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Mayibuye

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Journal of the African National Congress

NP'S NEGOTIATIONS JITTERS

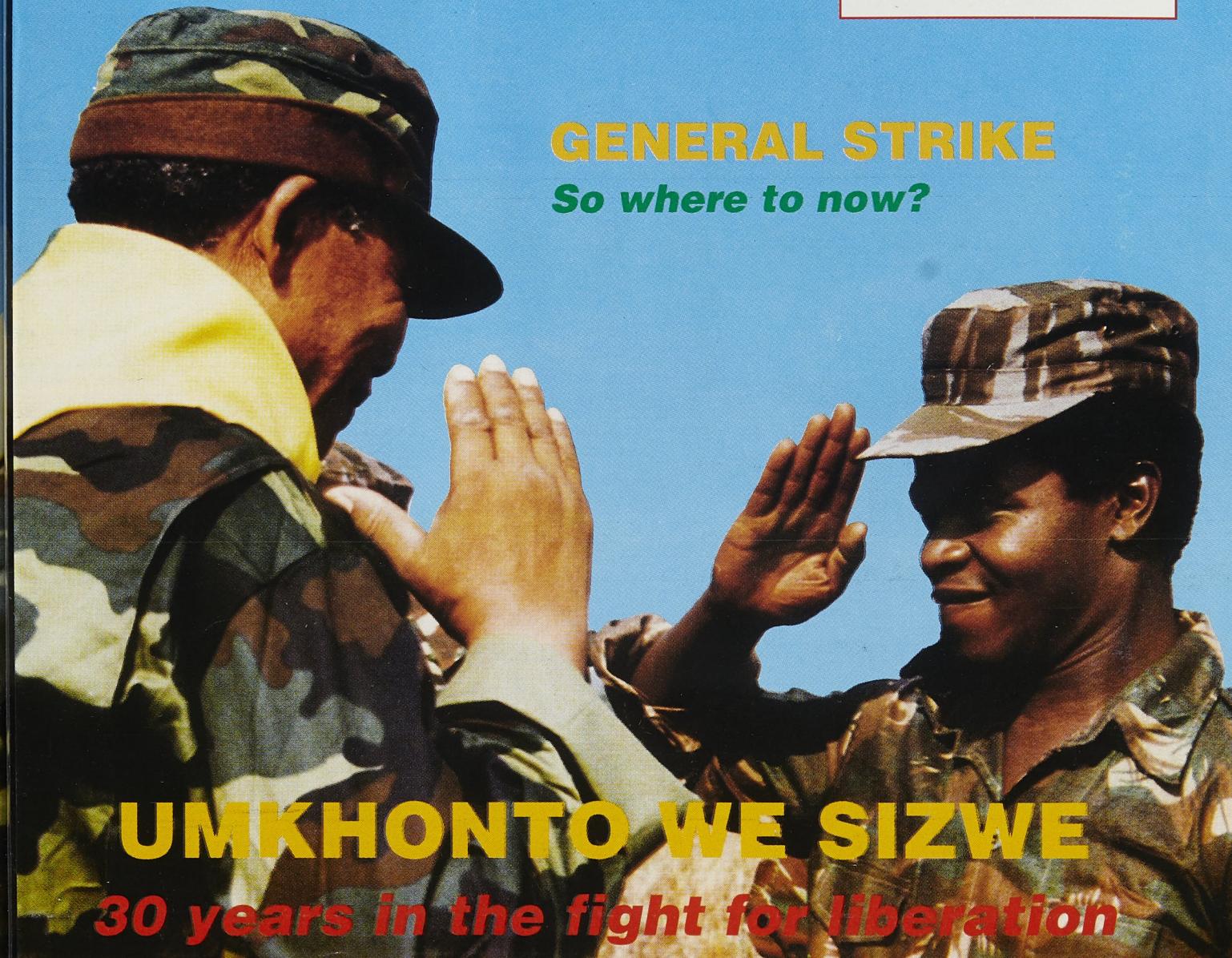
The arrogance of power

STORM IN A TEACUP



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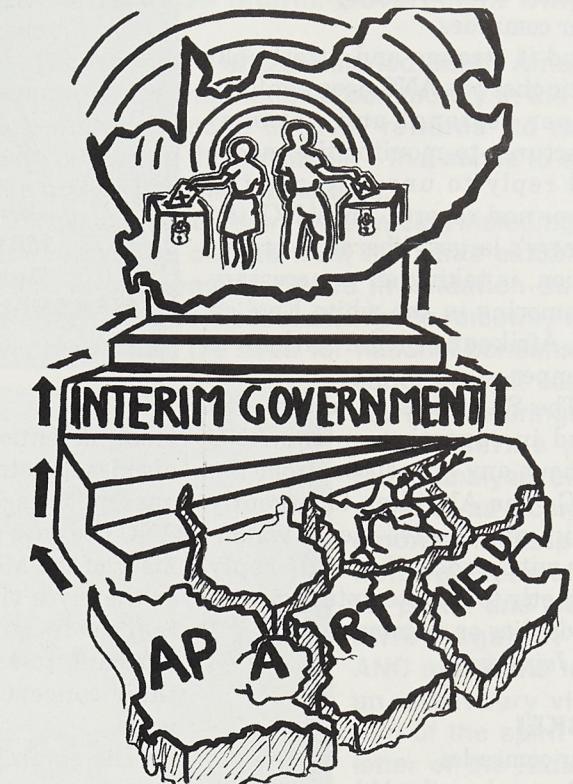
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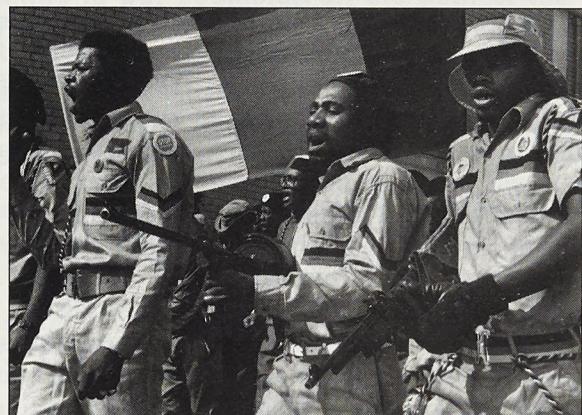
The editorial team of MAYIBUYE wishes our readers well over the festive season. There will be no January issue. See you in February!



