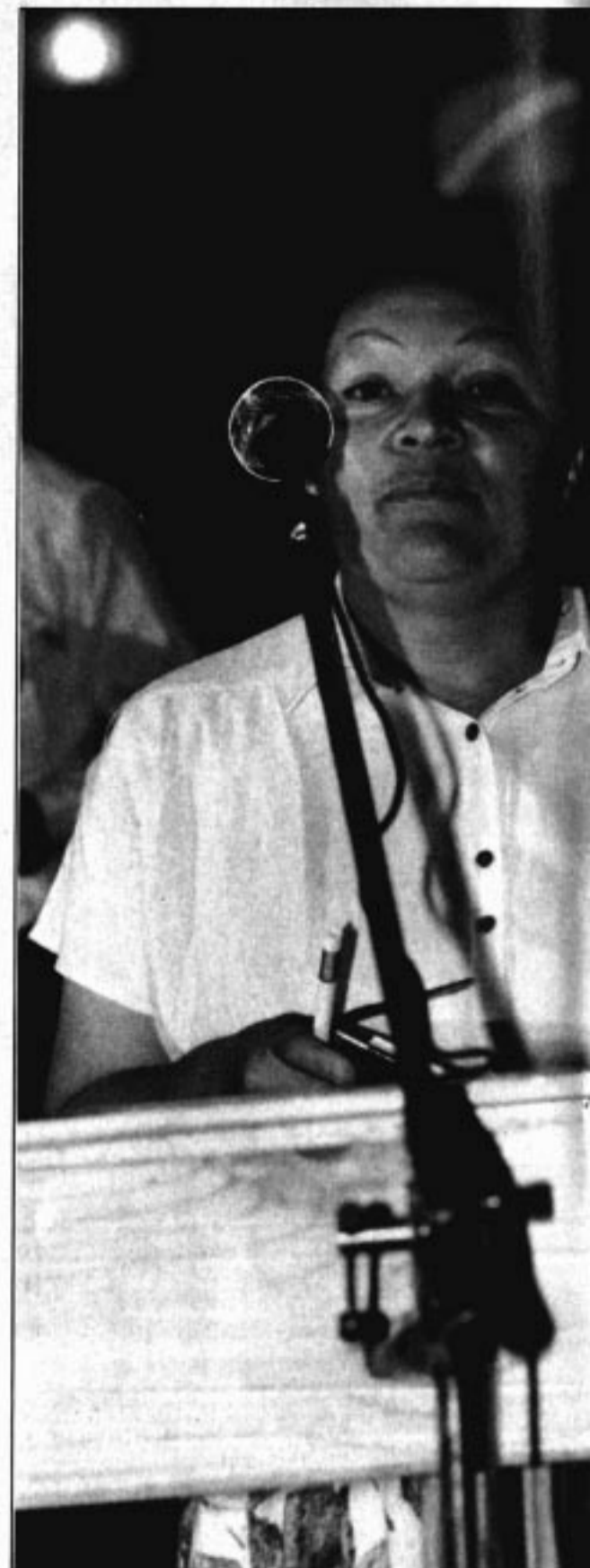
In his response, Mandela accused FW de Klerk of not caring for black lives. He pointed out that, in tense situations, De Klerk would never send a black detachment to a white area. But in volatile areas like Bambayi and the East Rand, he deploys units consisting mainly of white soldiers. He promised that he will never rest until this demand was met.

The demand for sufficient housing, proper facilities like water, schools and roads featured prominently side by side with complaints about lack of policing. The rocketing crime rate was blamed partly on improper policing.

SUFFICIENTLY ADDRESSED

When summing up, Mandela pledged that an ANC government will start addressing all the demands from the moment it steps into office. He, however, pointed out that it will take time and a flourishing economy to be sufficiently addressed. He noted that the ANC has started already. Several foreign governments have been approached to help and they have expressed preparedness to be involved in projects like housing, while others have pledged to contribute financially.

Turning to the illegal and forceful occupation of empty houses, Mandela said it is a wrong tactic and cannot be condoned. While he understood the desperate situation people



Natal

Mandela began the Natal...
at the violence-torn...
nt in Inanda, north of...
ember. He was...
ers Ahmed Kathrada...
oo and the leadership of...
gion.



were in due to the acute shortage of housing, it was improper for people to occupy houses destined for fellow compatriots who are equally in need of accommodation. The housing problem must be addressed properly and in an orderly manner.

PEACE FORUM

The very same afternoon, Mandela proceeded to Mpumalanga, west of Durban, to attend a peace forum. Mpumalanga is popular for the peace that was brokered internally by ANC and Inkatha leaders. The meeting was attended by, among others, the local mayor and chief, businesspersons and religious leaders.

An additional complaint that was voiced repeatedly in that forum was about the corruption of KwaZulu bureaucrats. They keep the elderly waiting for hours for their pension and demand bribes of up to R25 when it finally comes.

With the peace process taking root in the area, the forces of conflict are now using crime to destabilise the Mpumalanga community. The KZP reciprocates by dragging their feet whenever they are called to attend to criminal activities. Community policing, once more, emerged as the only viable solution to the problem. ♦



ORDINARY PEOPLE TALKING ABOUT THINGS THAT MATTER - TO PEOPLE WHO CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

Mr Mandela, my biggest concern is

homes for its employees

living allowances to enjoy living with their families

Here is what I suggest we do: Destroy all hostels or change

them into family homes. Avoid

discriminating people in the work

places like what we experienced

from National Party regime

All companies must build

or at least grant them

living allowances to enjoy living with their families

Here is what I suggest we do: Destroy all hostels or change

them into family homes. Avoid

discriminating people in the work

places like what we experienced

from National Party regime

Mail this postage paid coupon to:
ANC, People's Forum, Freepost License JHZ 3, Johannesburg 2000. No stamp required.

PEOPLE'S FORUM
Now is your time to speak -



HERE'S A SOLUTION TO THE HOUSING CRISIS FROM SOMEONE WHO HAS NEVER HAD A HOUSE. WHAT'S YOURS?

JOIN THE PEOPLE'S FORUM. Mr Ncube is a hostel dweller in Springs. He lives most of the year in a dormitory. He seldom sees his family. He is one of eight million people who are without basic housing in South Africa.

The desperation of the housing crisis was made clear to us by many of the 45,000 people who attended People's Forums in Natal last week. Their sprawling shantytowns are without water, sewerage, electricity and roads. It's easy to see how violence spreads and why peace remains elusive.



QUESTIONS ASKED AT SWAYIMANI

There's no quick fix to the decades of neglect inflicted on these communities. A home is the cornerstone of society. South Africa will know neither peace

nor prosperity for as long as so many are living on its fringe.

Think about it. Then send us your suggestions. Or join us at a People's Forum in the PWV this week.

The dates and venues will be appearing in your local press.

Join the People's Forum.

We want to hear where you stand. Because, above all, the ANC stands for you.



MR MANDELA ADDRESSES A FORUM AT INANDA



LEFT TO RIGHT: CROWD AT INANDA, JAY NAIDOO ANSWERS QUESTIONS, CHILDREN GREET MR MANDELA AT MPUMALANGA.

Mr Mandela, my biggest concern is: _____

Here is what I suggest we do: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Mail this postage paid coupon to:
ANC, People's Forum, Freepost License JHZ 3,
Johannesburg 2000. No stamp required.



PEOPLE'S FORUM
Now is your time to speak -

Policepersons are workers

Racism and negative attitudes of white members of the South African Police against their black colleagues has sparked problems within the police force. **Oupa**

Mmotsa spoke to **Enoch Nelani**, Deputy-President of the Police & Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru).

"In the course of the struggle ..."

A few weeks ago, Port Elizabeth became a battleground for the department and Popcru. More than 300 policemen were dismissed from the force after embarking on a sympathy strike with 88 others who were also charged and dismissed for similar "crimes". This was caused by what union members describe as a "racist attitude of the station commander," Captain Wolmaraans of Motherwell Police Station. The dismissed policemen were arrested and charged with mutiny. Popcru has threatened a national strike if they are not reinstated. The 88 policepersons have since been reinstated after a court order.

Since 1989, many policemen and prison warders have been dismissed mainly because of union activities. Popcru vows that all policemen and warders who were dismissed will be reinstated when the new democratic government comes to power. "We are certainly going to fight for their reinstatement because we believe it was in the course of the struggle against apartheid that they were dismissed. These are people who will be relevant through their contribution in the new South Africa."

Popcru members regard their actions as part of restructuring and democratising the police force which has for many decades upheld apartheid laws. Since 1989, after Popcru was formed, the top brass in the Ministry of Law and Order has been constantly accusing them of being aligned to the ANC and MK and even taking sides during the East Rand political violence.

"Popcru is an independent organisation with its own constitution. We are not affiliated to any organisation. We have problems and if an organisation such as the ANC supports our campaigns, I do not see anything wrong in accepting that support. As far as MK is concerned, the only thing we share with them is our common goal of a future democratic government and an impartial police force.", said Nelani.

DEMONSTRATORS

Nelani, who is a former policeperson, was dismissed from the force with the union's president, Gregory Rockman, and many other policepersons five years ago. They had disagreed with the methods that the riot police were using to disperse unarmed demonstrators.

He admits that the laws might have changed within the force but the attitude remains the same because the people who enforced apartheid laws are the same people expected to administer the changes. "Words like 'kaffir', 'hotnot' and 'hardegat' are still the order of the day in most police-stations. Most white policepersons and prison warders have no respect at all for their black colleagues," Nelani said.