• 6-8

NP's negotiations jitters

Arrogance of power



• 24-28

Umkhonto we Sizwe

30 years of struggle

MEDIA COVERAGE

Dear comrades

I find it strange and utterly pathetic that the ANC does not have proper regional and national structures to monitor the media and reply to unsubstantiated claims and reports. The ANC, the country's largest liberation organisation, is taking an unnecessary hammering in the white English and Afrikaans media without a whimper.

The SABC has an almost free hand in reporting on the ANC without any opposition from the ANC. The ANC has to urgently set up an effective media watchdog with teeth that will reply promptly to all attempts at propaganda, lies or disinformation.

FA, *Isipingo*

CISKEI

Dear comrades

In September, the Mdantsane district magistrate, Mr Ngoma, visited Noqwe Zone which is occupied by the Amandlambe tribe. He wanted to enforce the control of our people through the headman system.

He emphasised that the Ciskei administration is implementing the Black Administration Act of 1984, used by Sebe, despite the fact that people are fighting against this law. He visited the area for a second time in response to the people's rejection of the headman system and the fact that people are building civic associations. Certain people have been appointed as headmen by the magistrate. I think the aim is to create "ukubulalana" ("killing each other/ one another"). This clique will then be used to organise people into Gqozo's so-called African Democratic Movement. We are seeing another Inkatha being created in Ciskei with the aim of disuniting us.

ZP, *Berlin*

BOPHUTHATSWANA

Dear comrades

Bop continues to face harass-



Write to:

MAYIBUYE

Box 61884

MARSHALLTOWN 2107

ment, detentions, retrenchments, dismissals, etc under the puppet apartheid regime. Although the ANC does not recognise the legitimacy of the Mangope government or the myth of Bop sovereignty, I feel it is time for all South Africans to stand up and voice their concern over this boiling issue.

The sovereignty of this territory is non-existent since the South African regime has a ruling in every sphere of our lives. The following examples show this:

- SADF intervention in suppressing the "1989 coup";
- oil and petrol increases in Bop occur at the same time as in SA;
- VAT is now also applicable here.

Why can't there be a joint effort by all South Africans who cherish the dream of a unitary, non-racial, non-fragmented democratic South Africa to topple the double standard policies of De Klerk and Mangope?

MTM, *Mmabatho*

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Dear comrades

Penge is a remote and rural area where the liberation movement has not set foot. The area is about 40 km from Burgersfort. We are encountering difficulties in the organisation and mobilisation of people.

The branch of the ANC Youth League is working in isolation. We do not have an ANC or Womens League branch. There

are no civics, SRCs or PTSAs.

Our main concern is the SADF which is camped at Ga-Motshana. Our women comrades are being harassed by them. They arrange soccer matches during examinations – this shows how much they care for our education.

We arranged a mini-rally at Ga-Matsiri (next to Penge mine). This launched the signature campaign. Through **MAYIBUYE** I appeal to villages like Motshana, Mabotsha, Driekop, and others to wake up and get themselves organised.

DMM, *Penge*

VAT

Dear comrades

In your October edition it is stated that VAT is 10 percent – three percent less than GST. It is also logical that goods should cost three percent less than before. I noted that **MAYIBUYE** cost R3.00 under GST and now with VAT it costs R3.00. It is not the few cents that matter, but the principle – you are cheating your readers with three percent.

HW, *Sasolburg*

Ed: MAYIBUYE has been undergoing certain changes which have increased production costs. These costs have been absorbed by maintaining MAYIBUYE at the old price.

ANC SPORTS

Dear comrades

ANC support for white-dominated sports is alienating African supporters, especially when soccer is not getting any attention. The ANC could convince the Confederation of African Football (CAF) to withdraw its banning of South African soccer with ease. Why is not doing this?

TN, *Venda*

Ed: Your letter has been referred to Steve Tshwete, the ANC's Sports Liason Officer. We hope to publish his response in the next issue.

The recent emotional outbursts from the white ruling bloc have raised many questions about negotiations. All this could be dismissed as desperate actions by an arrogant establishment with its back against the wall – or an attempt to placate a worried constituency.

But if the regime's leaders go to the extent of threatening hell and damnation when in future a democratic constitution comes into being, then South Africa has cause to worry. Emotional outbursts of this nature do not help the peace process. They do not leave the National Party's worried constituency any wiser.

The NP needs to be taught the culture of tolerance. It must be schooled on how to lose a political battle with dignity. It has to be reminded that the time when it could abuse political office at will is over. It has a historic responsibility to bring present-day realities to its followers.

The transition is about to begin. Soon, the National Party will be in opposition. And, even sooner, when an Interim Government comes into being, it will not be the only governing force.