Nelani argues that although salaries for white and black mem-



Popcru members believe that they are workers and have the right to engage in trade union activities.

bers of the force were now equal, amenities were open to all, several disparities remained. White and black personnel do not enjoy the same benefits. While whites are more likely to be promoted, most blacks who constitute 60 percent of the force, are still found in the lower ranks.

Popcru members believe that they are workers and have a right to engage in trade union activities. They see the need, together with the ministry of law and order, to talk about their problems to the best interests of the police force.

On top of the list of their demands is the need for recognition. "Only when Popcru becomes a recognised negotiating partner for both the police force and correctional services can the union properly look after the interests of its members and hope to act as an agent of internal democratisation," says Nelani.

COMMUNITY POLICING

The union is fighting for the concept

of community policing to be introduced in South Africa. Members of the police force should be accountable to the community and cooperate with community-based organisations. "This is a new concept in our country. Some people might think that giving schoolchildren sweets and cold drinks is community policing. The community and the police must be equal partners in maintaining law-and-order.

To achieve this, forums should be formed where the community and the police meet to discuss policing matters and are put in a position where they are able to solve problems in the community as a team. We need a police force that is transparent. We do not need controversial units like the infamous Internal Stability Unit," Nelani adds.

Popcru believes that, as people who have the insight of the police and correctional services, they have a role to play in the restructuring of the security forces in this country. They feel ignored by the parties involved in negotiating a new policing

order. The union will be having a special congress next January, where issues about policing will be discussed and circulated among concerned parties.

"KITSCONSTABLES"

Recently, some attention has been focused on assistant police. With only six to 12 weeks training, they do not qualify for the same benefits enjoyed by other policepersons. The kitsconstables, as they are commonly known, are not covered by the pension, funeral and medical aid schemes.

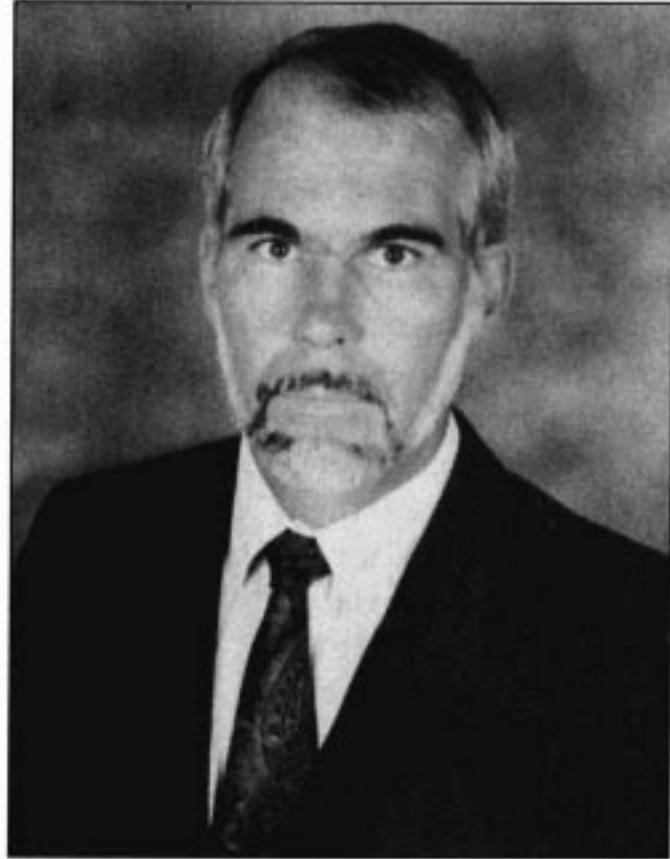
The department has been threatening to dismiss them as part of its restructuring programme. Popcru successfully managed to reverse this decision. Some will be trained and integrated into the force as permanent members while others will be part of the administration. This is considered a victory by the union.

Enoch Nelani is sure that Popcru's existence will still be necessary after a new government has taken over. It will assist in facilitating communication between the police force and the community and ensure that police rights are taken seriously. ♦

Randfontein:

ANC membership grows

A commitment to fight corruption, coupled with a future accountable ANC government, persuaded white people from Randfontein, a conservative town in the West Rand, to join the ANC. **Oupa Mmotsa** spoke to **Chris Hammes**, a prominent attorney and ANC member.



A few weeks ago, ANC sub-regional election offices in Randfontein were set alight in the early hours of the morning. Shortly after the fire started, Ray Botha, an official of the Randfontein branch of the ANC, received a call from a person with a heavy Afrikaans accent telling him that the office was on fire. Damage estimated at more than R40 000 was caused.

This helped to boost the ANC membership in the community. "My telephones both at work and home are jammed with calls from ordinary and businesspeople, condemning the bombing of the office and they are at the same time inquiring about the ANC with the ultimate aim of joining.

"My family and I are made to feel welcome wherever we go. There are a few negative calls coming through, but the majority are very positive. People are trying to accept that there must be change and they will have to do their best to live with it," says Hammes.

According to Hammes, very few people within the Randfontein white community would support extreme rightwing organisations. They hate to be associated with them. There may be a fear of change in South Africa, but very few people would choose war.

"I think the rightwing has support of less than five percent in this town, and most of them are from the civil service. They are scared because to them change could mean loss of jobs they are not qualified for but were given because of the colour of their skins. These people have voted for the Conservative Party before and they will always vote CP," says Hammes.

NATIONALISATION

Hammes believes that if the ANC can give a clear economic policy, a lot more people will not hesitate to join. "People are at the moment very concerned because of the word nationalisation. They think that as soon as the ANC goes into power, their businesses will be nationalised.

They need more than an assurance from President Mandela to allay their fears. But, at the moment, we are planning a few dinner parties where senior ANC officials will address these issues."

He agrees that, if the ANC's policy of a mixed economy is properly explained, many white people would not hesitate to join the ANC.

NEGOTIATE

A forum that consists of civics, councils and some political organisations from Randfontein, Mohlakeng and Toekomsrus has been formed to negotiate, among others are, a single tax base for all areas of greater Randfontein.

Hammes is very optimistic that the forum will eventually take over the administration of the whole area and do away with racially segregated councils.

"This will also help in stamping out corruption, especially from unpopular apartheid created township councils," says Hammes. ♦

PWV regional conference

Tokyo Sexwale, Chairperson of the PWV Region of the ANC, was unanimously re-elected unopposed into his position during the fourth regional conference. The conference was held over two weekends late October. The rest of the region's old executive had little difficulty in retaining their old positions. Paul Mashatile, the General Secretary, was also re-elected unopposed. Cassim Saloojee was re-elected Treasurer with 179 votes, Obed Bapela, Deputy General secretary and Mathole Motshekga, Deputy Chairperson.

The conference was opened by the ANC President, Nelson Mandela. Fifty four others were elected as additional members of the committee. Among them are Amos Masondo, Janet Love, Dave Dalling, Winnie Mandela, Murphy Morobe, Carl Niehaus, Stephen Eck and Ronnie Mamoepa.

Elections were only one aspect of the conference. Delegates discussed vigorously issues such as violence, Women's League, boundaries and the reconstruction and the development programme. Delegates stressed in the elections resolution that the people of the TBVC states should be included as voters irrespective of the position of these territories and must be able to vote within the borders of these territories.

The conference also resolved to work hard towards a culture of political tolerance and free political activity. On the Women's League, the conference agreed to recognise the present executive committee of the league as it is constitutionally elected. It also endorsed the efforts of the REC to resolve problems within the ANC Women's League.

Resolutions on reconstruction and development included proposals for:

- A plan to provide jobs for all, for example, by implementing a national public works programme.

- New labour law to protect domestic and all workers including, pensioners and disabled people. ♦



Eastern TVL regional conference

The fourth annual conference of the ANC Eastern Transvaal Region, held in KaNgwane from the 12-14 November 1993, unanimously re-elected Matthew Phosa (left) as Chairperson for the fourth consecutive term. January Masilela and Johannes Shabangu were unanimously re-elected into their positions of Regional Secretary and Regional Treasurer, respectively.

Jacques Modipane and Mr Phillip Radebe were respectively elected Deputy Chairperson and Deputy Secretary. Additional members to the newly elected Regional Committee are: Jackson Mthembu, JJ Mabena, Craig Padayachee, Busi Coleman, Mohamed Bhabha, Teddy Coleman, Tsietsi Tolo, Clyde Morgan, Martin Mchunu, VV Windvoel, Solly Zwane, Caiphus Mashaba, Linda Mwale, Hussein Varachia, Okkie Peterson, Laxon Mathebula, Madala Masuku, Lassy Maduna, Paulos Mnisi and Dan Mchunu.

The conference was addressed by Joe Nhlanhla, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee and head of the Intelligence Department of the ANC. The conference also resolved that the Internal Stability Unit of the SAP be immediately removed from all townships and villages in the region, particularly from Ermelo's Wesselton township and Piet Retief's Thandukukhanya township. Conference also called upon the Goldstone

Commission to speedily intervene and investigate the harassment and killings of Wesselton residents by the ISU.

Conference also resolved that the question of Bushbuckridge being part of the Eastern Transvaal region is not negotiable and that the Oliphants river should be the border between the Eastern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal regions. The conference strongly rejected the idea that Pretoria should be part of the region. ♦



In the October issue of MAY-IBUYE, Keith Gattschalk's report on the Science & Technology for All Conference refers to a call for the formation of Science and Technology clubs in schools, following the example of Cuba's Movement of Young Innovators. I want to share with readers my short experience with the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo) mathematics club.

When I arrived in Somafo in 1988 I was asked to teach mathematics in the secondary division. I noted a few "odd" things with the school. The desks were still in rows. This actually forced the teacher to stand in front of the class for a long time, in the "chalk and talk" method.

MATHS ANXIETY

The students were more free outside the classrooms than inside. Everyone was trying his/her best to "master the textbook". The majority of the students had mathophobia. There were those who did not want to do maths at all. People with maths anxiety were called "vampires". The passing rate was around 24 percent.

Teachers were working within a sphere that did not belong to them. The GCE syllabus was still firmly entrenched in platonist ideas, sometimes with a formalist mask.

The hierarchies in the curriculum were born out of the idea that mathematics is composed of discrete concepts that need to be discovered over time, with the intellectual development of the learner, in stages. I raised this a number of times in departmental meetings, but, as Davis and Hersh (1981) puts it, I was nothing but a tolerated heretic surround-

ed by orthodox members of an established church.

After visiting a number of countries, I came to the conclusion that the solution to the problems of the Somafo classroom lies outside the classroom. I organised a few interested students and we formed a mathematics club. The main aims of the club were to:

- teach students to appreciate the discipline;
- involve students in speaking mathematically;
- encourage students to write essays on mathematical topics; and
- involve students in projects in the community.

We revised topics which the students recognised as difficult. We organised excursions for students to see where mathematics is applied in industry, agriculture, research, and so on. Students formed commissions that investigated issues in their environment. Some of these were not directly mathematical. Some needed only basics like arithmetic operations. I regarded

were getting from students. Others were not prepared to tolerate the "rude" youngsters. This was the usual problem of teachers wanting change at their own pace.

IMPROVEMENT

There was improvement in class tests. The attitude of the students towards mathematics changed. There was a considerable reduction in mathophobia. There were fewer absentees in mathematics classes. At the end of the year, students' marks were better. O'Level results were much better. The pass rate in mathematics went up to 64 percent. The overall O'Level pass rate of the school went up to 83 percent. Everyone was proud of their achievements.

Some of the former members of the Somafo Mathematics Club are now at the Peninsula Technikon. They are well known "masters" of mathematics and related subjects. When I meet them, we discuss about some issues that were raised in the club. We still can't stop discussing. ♦

Maths Clubs: The Somafo experience

Mzwandile AK Kibi, a former teacher at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, shares his brief experience teaching at the centre.

this necessary, although some people thought students should do only maths in the club.

The other very important aspect of the club was that students decided what they wanted to learn.

My questions would be directed towards giving them a push towards the mathematical theme in the topic. This would make them reach conclusions that were within the discipline, even if they started outside the discipline.

It was not long before other teachers started commenting about the members of the maths club. There were more whys and what-fors in class. Some teachers were impressed with the confrontation they



Sonke unites apartheid divides

Held under the theme "Many Cultures, One People", the Sonke Festival was the most unique gathering of South Africans this century has ever witnessed.

The date was 24 October 1993. About 1 000 000 South Africans, of all racial groups, from all over Southern Natal, converged on Durban's King Spark Rugby Stadium. Present were kings, chiefs and other royal personalities from all over Southern Africa. There were sangomas and other traditional healers, hundreds of dancers and singers, both traditional and modern. To master the ceremony was the legendary Welcome "Mabatha" Msomi.

ENDANGERED SPECIES

The basic idea behind the festival was to put paid to the unsubstantiated notion that the people of the province see themselves as a unique and endangered species within a broader South African society. They were there to emphasize the fact that the notion has many ethnic and racial groups, with their many cultures. But they are one people, sharing a common destiny.

Following the acceptance of 27 April as the election date the subsequent walk out by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its KwaZulu Government, the IFP held a num-

ber of rallies telling its followers that the future of the Zulus could not be guaranteed if Inkatha's positions were rejected. It claimed to speak on behalf of the Zulus and the people of Natal. It said that the only bright future for the province lied in the recommendations of the KwaZulu - Natal Indaba of 1986 and the recent constitutional proposals for the province which were adopted by the KwaZulu Legislature. The present negotiations process as it unfolds at Kempton Park, said the IFP, is a recipe for disaster for the Natalians. The Sonke Festival was therefore partly the people's response to those assertions.

The Festival did not wait for the dignitaries to arrive before it began. By 9.30 am the function was already taking off. A unit of MK paratroopers paraded in front of the growing crowd to the delight of those already present. When the first delegation finally arrived just after ten, the stadium was already engulfed in a festival mood.

Shortly thereafter the trains from KwaMashu and Stanger arrived. In just a few minutes thousands of people surged into the stadium and the earlier plans to reserve the pitch for the press and other groups went out of the window. In no time, the grandstands were full to capacity and people were spilling onto the pitch. The

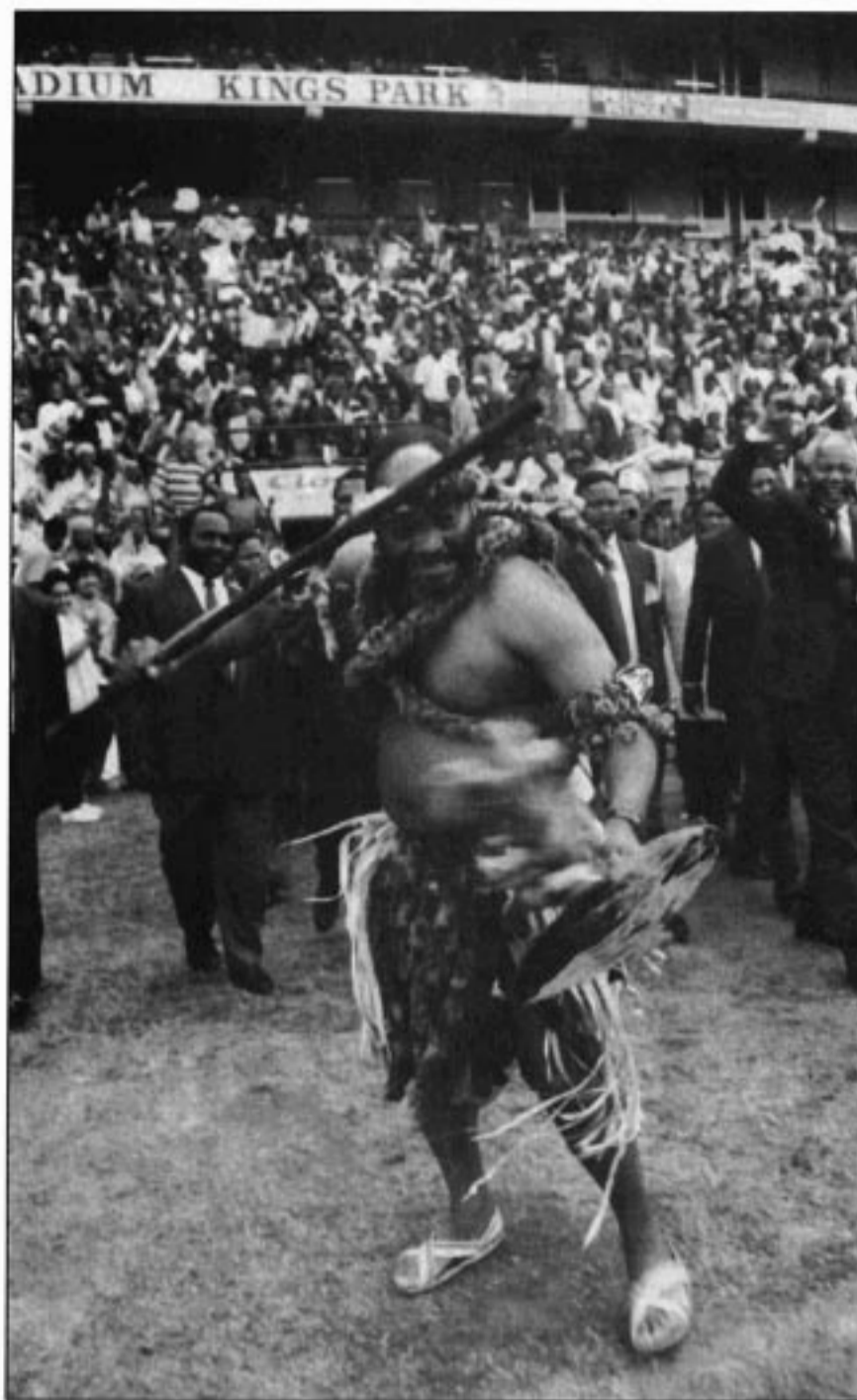
It was billed as the Mother of All Festivals; a Festival to end All Festivals. And when the Sonke Festival finally took place, it turned out to be something more than all that, writes a correspondent in Durban.



marshals worked eighty seconds a minute to keep the situation under control. When President Mandela arrived at the stadium, it seemed as if an electric current had just been introduced into the atmosphere.

POLITICAL HOME

The huge attendance at the festival showed that it is the ANC and not the IFP that calls the shots in the province. After more than 15 years of relentless Inkatha propaganda, most of which is anti-ANC, for the liberation movement to host such an event proved that the people of South Africa know their political home. Attempts by IFP officials to downplay the significance of the occasion and to discourage some cultural groups from participating, failed in their overall objective.



*"Can you recognise me?"
Jacob Zuma, Deputy Secretary General
of the ANC at the festival in
full Zulu regalia.*

The notable absentee was King Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu of the Zulus. Here were kings and chiefs from as far afield as Swaziland, Lesotho and Sekhukhuneland gathered in his area. Despite all possible attempts by the ANC leadership to invite His Majesty, he failed to come, citing prior commitments as the reason.

A foreign TV correspondent summed it all when she said that the time had come for the King to play a unifying role and stop being seen as favouring one party against another.