Therefore, when the leader of the NP fumes about interim sports symbols, he is putting to question what transition is all about. When his sports minister challenges an independent decision by sportspersons and vows to deny taxpayers' money to an internationally recognised non-racial sports body, he is confirming that South

Africa needs an Interim Government without delay.

The National Party consigned South Africa to a limbo. If the international community in the last few months tended to give "rewards" to those who conceded the inevitable – in a sense to spoil the bully – that time is passing.

This applies to many other areas, including the economy. The chorus from the white establishment about some imagined intimidation during the VAT strike is a pitiful attempt to run away from the real issue: the need for national consultation about current economic restructuring.

De Klerk's profound analysis of the violence as a conflict among blacks positioning themselves for power and his diatribe against the ANC are at the least an unsavoury violation of the spirit and letter of the National Peace Accord. They make one wonder whether in fact the recent outbreak of violence was not en-

gineered and timed to coincide with the occasions at which these interpretations were made.

For the NP to start fuming and frothing at this late hour will only complicate the process of transition. It will give new vigour to spoilers of all kinds to put obstacles on the path of the All-Party Congress and negotiations in general.

But, rest assured, the NP and its allies cannot stop the process of democratic change. The majority of South Africans want it – and democratic change they shall have. ♦

The NP's arrogance of power

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Harassment of ANC leaders in the E Tvl continues

At about 5.30 am on Wednesday 20 November 1991 the police raided the home of Jackson Mthembu, Eastern Transvaal ANC Media Officer. He was taken to the police station and back to his house some four hours later, which was then searched. Police "found" a pistol, hand grenade, an AK 47 with a full magazine and an extra 30 rounds, and a bayonet.

Mthembu insists that he did not possess any of this weaponry and that they were planted in his house. Seen in the light of the attempts to murder Regional Secretary Joe Nkuna and Acting Secretary Jacques Modipane, this constitutes a concerted campaign of harassment of ANC cadres in the region.

AWB incites violence against the ANC in the W Tvl

An AWB leaflet titled "Oproep om mass protes! Hou Klerksdorp Blank!" (Call to mass protest! Keep Klerksdorp white!) was widely distributed

in Klerksdorp, W Tvl. The leaflet gives the home address of the ANC regional media officer, Ike Moroe, and asks: "Is julle bewus van die swart adder?" (Are you aware of the black adder).

Prospects for peace in the Border

Following a meeting between the Ciskei government and a regional ANC delegation led by ANC President Nelson Mandela, peace achieved a major breakthrough in Border with the formation on November 20 of the Border Peace Committee to implement the National Peace Accord. The committee was formed following a meeting held at Rhodes University East London campus.

Participants at the meeting included the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, DP, Ciskei government, PAC, Border Business Action Committee, Border Civics Congress, Border Council of Churches, SAP, Black Sash and the Independent Board for Monitoring Informal Repression. The SA government was represented by an observer from its embassy in Ciskei.

The Border ANC, whilst welcoming the formation of the Border Peace Committee, has warned against further violence in the region. Hours after the meeting

between the ANC and the Ciskei government, petrol bombs were hurled at the house of NEC member Arnold Stofile. On Tuesday November 20, the home of ANC activist Phillip Gxotiwe, in Ngqele township in Alice, was attacked with hand grenades.

Meanwhile, the region has embarked on a week-long campaign of mass action. Successful marches have been held in Zwelitsha, Dimbaza and Alice. The campaign is planned to culminate in a "regional march" on Bisho. The main demand is the establishment of an interim administration in Ciskei to manage the process of transition.

ANC celebrates 80th anniversary

On January 8 1992 the African National Congress will launch in Bloemfontein a year-long observance of its 80th anniversary. In an advert to announce the campaign, ANC President Nelson Mandela says: "This historic occasion will mark 80 years of struggle against racial oppression and discrimination for a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist South Africa. Through out these decades, the ANC has stood

by these ideals. It has survived a sustained campaign of persecution unleashed by successive white minority regimes.

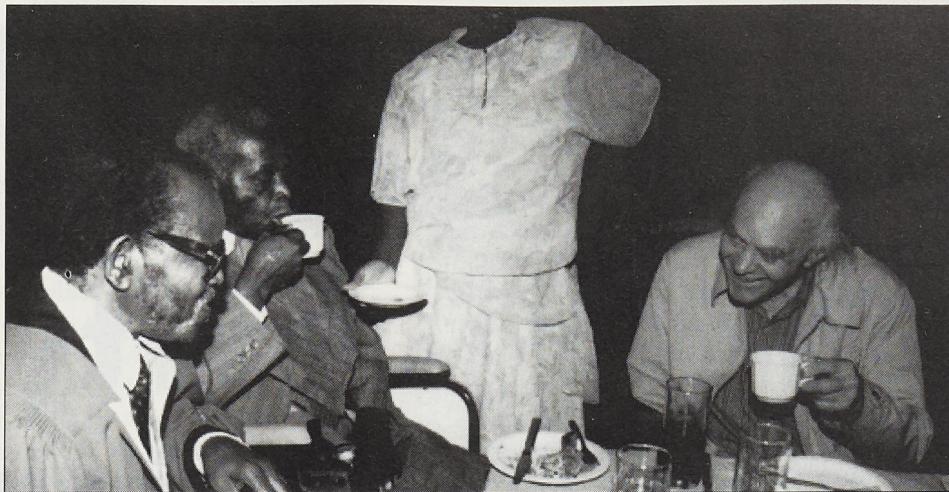
"When the time came to resist apartheid oppression and repression arms in hand, the ANC did not shirk its responsibility. It is thanks to the efforts of the majority of South Africans, led by the ANC, that today our country stands at the threshold of democracy and reconciliation. Today those who sought to destroy the ANC pretend to embrace some of its ideals. This further testifies to the justness of our cause and the nobility of the ideals the ANC has cherished for eight decades.