POPULARITY

After the Sonke Festival the political map and atmosphere of Natal will never be the same again. The ANC has demonstrated its unequalled popularity. Anyone who would like to challenge that position will have to relate to the Sonke Festival first. ♦



A sweet victory

While it was no big deal to get the negotiators to agree to the rule of "at least one woman for every party" for the two delegates, getting customary law properly dealt with was a tough nut to crack. The original proposal weighed spectacularly in favour of men. And the final decision not to include it in the Bill of Rights did not only take an after-midnight fight between all the women negotiators and traditional leaders represented at the forum, but a threat from rural women to boycott the first democratic elections.

INDIGENOUS LAW

Mavivi Manzini, an ANC delegate to the multi-party talks, argues that customary law must be interpreted correctly. "There is need to differentiate it from indigenous law which is broader," she argues. "It is the written and codified customs and traditions which have been codified by the regime since 1927 in what was then called the Native Act. It never captured the broader indigenous law.

Law develops from people's customs, traditions and values. In South Africa, the broader indigenous law has been existing but not written. It manifested itself in the different communities, guiding people's lives in such matters as marriages, burial

rights, property etc. The values were based on communal living.

The problem of capturing and codifying customary law, as the regime did in 1927, is that you run the risk of making it static. This is what happened in South Africa, partly because whites took responsibility for this. At the same time they ignored elements which were against white tyrannical rule. "There has been developments and many changes in our society, and customary law has not been able to develop and address these changes," Manzini says.

"It has been held static. Also in the process of trying to interpret customary law, there have been distor-

tions and wrong perceptions as to what custom and culture are for the indigenous people. This is because the courts which have been interpreting are dominated by white males who have little contact with the communities they are dealing with."

OWNERSHIP

"Now we are faced with the culture of human rights and we have customary law which is distorted and has moved from the original practice. For instance ownership: According to most customs, not only in South Africa, property is owned communally and a male head of the family in the patriarchal community (we also have matriachal communities) would be chosen either by the family or the clan to hold the property in trust for the family or community.

"What has happened now is that people, in most cases males who have been chosen to hold this land in trust, have individualised it. They can dispose of it in any manner they wish," Manzini argues.

There are some aspects of our customs and traditions which are in conflict with human rights and current social life. Women are workers and breadwinners today, and this has been accepted by our communities.

The problem is that, as this was accepted, we have not been able to change certain traditions and customs

Women have won substantial victories during the negotiations. Not only will the constitution empower women, the first South African democratic parliament will certainly contain one of the highest proportions of women of any parliament, writes Lindiwe Zulu.

to suit the way of life. In the workplace women are still discriminated against. They get lower wages than men.

When they have to be board members they need to first consult with their husbands, get their signature, because customary law and civil law, which is also based on certain traditions and customs, make women minors.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Some traditional leaders say human rights are foreign and should, in rural communities, be subjected to customary law. Human rights are indivisible and when we look at women's rights, for instance, we cannot separate them from human rights.

The debate at the multi-party talks about the inclusion of a clause

on customary law in the Bill of Rights started with the discussions on constitutional principles. "One of the principles, as demanded by the women, was that South Africa should not only be democratic and non-racial, but a non-sexist society too," Manzini explains. From this moment we were in conflict with some traditional leaders. The principle dealing with promoting or protecting the diversities of the cultures in South Africa also brought conflict. In our view, as women, we felt that this principle should not be in conflict with equality and non-racialism.



TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

"When discussing the institution of traditional leadership, and the role and place of indigenous and customary law in the future, we insisted that these must be subject to the fundamental human rights.

We managed to get the constitutional principles on customary law and culture to be subject to equality, non-sexism and the abolition of racial and gender discrimination. We equally recognise the fact that the institution of traditional leadership should continue and can play a positive role in our society provided it is in line with fundamental human rights."

The traditional leaders were not satisfied with the equality clause. They argue that the institution of traditional leadership is hereditary, in most cases based on the male line and that women have not been traditional leaders and chiefs. They were worried that the equality clause would give them that right. They insisted that customary law be included in the charter of fundamental rights.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Manzini and others fought this. The inclusion of customary law in the Bill of Rights would have meant that women from communities which observed these customs could not be protected by the equality clause.

"At the end of the debates, which sometimes took till after midnight, the women of South Africa, especially the rural women, who went as far coming to demonstrate at the World Trade Centre won the fight. Customary law was not included in the charter of fundamental rights."

The decision does not assume that African culture is eradicated. It simply means that women can challenge customary law and provide for its development and reform, as equals and not minors.

"It has been a sweet victory for the women of South Africa," Mavivi Manzini says with confidence. ♦

Under the Transitional

How will Foreign relations be conducted?

Aziz Pahad was almost positive, albeit cautious, that major policy issues would have to be dealt with through the foreign affairs sub-council. "The sub-council would have to determine and take the initiative on policy issues, although the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) could be the implementation and service structure".

Among other functions, the DFA would have to provide the sub council with all the necessary information for assessment, investigation and proper decision-making by the sub councils.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference of the foreign affairs sub council seem to go only as far as liaison, monitoring, and making recommendations to the government. Pahad contends, however, that they are broad and can be interpreted as such.

Where it considers it necessary, the sub-council will assist with a view to:

- achieving progressively the broadest possible consensus on matters affecting national interest;
- securing appropriate agreements with the international community regarding contribution to a peaceful transition to democracy;
- securing international assistance

to address socio-economic needs of the people; and

- promoting such international relations, including trade, finance, culture and sports relations to the benefit of the country.

With these powers, according to Pahad, the sub-council would be able to seek membership of international organisations "but the ANC is opposed to this until a democratically elected government is in place". He warned that "we shouldn't move too fast because this will have the effect of pre-empting the new government's policy on the issues. Tactically it would be in our interest that implementation of foreign policy takes place when a democratic government has been elected.

"We should begin to put on our agenda our economic relations with the Southern Africa region, European Community (EC) and other international institutions. Restructuring should no longer be done unilaterally but collectively," said Pahad. Further, international participation in the period, be it in the form of monitors or peace-keeping, will also relate very closely with the sub councils on international affairs.

On maintaining and or opening of new foreign missions, he warned against any haste: "Our view is that we should avoid opening any new foreign missions or representations until we have had the opportunity to agree on what our broad foreign policy perspectives are, what our strate-

What role are the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) sub-councils on finance and foreign affairs going to play in the period before elections? *Mayibuye* spoke to ANC Deputy Heads of International Affairs and Economic and Planning Departments, Aziz Pahad and Tito Mboweni, respectively.

gic interests are. We also have to look at the funding needed to open new offices or representations ... and this will take some time. Also important is that there must be an attempt to ensure that embassies are representative of all South Africans," he concluded.

LIFTING OF SANCTIONS

As a result of the call by ANC President Mandela for the lifting of sanctions, except the arms embargo, "the whole world is now free to invest in and trade with South Africa; and as such begin the process of the

Executive Council (TEC):



A sign of the times: Mandela meets a high powered delegation from Japan.

normalisation of relations between South Africa and the world," commented Mboweni.

"We argue that this particular call for the ending of sanctions did not mean that we wanted to give recognition to the apartheid regime but to begin that process of normalisation. When the TEC is installed the governing authority of the country becomes the TEC. Therefore, the sub-council on finance is going to be responsible for ensuring that the government of the day does not use public money to support the National Party as against another."

GOVERNING AUTHORITY

At the same time it will be unavoidable for the sub council on finance to deal with other economic issues. "The sub council cannot simply refuse meetings and discussions with the EC or private investors,

since people will be looking at the TEC as the governing authority. But the normal signing of agreements between South Africa and other international countries will still be the function of the government, although the actual approval of the document has to be with the TEC," Mboweni argues.

INTERNATIONAL BORROWING

"If South Africa is to engage in any major international borrowing, the regime cannot on its own go abroad and do such borrowing: this must be done through the TEC, particularly the sub council on finance," he added

In the transition, the *de jure* government will be responsible for the country's economic policy. However, it is going to be difficult for that government to proceed without the stamp of approval from the TEC.

For example the housing policy is very much linked to the economic policy. Says Mboweni: "Between now and the elections the government can't proceed and implement a housing strategy without the approval of the sub-council.

"What this means in real terms is that during the transition the sub-council on finance will have to make major interventions although it may be difficult to reach consensus on many other issues."

DECISION

But there's no doubt that, with the setting up of the TEC, South Africa is blowing the whistle to the fact that the apartheid government cannot make any decision, be it economic or socio-economic, foreign affairs or military, without a multi-party stamp of approval. ♦

Having added a second defeat to his record of 21 wins and one draw against a lesser known Russian southpaw Olzubeck Nazarov, his followers and boxing lovers have written off his chances of ever cracking the big time again.

Russian-born Nazarov is unbeaten with 17 fights (14 by knockout). He is ranked number six by the WBC, and is presently holder of the Orient and Pacific lightweight championship, which he defended five times. The southpaw has proved he is a knockout specialist. Caressing opponents seems not to be his habit. The challenger's knockouts and 17 wins did not ring the warning bells either.

DEPLORABLE FIGHT

Nazarov, who happened to be the WBA's number one contender, outguttled Thobela at the National Exhibition Centre in Johannesburg on 30 October in what is believed to be the most deplorable fight of Thobela's career. His loss to the wily Russian was unbelievable and unexpected.

Thobela suffered his only career defeat in the controversial Sacramento judgement in February this year against the much-praised Tony Lopez. Thobela won the return match at the Sun City Superbowl on 26 June.