"The ANC remains steadfast in its commitment to the unity of South Africans across ethnic and racial lines. The ANC will spare no effort to rid our country of apartheid – a crime against humanity...

"As we approach the anniversary, the ANC is more confident than ever before that our beautiful country will soon breathe the sweet fragrance of freedom, peace and social justice. We invite all our people and our friends internationally, to join it in this, South Africa's historic moment."

Trying to be a major player

After a meeting on November 20, the ANC



A meeting of veterans – ANC National Chairperson, Oliver Tambo, Oscar Mpetha and Jack Simons get together after Tambo received an honorary doctorate from the University of the Western Cape in October

and the NP/Government decided to issue the following statement the following day:

"After broad consultations it has been decided to convene a preparatory meeting on November 29 1991 with a view to discussing arrangements for an All-Party Congress envisaged for 20 and 21 December.

"Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such a preparatory meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon. No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet."

Out of the blue the Inkatha Freedom Party also issued the same statement in its name – all in an effort to be seen as a major role-player – whereupon many other parties decided to do the same.

Southern OFS conference

A leading member of the SACC and OFS Civics Congress, Sekhopi Malebo, was elected as chair of the OFS ANC regional executive at a conference held on 12 November. Three women were also elected onto the REC.

The conference, attended by 126 delegates representing 40 of the 53 branches in the Southern OFS, committed itself to the theme "Unity in Action for a Peaceful and Democratic South Africa".

In the Conference Declaration the region pointed out that the "violent activities of the regime and its surrogates ... impede the creation of a democratic society based on human values."

The conference came

out in full support of the Peace Accord and the resolutions adopted at the Patriotic Front conference. Other resolutions concerned the improvement of the regional Organising Department, and the right to self-defence.

Signature Campaign

With only a month left for the closure of the Signature Campaign, regions and branches are throwing in their lot to make sure that the maximum number of South Africans back the demands for an Interim Government and a Constituent Assembly.

Mandla Dlamini of the National Campaigns Committee appealed to all regions to submit the collected signature forms before 8 January 1992. The following figures, submitted by the NCC, show the increase in figures since the last report submitted in September. (The total for September was 500

085.)	
PWV	55 347
E Transvaal	2 610*
W Transvaal	16 249
N Transvaal	47 730
N Natal	10 500*
S Natal	19 820
Midlands	11 863
N Cape	15 766
W Cape	35 865
E Cape	99 356*
Border	51 404*
Transkei	140 000*
N OFS	16 038
S OFS	16 873*
Total	529 971

* indicates no change since the last report.

Youth League conference preparations

The ANC Youth League will be holding its Inaugural Congress 8-12 December 1991 in KwaNdebele. Amongst international guests expected are representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the Pan-Africanist Youth Movement.

Honorary President of the ANC Youth League and National Chair of the ANC, OR Tambo, will present the opening address, while Walter Sisulu, ANC Deputy-President, will deliver the keynote address.

The conference is expected to end on a high note with an open concert at the KwaMhlanga Stadium featuring a range of top artistes. ♦

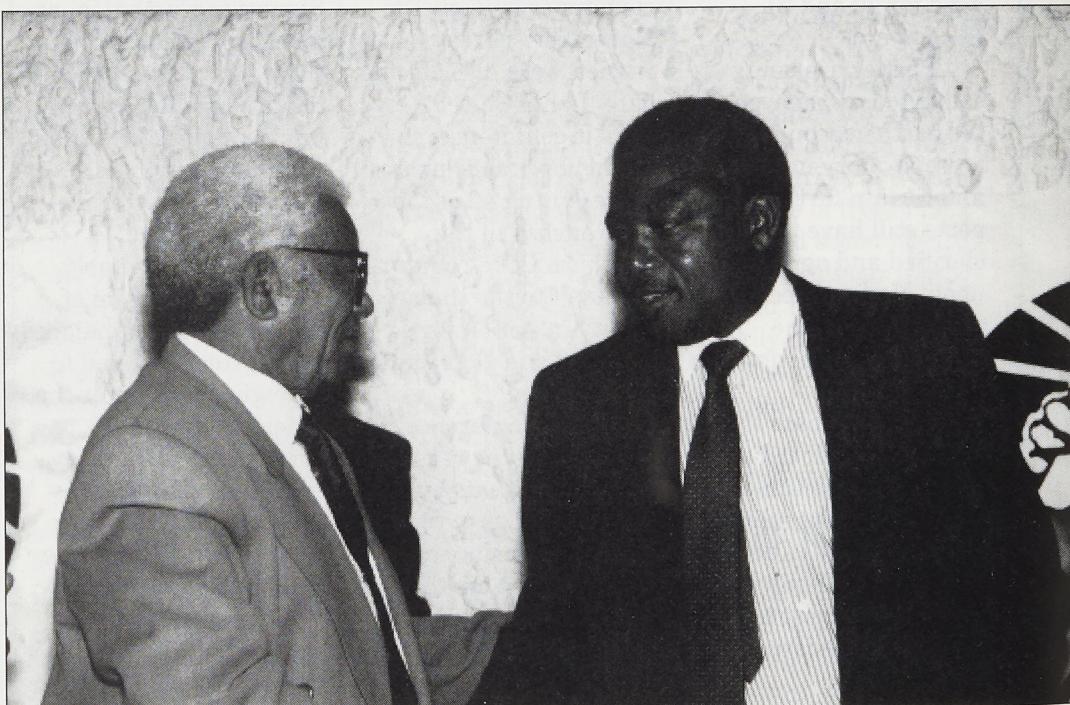


Above:
a demonstration
against VAT – the
public takes part
in negotiations

Right:
Walter Sisulu with
Brig Mbitha,
Executive
Secretary of the
OAU Liberation
Committee at the
Patriotic Front
Conference in
Durban

The National Party's negotiations jitters

As **MAYIBUYE** went to press, dates for the All-Party Congress had just been announced. Unexpected hurdles led to the postponement of earlier plans. A correspondent comments...