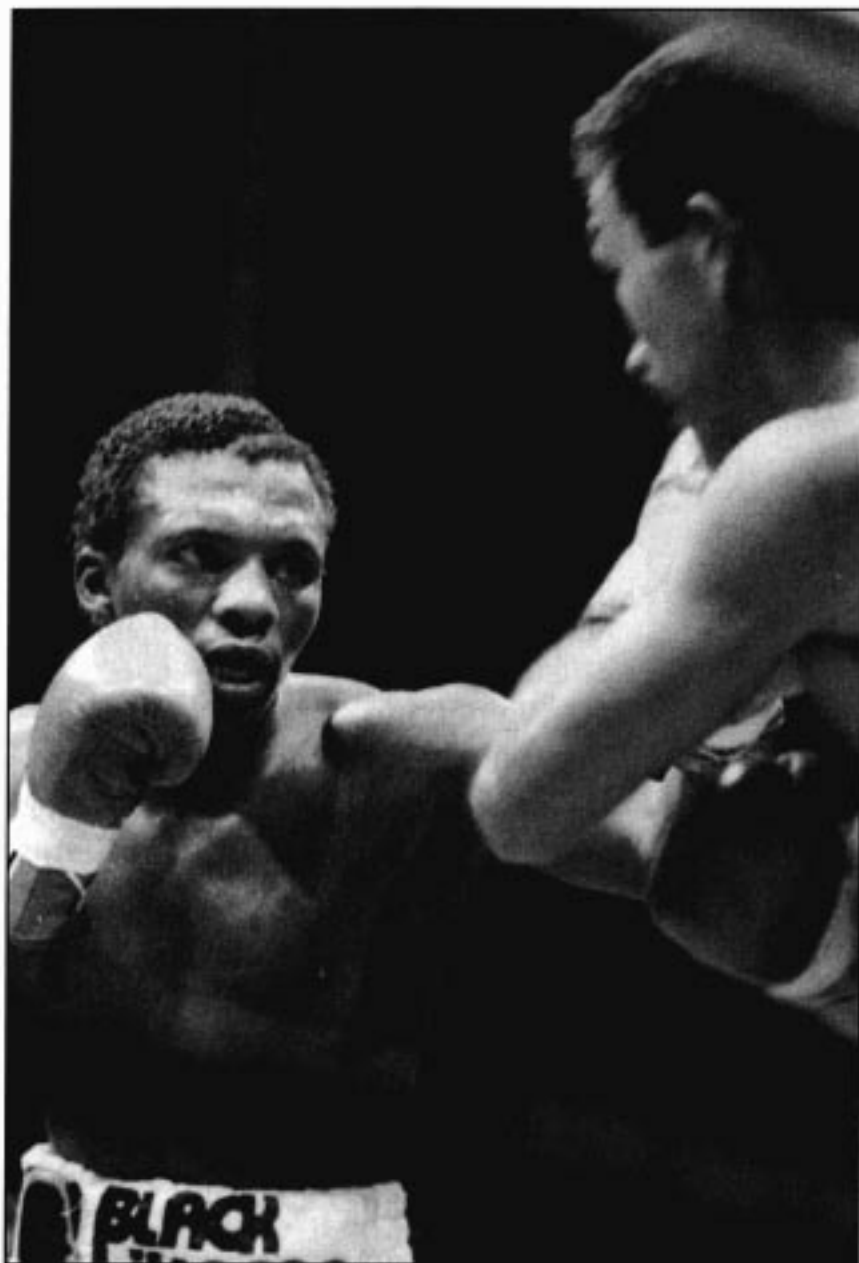
During "Judgement Day" and the "Night of Truth", as the fights were aptly billed, the truth is you never know with Thobela. With the right opponent he can look brilliant – blistering combinations to the head and body, trip – hammer power and speed in both fists, a killer instinct, intelligent and impressive style almost unrivalled in the country and world class penchant for the ruff stuff. But with a wrong opponent, he can look embarrassingly ordinary – easy to hit, unimaginative and predictable – hence boxing lovers were unimpressed by his performance in all his fights this year.

The night of truth

Dingaan "Rose of Soweto" Thobela may not have looked like the hottest thing with two fists in his last outing, but that does not stop the likeable thorny rose from believing he has the stuff to regain the world title, writes Mziwakhe Hlangane.

On the "Night of Truth" South African hopes and dreams were dashed when the gallant southpaw champion landed a straight punch on Thobela's chin, plunging down on his buttocks in the tenth round.

Nazarov was all over Thobela from the sixth round. He melted his guards, making Thobela's face vulnerable. Thobela was forced to abandon his fighting style



Champ dethroned: His followers and boxing lovers have written off his chances of ever cracking the big time again.

and compelled to defend, giving advantage to the south-paw to go all out for the kill. Thobela wrecked his image and alienated his fans of all races.

FRUSTRATION

Nazarov had psychologically snatched the title from the champion before the fight. Thobela's camp had shown unexpected frustration and agitation.

It became evident after Thobela's embarrassing defeat that simmering discontent had existed between him and Gerrie Coetzee, who promoted the fight.

Thobela has since rejoined Rodney Berman's stable. This corroborates the former champion's claim that Gerrie had "cost me the fight". He was fit, but mentally disturbed after an altercation with Gerrie. Problems had started after Thobela's stable informed Gerrie ties were to be broken after the fight. Coetzee is reportedly considering legal action for what he perceived as a breach of contract.

Thobela is now with Berman and negotiations with WBA convention for the return match are at an advanced stage. Berman is also preparing training facilities in the United States for Thobela over six weeks before the return fight to "Let Thobela show what he is made off ..." ♦

Soccer

An Open Letter

To whom it may concern

Dear Friends,

It is just over a year since South Africa started making its debut in international soccer. It has all been novel and exciting. And it is tribute to the people's efforts towards a democratic political order.

But after this year of great happenings, what do we have to show for it?

We have won some matches and lost others. There have been praises galore by renowned experts: "...the team's skills is something the likes of which I have not seen before", said the Cameroon national coach, Jules Nyonga after our first international series. But criticisms too: "...they do not press enough for a win", Nyonga added.

This somewhat sums up what has been a sobering experience. For, on balance, our performance has been poor.

This letter is not an expression of lack of confidence in the South African Football Association (SAFA) and the National Soccer League (NSL). We are convinced that the country has talented administrators many of whom have got the interests of soccer at heart. Let alone real "fans".

Neither are we impatient with players for failures that are obvious: inability to "press enough for a win", as Nyonga puts it; or "good tactically" but "not strong physically", as the Cameroonian maestro Roger Milla observed a year ago.

We are prompted by the recognition of these positive qualities – and yet our failure to develop in a systematic way.

We are also disturbed by the current popular wisdom that all the blame should be laid at the door of the players. Individuals have been identified and, in

typical fashion, demonised. Such unmeasured criticism is disconcerting to players and keen followers of soccer alike.

This reached its crescendo after the drubbing by Mexico a few weeks ago. And, because the humiliation is felt deeply by all supporters (and many believe it could have been much worse had Mexico played to its full potential), the responses have tended to be emotional and the debate shallow.

Our weaknesses run deeper than a single afternoon's performance. To correct them requires a surgical scalpel of a determined and purposeful surgeon. Otherwise we shall wail and whine, but South African soccer will always be at the deep end.

Certainly, the coach and the administration are right to say that we need to concentrate on developing new talent among the youngsters who will represent us in the future.

CLEAR STRATEGY

But the danger is that postponing solutions to Kingdom Come could in fact be the most convenient way of running away from urgent problems. Problems which, if not attended to, will result in the injection of new blood but the same old frustrations. In any case, if we hope to improve in the future, there should be a clear strategy starting to make its mark today.

It was recognised from the very beginning that our admission to international football will have to result in an overhaul of our internal systems. One of the obvious areas identified was that our league is just too large. Too many matches and ultimately a mess in overall planning. More resolution is needed in dealing with this.

South African soccer is coveted on the continent for its sponsorship and infrastructure. But the reality is that we do not seem to be moving towards making professional soccer really professional.

Many players rush from "work" to practice sessions or even serious matches. What this all means is that, for most players, soccer is an incidental engagement. The player receives the attention of the coach and manager only during practice sessions, which are few and far between. To date there is no clear indication of how this is being rectified.

In most successful soccer nations, the sport is also a money spinner. So it is in SA. And it would be naive in the



Evident is the SA team's physical inferiority which often lets us down.

extreme to argue that this should be otherwise.

However, an approach that accentuates this at the expense of the sport itself is erroneous. Clubs then opt for easy answers. If one does not have enough strikers, one simply imports them from abroad. Outdoing one another in this way, clubs even go to the extent of registering foreigners as South Africans. The result is that in a department where SA is weakest, that is goal-getters, the tendency is to pack clubs with foreign strikers.

We need to appreciate that players will gain confidence in themselves if confidence is shown in their potential. And some leading teams have developed local strikers with great potential.

Related to this are the shady agents who treat the sport as a honey-pot: arranging international games without proper consultation with relevant administrators – as long as there is a lucrative sponsorship.

Quite often, the administrators are presented with a *fait accompli*.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Further, the development programme seems to be treated more as tournaments than as a systematic strategy involving:

- developing a complement of well-trained coaches at all levels including schools;
- education and incentives to coaches to appreciate the importance of work at this level; and
- intensive systematic programmes in the townships and villages.

Planning in the new situation has not been our strongest attribute. This was dramatically demonstrated recently when we nearly did not make the end-of-league-season deadline set by CAF, the continental association.

These are some of the major problems that soccer faces in South Africa. Some of them are a result of objective conditions. Certainly the new government will pay much greater attention to the sport. And the SABC's derisive attitude needs to be challenged. But this does not mean that the soccer administration should not improve marketing skills: today millions of TV viewers are blacked out from important matches in the name of pulling crowds to the grounds.