On November 29, the preparatory meeting for the All - Party Congress (APC) meets to finalise details about convenors and other details. It has been proposed that the first sitting of the APC should take place on 20-21 December.

This time around, it appears, no hitches will undermine the desire to get the APC off the ground. In the previous attempt, the closer the proposed dates approached, the more elusive the event seemed to become. New complications were introduced by the National Party and its allies.

A frank assessment of this experience will help society to appreciate the tasks that face us to ensure that negotiations succeed.

It is understandable for the National Party and its allies to rant and rave at this historical juncture. Real negotiations are about to begin.

PIOUS WORDS

The convening of the APC means that South Africa is moving beyond the phase of talks-about-talks to deal with substantive questions about transition to democracy.

This means putting on the agenda broad perspectives that all parties have regarding the process of fundamental change. Pious words that have been thrown around will be weighed against concrete standpoints on crucial questions.

For those who seek to defend the status quo, the situation is quite ominous. In the talks-about-talks, the tendency to submerge everything in technical and bureaucratic detail was the stock-in-trade. In dealing with the violence, the perpetrators often successfully hide behind detail and counter-accusations, taking advantage of their massive propaganda machine.

Now they will be hard pressed

Old Boys Club that is no more

What happened at the conference of governmental leaders? **MAYIBUYE** reliably learns that the most skewed briefing was given by the NP/government. What had become areas of agreement after much resistance by the NP in discussions with the ANC, they presented as their own proposals. They did not want to come out with their original proposals nor to indicate that they had shifted.

Though there had not been prior consultation, most of the participants took positions similar to those of the democratic movement.

The regime is trying desperately to rope these leaders into its domain and undermine the broad Patriotic Front. They had seen this conference as the best opportunity. In the statement issued after the meeting, the government gave an impression that it had been mandated by the homeland and tri-cameral leaders to negotiate on their behalf. In the event, at least two bantustan parties have denied this.

Promises of governorship of regions and other enticements are in the offing for the homeland leaders. Even blackmail is not ruled out as the NP tries to augment its dwindling base. ◆

to explain why they are opposed to a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist South Africa. They will have to explain to the country and the world their opposition to internationally-recognised broad democratic principles. Actual intentions and not public relations exercises will be under the spotlight.

DELAYS

This is what gives the National Party and its allies the jitters. It explains, at least in part, the delays in preparations for the APC and the provocative statements from NP leaders.

All kinds of excuses have been put forward as the real reasons behind these delays. To expose some of them:

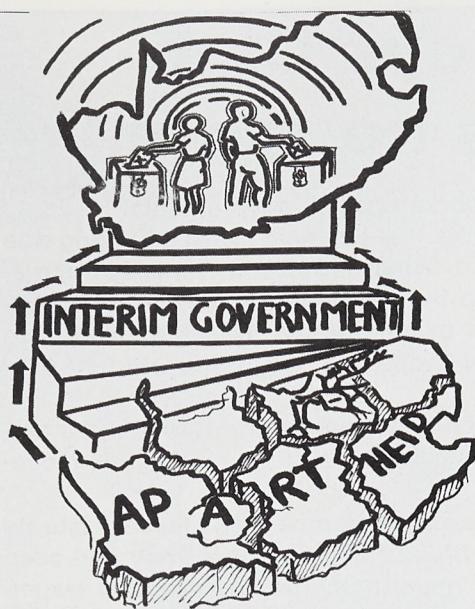
Lie Number 1: The National Party claims that an announcement by the ANC of the proposed dates of November 29 and 30 complicated issues. These dates had in fact been agreed upon with the

NP. Other parties were consulted and they had agreed. Besides, if the NP was so sensitive about who makes the announcement first, a week before the statement by Nelson Mandela, Stoffel van der Merwe of the NP had indicated in a TV2/3 interview that the APC would be held towards the end of November.

Lie Number 2: The IFP says the ANC seeks to work out arrangements only between itself and the NP. The IFP was constantly briefed by the NP. At the Patriotic Conference and in bilateral discussions, the ANC briefed most of the prospective participants.

In fact, it is the IFP which protested against the inclusion of 10 parties in the convening mechanism, proposing instead, itself, the ANC and NP as the so-called "major players".

Lie Number 3: Postponement of an earlier meeting of initiating parties was caused by ANC delay.



ing tactics. After the troika hurdle was overcome by agreeing to bring all the parties into the preparatory meeting, another spanner was thrown into the works. This time there was objection to Johan Heyns and Stanley Mogoba as co-convenors along with the Chief Justice.

This then is what has delayed the process. The fear of real negotiations is catching up with representatives of modified apartheid.

These sudden shivers also reflect the fear among some that their schemes for the transition will boomerang. It is reliably learnt that the NP wants a drawn-out transitional process with an interim constitution and Interim Government taking 10 years and more.

BANTUSTAN LEADERS

With this kind of weird approach and with its unworkable constitutional proposals, the position of the NP is therefore tenuous. It has very few friends as more and more forces even from the ranks of the bantustans and tri-cameral parliament join the quest for a fair and just transition.

This is the reality that the NP had to contend with at the conference of "governmental leaders"

bringing together bantustan and tri-cameral governing parties (See box). The Democratic Party's latest positions on the constituent assembly, transitional authority and even sports symbols coincide with those of the democratic movement.

The NP's sense of isolation is worsened by its failure to win allies beyond a few discredited politicians in its employ.

There is one profound lesson from all this for the National Party. They either identify with the democratic proposals of the majority and bring their supporters along, or find themselves pushed aside by an overwhelming national consensus.

PRESSURE

For broader South African society, the behaviour of the National Party and its allies bring out in even bolder relief the challenges that lie ahead. The new phase will be even more complicated.

Without sufficient pressure on the National Party, this process could stretch out for years on end. This is not a technical question about dates and formulations. It is about when peace, freedom and the vote will finally reign in our land.

For this there has to be struggle, uniting all patriotic forces. Trade unions, civics, youth and students' organisations, women's structures, religious and business groups, professionals and others have an important role to play (See Box). Programmes aimed at speeding up the process of transition need to be embarked upon without delay.

On January 8, 1992 the ANC will be 80 years old. Another 2 years under the system of racial oppression and discrimination will be more than enough. ♦

Civil society in the transition

The role of trade unions, civics and other sectoral organisations in the transition needs urgent attention. Should Cosatu, Contralesa, civics and others take part in the All-Party Congress? What is their role in relation to the Interim Government?

It is definitely not sufficient to call on these structures to mobilise for mass action when the need arises.

While it is true that the APC should involve political parties/organisations, it is also a fact that structures such as Cosatu have played and continue to play a central political role in the struggle for democracy. They are to all intents and purposes major political players.

The ANC has called for the participation of Cosatu in the APC. But if this raises complications such as the inclusion of all kinds of shady unions, the democratic movement would not insist. However, debate about the role of these structures continues. The proposed forums to deal with socio-economic issues (see page 12) are part of the answer.

At another level, says the ANC Negotiations Commission, these organs have to be constantly briefed about the process and themselves make an input. The mechanisms for this need to be strengthened.

In this way, positions the ANC puts forward at the negotiations table will reflect not only the mandate of its members, but of the democratic movement as a whole.

Where practicable and necessary, the ANC and other democratic political organisations should include in their delegations members who are working within organs of civil society. ♦

What kind of Front?

MAYIBUYE speaks to Jacob Zuma, the ANC's Deputy Secretary-General, on the significance of the Patriotic Front.

MAYIBUYE: What is the significance of the Patriotic Conference?

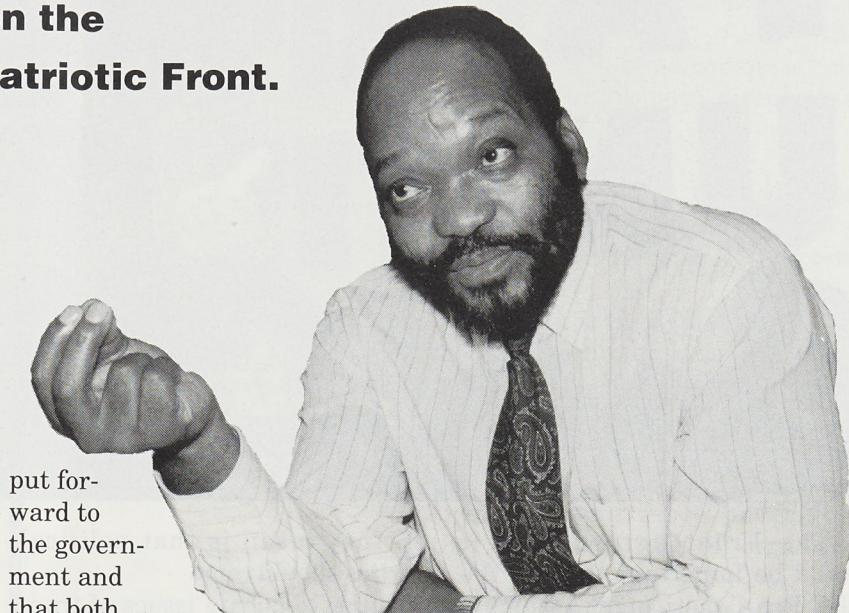
Jacob Zuma: The significance of the Patriotic Conference is that for the first time after many decades people who have been excluded on a constitutional basis, coming from different organisations, came together to discuss the future of this country and how we move into that future.

Those who in the past might have been jittery about discussing the crucial issues facing this country had an opportunity to voice their views in front of other compatriots who met at this Patriotic Conference. For the first time we were able to speak with one voice on a number of issues. If we had not met, people would have still thought we differed a lot on these issues.

MAYIBUYE: Did a front emerge from the conference and what form is it going to take?

JZ: Yes, a front did emerge from the conference. The convening organisations, that is the ANC and PAC, were given a task by the conference to continue leading the front. But we did not emerge with a neat, single organisation. We emerged with a front, a forum that is united by agreement around the current major national issues.