Therefore, in the final analysis, players' poor performance is a symptom of the greater malaise. It will take years to cure. But, by God, let's start. And let the debate in sports columns and the electronic media transcend the current prattle.

MAYIBUYE Editorial Board ♦

Double agenda

One of the most important aspects of life in the underground was your public face – the “legal work” you performed to earn an income, keep you going, and prevent people from suspecting you were involved in illegal activity.

This legal work could range from a job in an office or factory – completely apolitical work – to semi-clandestine work in a non-governmental organisation (NGO), student group or detainees’ support structure.

That’s where I found myself in the late 80s; working in an NGO whose work was, on the face of it, completely legal but which tended (more often than it should have) to get involved in support work for organisations like the UDF, Sayco and Cosas.

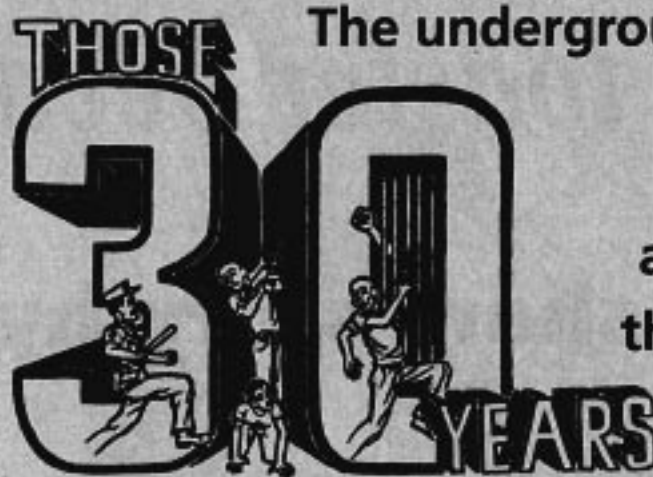
Imagine my surprise, then, when our completely “legal” office was raided by the security police during 1989 – and literally torn apart by walkie talkie-wielding men.

“We’re searching for banned literature,” they told us. And spent the next three hours dismantling our filing cabinets, stripping our desks, rifling through our bags and reading notebooks.

Their search soon bore fruit. In my filing cabinet, they found notes from a UDF meeting we’d held several months earlier to plan ways of dealing with the State of Emergency.

“You know this illegal... you are promoting the aims of a banned organisation,” the cop in charge, a notorious character called Captain Van Huysteen, told me - his nostrils flaring. “The UDF is restricted in terms of the State of Emergency.”

I protested that the gathering had not been an official UDF meeting, but he would have nothing of it. Van Huysteen and his men were aroused, and checked through my diary, scrutinising every page. They found something ... my heart stopped. “What’s this,” one cop growled. “Car registrations...” For some reason, they found that even more threatening than the UDF notes.



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.

“What’s this? Van Huysteen grilled me, perhaps thinking I hadn’t heard the first bark. Then again: “What’s this?”

I told him, in all honesty, that I’d been involved in a car crash and had written down the other vehicle’s registration for an insurance claim.

“We should detain you now... NOW!” he barked.

I was really confused. Was it illegal to write down car registrations, I protested?

That made him flip: “You are promoting the aims of a banned organisation!” he barked, louder than ever, ever before.

Colleagues, thankfully, intervened: “Its nothing serious,” they protested. “Okay, take the notes, but this is just an insurance thing. You can check it out.”

The cops radioed HQ and made a decision a few agonising minutes later: “This time, we will let you go. But we are taking this material with us. You will hear from us.”

An hour or so later, after making us sign countless documents confirming what they were taking, Van Huysteen and his friends left ... my diary still intact on my desk, but minus the page with the car registration number.

I picket it up fondly. I opened the diary slowly and there, still wedged firmly inside the inside back cover, was a folded piece of paper with all the contact details for my ANC handler in Zimbabwe. Secret phone numbers, addresses for dead letterboxes, “trigger” messages to be used to alert my handler that something was on its way. Much, much more valuable than some notes on a UDF meeting almost a year earlier. And definitely of far more use to cops than the registration number of some poor sucker’s damaged car ... ♦

Dick

The toaster became the toasted

- a short story by Josphat Pondo

The paper with the news lay useless on the coffee-table. Sheila didn't have the slightest interest in newspapers but this one, she picked up, leafed through carelessly till the last page. Knowing exactly what she was looking for, she whispered the bold letters to herself - "Toaster dates Handsome."

An almost forgotten cigarette hung precariously between her short and spoilt fingers. She suddenly inhaled hungrily from the cigar and as she released the smoke, her big nose looked like a smoking hot dog.

"Come what may, Biggie has to win this one." She simultaneously puffed the words and the smoke.

Sheila was proud to own Biggie. The three years they had stayed together didn't seem much time to her. She had not even taken chances with pregnancy. Not because she did not want to, but because she was more interested in his pockets than brooding for him.

Time passed slowly for her. She was both nervous and impatient about the fight. She unwillingly helped the promoters by visiting her friends and telling them about the match. Almost everyone she talked to, saw Toaster snatching the title. Of course, there was need for optimism. Biggie had, in the past, converted unhappy moments to joyous celebrations by winning controversial fights to the pride of his fans. As of late, he had become famous by eliminating his opponents by TKO which earned him the name "Toaster". If luck was on his side and given the chance, he really toasted them around.

What everyone did not take into account is that a hero can be taught heroism. Roy Simon, better known as "Handsome", was a different type of challenger. Roy was still a rising star but, whoever had been unfortunate enough to be his opponent, really regretted it afterwards. He had won all 11 of his professional fights, two of them within the distance. This time he was not sure of himself because Toaster was a threat to many boxers.

When the day for the fight finally came, Sheila was more than delighted. She prepared herself for the occa-

sion. Despite all her efforts to make herself presentable, she still looked a lot uglier than average ugliness.

She was a short, stout woman whose face was very eventful. She had popped pebble-like eyes that were threatening to jut out of their sockets any minute. Her mouth had thin lips that never touched each other even in times of stress. A huge flat nose was the centre of attraction. To round off her magnificence, she drowned in a yellow drop-waist that ran to her ankles.

Sheila was more than prepared to go and cheer "lovie" demolish Handsome.

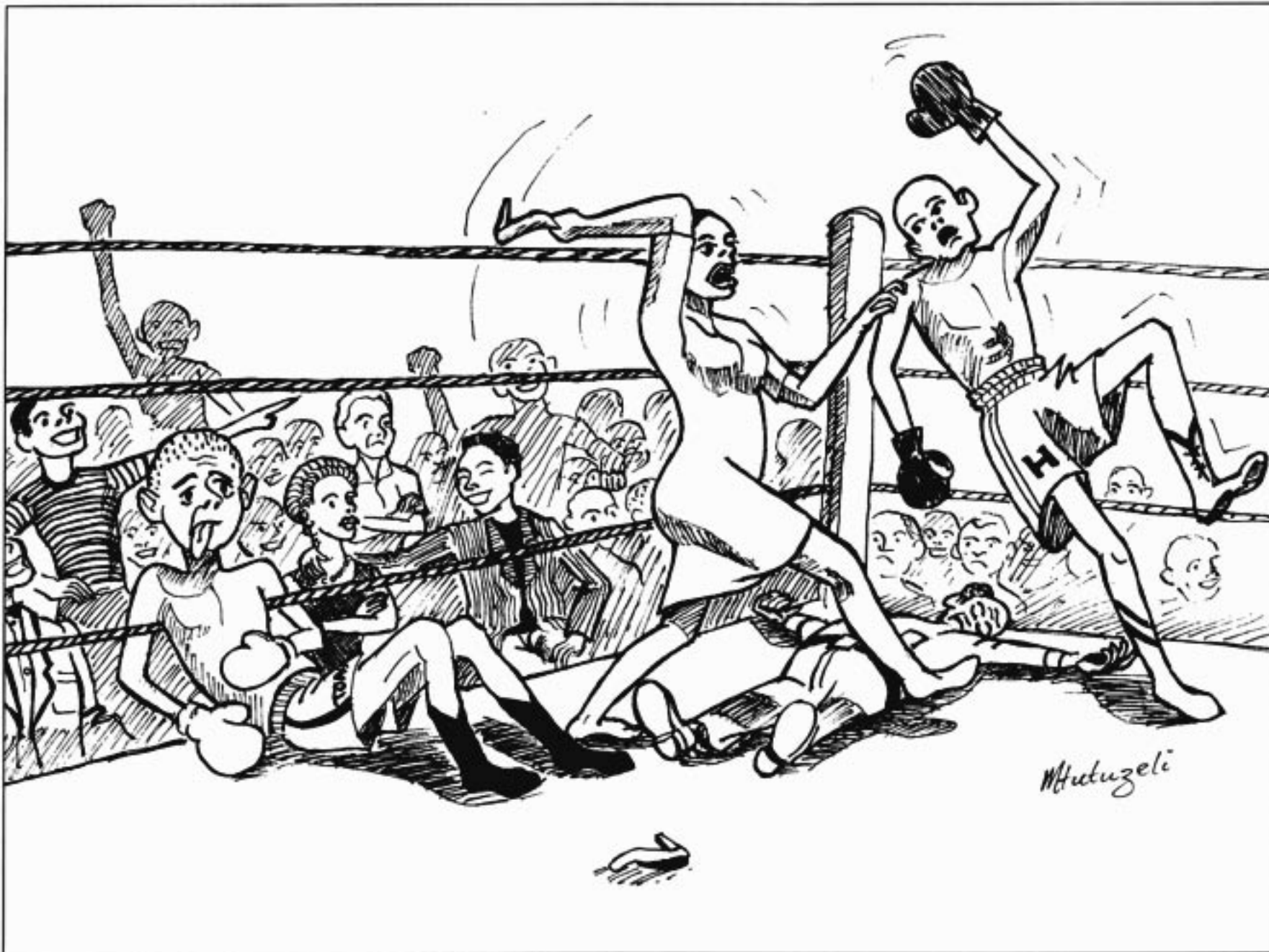
Sheila sat crumpled beside Biggie as they drove to the Good Hope Centre. Memories of previous victories came flooding back. Even the worst times were unavoidable. Several times Biggie had come home with a dislocated jaw or something and she clearly remembered how she had spent nights nursing his cuts. At one time she had begged Biggie to abandon fighting after successive defeats but he was immovable.

"Naturally, I was born to ride on the rough tides," he had told her. A dog eat dog profession!

Once at the centre, she took a front seat. For a minute or so she sat so dilapidated admiring the canvas that would or would not withstand her husband's reputation. When Toaster finally mounted the ring, a deafening uproar of cheers erupted. He proudly walked around the ring showing the audience what he was made of and, in doing so, he met Sheila's eyes and beckoned her. In no time he imparted a perfunctory kiss to her through the ropes.

As Sheila went back to her seat, murmuring applause signalled the entrance of Handsome. Sheila was so excited. "It will be a walk-over," she whispered to herself. At exactly that moment, she felt some dampness between her legs. That was always the situation. Whenever she was this excited, her emotions always played tricks with her.

The ref did not waste time in getting the fight started. The twelve-round fight started at a terrific speed. Toaster was jabbing at Handsome like mad. Sheila was almost be-



side herself when Handsome unleashed a jab that caught Toaster unawares. The toaster quickly regained balance and bounced back with hooks that nearly sent Handsome daydreaming. He was seemingly delivering the goods as people cheered him.

It was not until the seventh-round that Handsome showed his rejuvenation. He retaliated with uppercuts and hooks that Toaster found too technical to cope with. Jabs came in one after the other and sounds of breaking cartilage could be heard as Handsome thundered home. The mighty Toaster was being handsomely toasted as he stumbled from corner to corner hardly recognising his dignity.

Sheila couldn't bear the sight. She tried to shout abuses at the ref to stop the fight but the ref seemed to be enjoying the fight which had regrettably become one sided. The aggrieved Sheila could see an open wound below Toaster's eye bleeding profusely which, if serious enough, would cost him the fight. Sheila's head played merry-go-round. "It has to be now or never!" she stood up to shout at the boxers.

As quickly as you and I can believe, she was squeezing herself between the ropes to impose justice on the match. Her dress pulled up in the process, leaving every-

thing outside, but this did not cause her much concern. Frustration could be seen all over her face. When she managed to steady herself on the canvas, armed with her stilleto, she grabbed the ref from behind and knocked on his head. The knock was so strong that the ref had to oblige. The ageing ref rolled onto the canvas unconsciously. Mission accomplished!

Sheila then advanced to Handsome from behind and a repeated performance found Handsome out of control and he collapsed lifelessly. Left alone to themselves, the helper and the helped looked into each other's eyes but there was no time for explanations. The angry crowd engulfed the ring in search of the two but pandemonium helped them to sneak out.

After a long exhausting hour of waiting in the car, Toaster then showed up. The nature of his outlook implied that he had really had a rough time. He didn't have the guts to ask her about her performance. He started the engine and the 323 sped off.

Knowing exactly that she owed him an explanation, she was first to break the funeral silence in the car, "If I hadn't intervened, you would have damaged his face darling."

"Oh-hh! What a brilliant show you put up," he blurted. ♦

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Development Education Directory

A publication of the **Development Contact Network** - a development resource and networking agency in Durban, Natal.

The Development Education Directory facilitates the sharing of information by providing an accessible listing of development organisations in the Durban Functional Region. These are arranged in special interest categories such as Education Action and Policy Groups; Early and Special Education, Student Tuition, Training Literacy, etc. The particular focus is on those organisations which empower people through imparting skills and developing individuals abilities.

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Voteburger

The scene is election day. Bongani is setting up his hamburger stand near a polling station, with an election day special – a voteburger for R2. He is looking forward to doing a roaring trade.

The video delivers voter education through Bongani's interaction with his customers and a competitor who sets up a rival hotdog stand.

An elderly couple comes along. They think pensioners aren't allowed to vote. And they are sceptical because four years after the unbanning of organisations, whites are still in power. Bongani persuades them that they are allowed to vote and that this election is what the struggle for all these years has been about.

At first he tries to chase his competitor away – this has been his turf for a long time. The hotdog man insists it is a "free country" and stands his ground. Bongani concedes that this is what democracy is about – letting people choose. He is confident his customers who know and trust him will stick with him. A young kid pesters both of them, stealing rolls from Bongani and tying the shoelaces of the hotdog man together.

Two youths arrive, discussing the meaning of the election. One boasts that if you win, you get a house in Houghton and a fancy car. If you lose, your house gets taken away. Bongani explains that everyone wins in an election – even if you don't come first. Smaller parties will have a role to play. And elections are held regularly so you can always try again next time.

Along comes a woman afraid to vote because she is convinced her husband can find out who she voted for. She fears he will beat her if she doesn't vote for his party. Bongani takes her to the polling booth to show her that the ballot is secret.

The mechanics of voting are demonstrated in this scene: the need for ID, hands checked under a spe-

**Directed by
David Lister**

*Script: Rapid Phase Group
(creators of Madam and Eve)*

cial light to ensure you haven't yet voted, getting a form, making your cross in a booth (being sure not to spoil your paper) and placing your form in the sealed ballot box.

One of the youths tries to use a party membership card as ID and is sent away.

Outside, the mischievous child is back trying his shoelace trick again. Realising he has been detected, he protests that he was actually looking for his money. The camera moves up, to show the "victim" is Nelson Mandela, with an ANC rosette and ID. He tells the boy he is pleased to see him and now he is ready to vote.

This video usefully dramatises a range of issues the voting public need to be aware of. It is reasonably short and would probably serve as a useful catalyst for a discussion in a voter education meeting or workshop. The light-hearted, humorous approach perhaps helps to present the issue in a positive way.

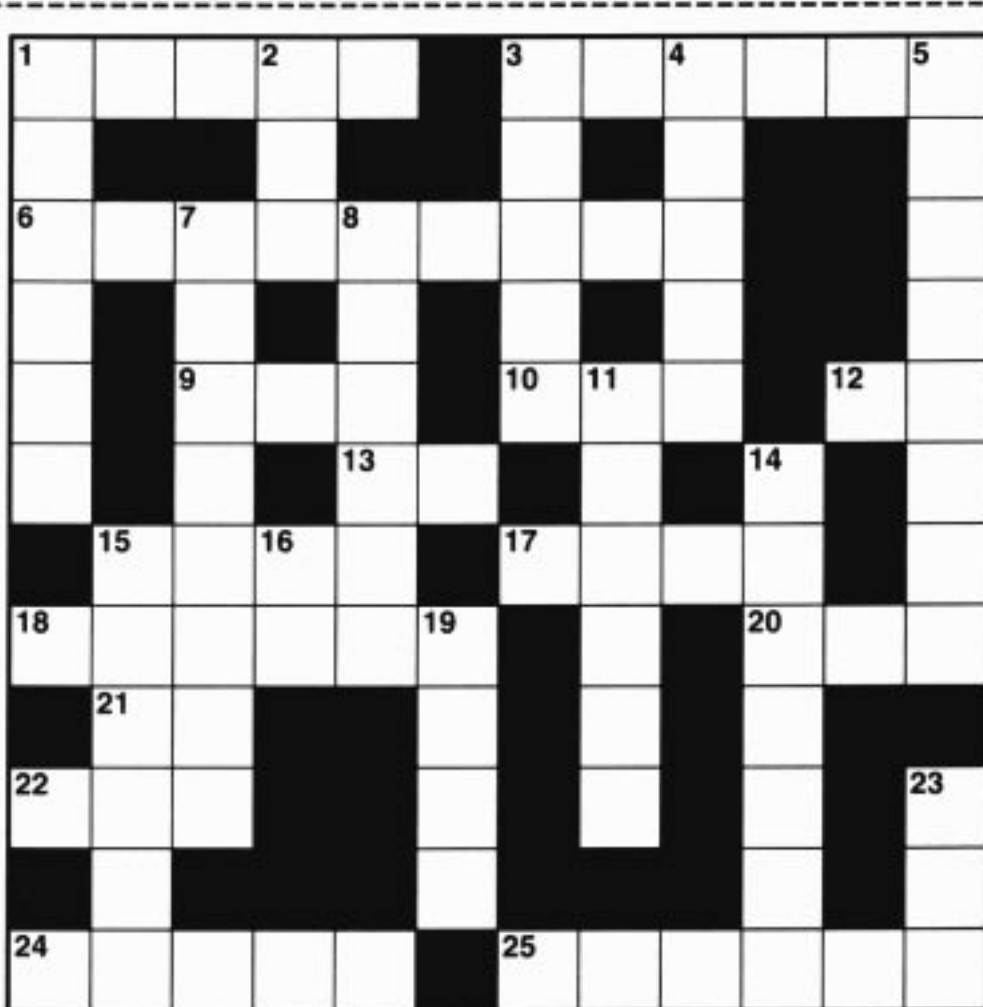
But the script and the acting are at times embarrassingly weak and the happy-go-lucky atmosphere definitely too good to be true. The crowds rolling up to vote clearly don't come from war-torn townships and haven't travelled in taxis or trains where getting on board might mean risking your life. They are not farm or domestic workers who have had to struggle with a hostile baas to get to the polling station.