We agreed that the Liaison Committee which operated before the Patriotic Conference will continue linking up with all organisations that participated. It was also agreed that the issues that had been agreed upon would be



put forward to the government and that both

the ANC and PAC in particular should play the leading role in advancing the ideas of the front. At some point a meeting of representatives of all those who participated in the conference should be held to discuss the process of negotiations and in six months' time another conference will be convened.

What was crucial, in my view, was the degree of agreement among the participants on the key issues facing the country.

MAYIBUYE: Will the constituents of the front go to the APC as one unit or separately?

JZ: Our view as a front is that we are not going to go to the APC as one unit. Organisations will retain their independence and enter the negotiations separately.

We are dealing with issues to be negotiated in the process of transition, not with political programmes of each organisation. That distinction is important. We want to achieve a new South Africa with a new constitution which will allow each and every

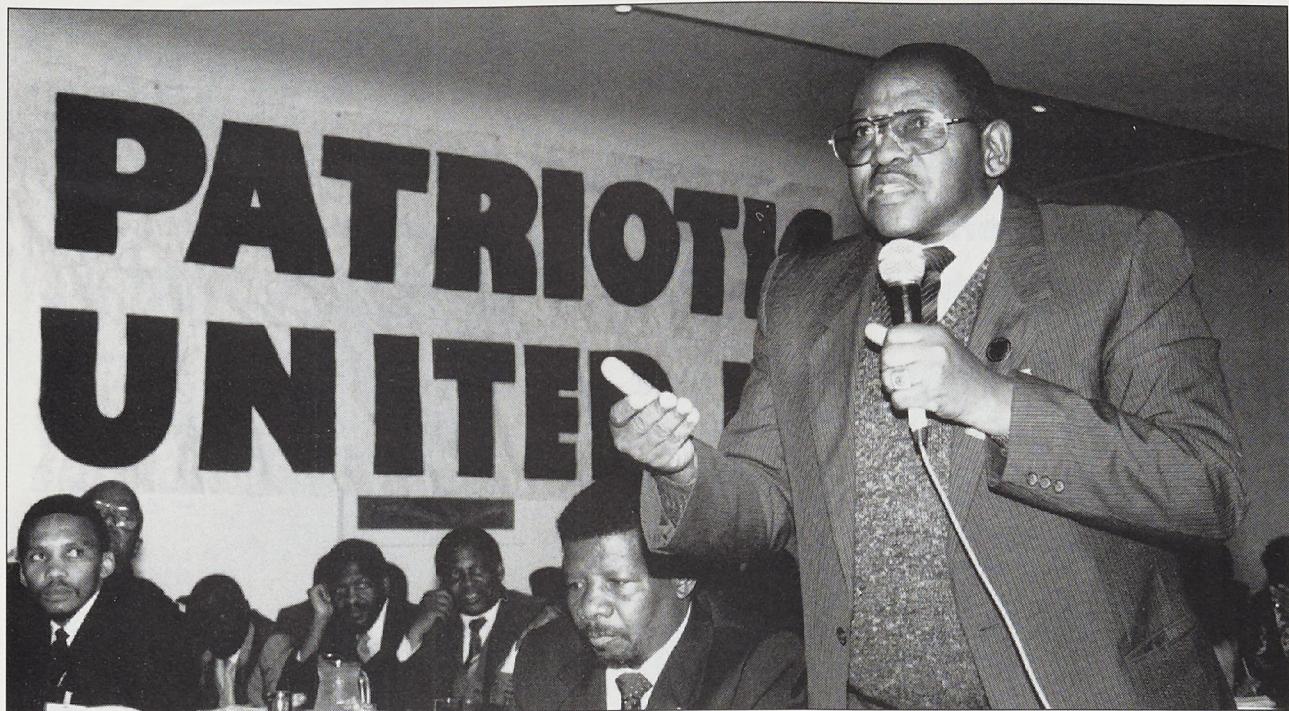
organisation in this country, including those in the front, to go to the political market place and market their political programmes. We are looking at the front from that point of view.

If in the process of working together we are in a position to narrow the gap on our political programmes and beliefs, nothing will stop the front from taking another shape. I think that would be determined by the objective conditions and the manner in which we conduct the struggle. But at this point in time it is better to go into the process of negotiations as separate organisations.

MAYIBUYE: What are the issues the front organisations are agreed on in relation to the agenda items of the APC?

JZ: The broad Patriotic Front (PF) is agreed firstly on the Constituent Assembly, which should be a democratically elected body.

There is also agreement on the issue of the Transitional Authority/Interim Government.



The Front agreed that it would be important to have the APC/Pre-Constituent Assembly meeting wherein these issues will be discussed, as well as the broad constitutional principles which must serve as guidelines to those who will be drawing up the new constitution. The basic approach will be based on internationally accepted principles embodied in the UN Consensus Declaration and the Harare Declaration.

The incorporation of the homelands into South Africa was identified as needing urgent attention. The Front also agreed that the negotiations process should be expedited. In this regard the ANC and PAC were given the task to immediately see the NP and/or Government.

MAYIBUYE: Is there any difference between the pre-Constituent Assembly meeting and All-Party Congress; or between the Interim Government and Transitional Authority?

JZ: In some instances but not all. The APC or pre-CA meeting is one and the same thing because

all they mean is that political parties should come together to debate issues of transition.

With the IG/TA you may not

bridge. As to the details, we say that must be discussed by the APC/Pre-Constituent Assembly meeting because the form it will assume will depend on the outcome of those discussions.