One of the advantages of video is that it can reach people who don't read and write. This video doesn't show what a ballot form looks like or help those who can't read and write learn what to look out for to identify the party of their choice.

Of course, a single video can't deal with everything. But this one just doesn't get its priorities right. From Rapid Phase, the studio that creates Madam and Eve, I expected something more tuned in. ♦

DM

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 26



Name:

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Postal code:

WIN R100 AND
A MAYIBUYE
T-SHIRT

TEST YOUR
KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT THE ANC

Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 25



Across

- Alliance of rightwingers and bantustan puppets, now called the Freedom Alliance.
- Now is the time! Ke nako! ...!
- Cradock teacher and UDF leader murdered by the regime's agents.
- Foundel and led by Dr Abdurahman.
- AWB leader.
- Party that invented apartheid and enforced it for the past 45 years.
- Barren.
- Maybe one of the elements constituting the new South African national Defence Force.
- PLO leader.
- Sister Bernard Ncube is one.
- After the birth of Christ
- Independent Broadcasting Authority.
- People who take jobs of striking workers.
- Successfully opposed clauses in the new constitution entrenching the right of employers to lock-out striking workers and jobs and pensions for the present civil service.

Down

- Bantustan whose leader is on trial for murder.
- Its leader (Beyers) has defected to the NP.
- ANC Natal Midlands Chairperson.
- Vice-President of Zimbabwe.
- People's Forums marked the launch of the ANC's campaign.
- ANC NEC member who served 25 years in prison.
- MK's Chief-of-Staff.
- Union for police and prison warders.
- Co-Winner of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize.
- Widely spoken in the Middle East.
- Intermediate Frequency.
- The interim constitution makes provision for the abolishment of the "states" and self-governing bantustans.
- Unites African countries.



WINNER!

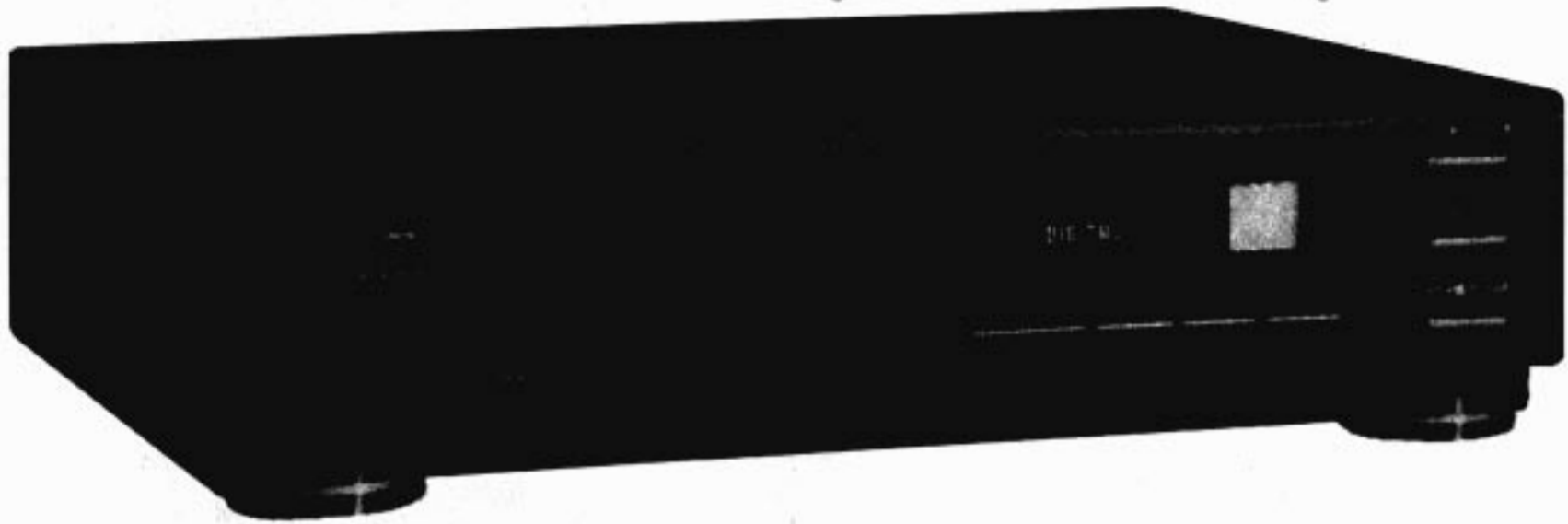
The winner of
MAYIBUYE XWORD No 25
is Teboho Moloi
PO Box 1399
Harrismith
9880
CONGRATULATIONS!



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 27**, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- Closing date: 15 February 1993.
- See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, March 1994.

Enter this exciting new competition!



Win a Compact Disc (CD) Player!

QUESTIONS

1. is the Deputy Chairperson of the PWV Region of the ANC.
2. is celebrated as MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) day in the ANC.
3. In which forum are people given the opportunity to voice their opinions?
 - a. House to house campaign
 - b. People's Forums
 - c. Tripartite Alliance
4. Thabo Mbeki is the ANC's head of the....
 - a. Department of Arts & Culture
 - b. Department of International Affairs
 - c. Department of Information & Publicity

RULES

1. Only one entry per person.
2. Send your entry to **MAYIBUYE Win a CD Competition**, PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
 - Print your full name, address, phone number (if any) and answers on a separate sheet of paper.
 - Cut out from the cover the triangle containing the words "Win a CD Player" and send it with your entry.
3. Closing date 15 March 1994.
4. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
5. Employees of the ANC and their immediate families may not enter.
6. Winner to be announced in the April 1994 issue of **MAYIBUYE**.

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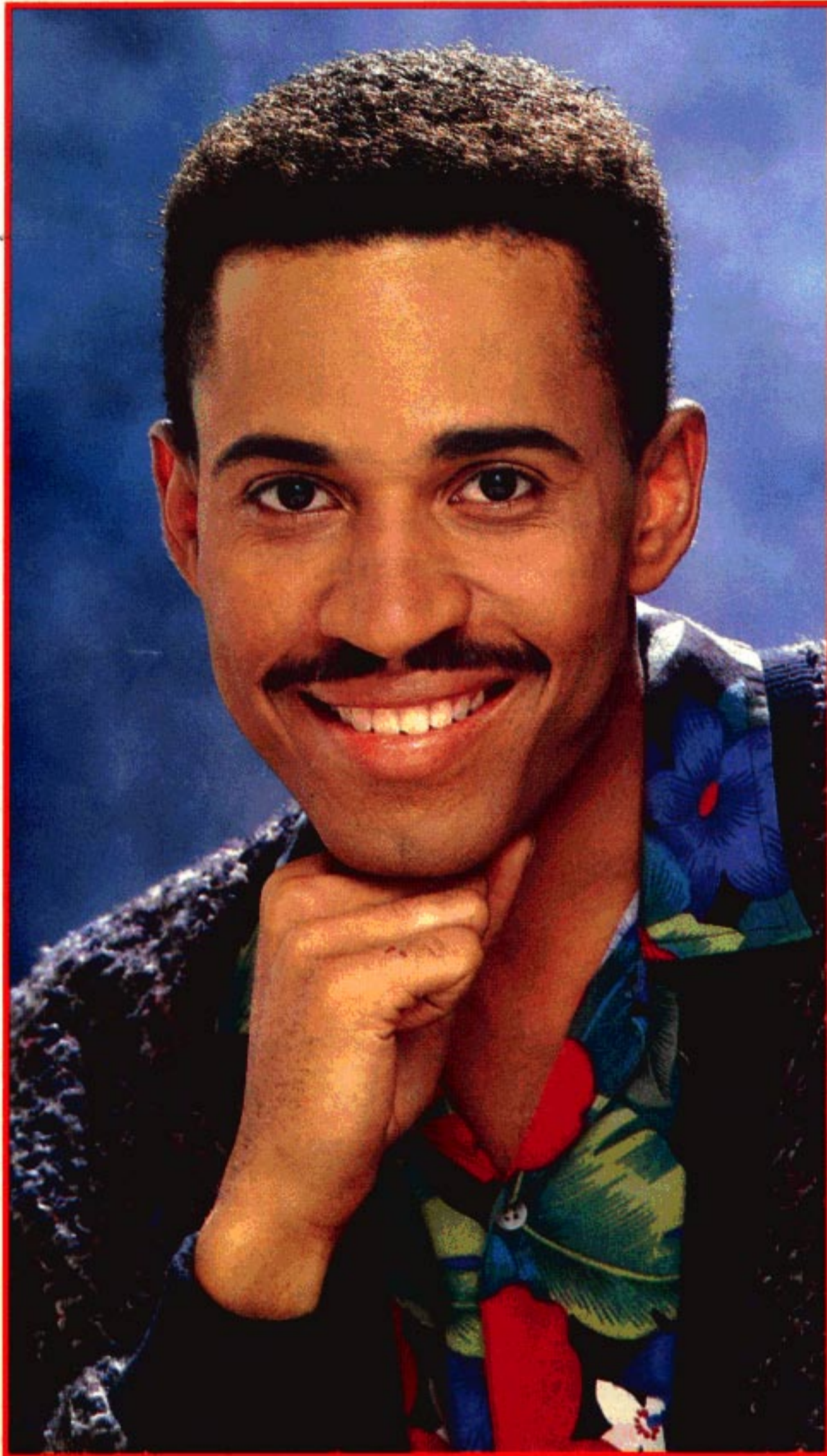
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BECAUSE IT CAN BE DONE.

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.



So Curl for long lasting Curls from...

BLACK
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