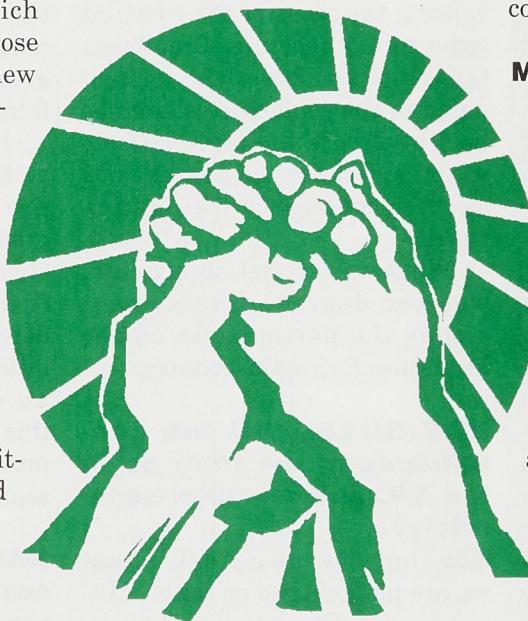
MAYIBUYE: What are the areas of divergence?

JZ: I wouldn't say there were many areas of divergence at the conference. I think we were able to hammer out things very harmoniously. What helped was the process, particularly between the PAC, Azapo and ANC before the conference.

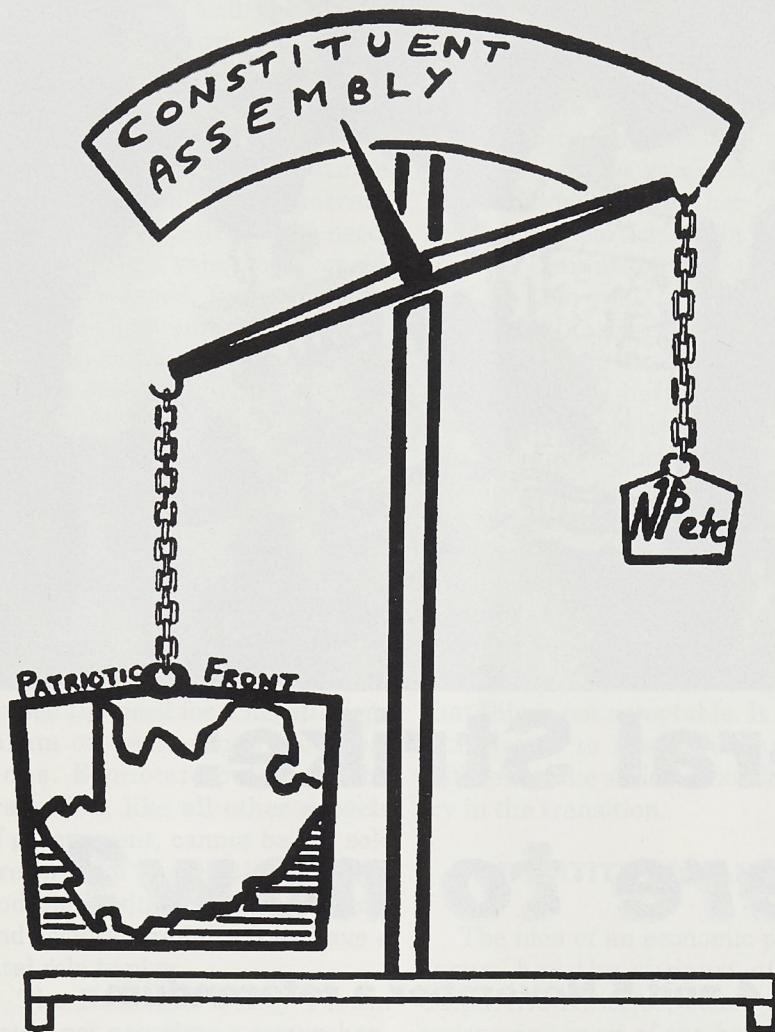
We had occasion to discuss and debate a number of issues among ourselves. On arrival at the conference we knew exactly how each organisation thought. Our approach therefore took into consideration the experience of our exchange.

MAYIBUYE: Would you say that the homeland parties and governments are equally committed to the ideals of the Front?

JZ: Yes, I will venture to say so. They were there and they partici-



be meaning one and the same thing. Certainly many political parties have different views on this question. What is common is that we are all agreed that there must be some governing authority in the process of transition. We need something, not the present government, to help us across the



the most vocal on the issue of reincorporation and dissolution of the homelands. They were also happy about the manner in which the conference dealt with the question of chiefs in general.

There are critics who say after the Patriotic Conference homeland leaders then went to meet the government. They claim that this meeting counterposes the PF. Yes, that may be the case with some homelands. But what should be clear is that it is part of the regular conferences that the regime has been holding with the homeland governments. I don't think that meeting was an indication of their divided loyalty. It was rather a reflection of a reality, of who they are, where they are working and their relationship with what is called the central government.

MAYIBUYE: What is the status of Azapo after conference?

JZ: The status of Azapo is presently under discussion. After the conference both the ANC and the PAC met Azapo and briefed them on the conference. Azapo was going to meet to take further decisions

on the basis of the Patriotic Conference. They have not come back to indicate officially their position, but from what appears in the press it seems they are maintaining their positions which made them not attend the PF.

However, it is an issue on which we will have continuous discussions with Azapo.

MAYIBUYE: Is this broad PF a front for negotiations as others have dubbed it, or is it a front for struggle?

JZ: The front is there firstly to make us harmonise the thinking and ideas, particularly among the oppressed, on the issues of struggle to change South Africa. It is therefore a front of struggle. It has come as a result of struggle and we are now putting together our efforts with all organisations.

The VAT strike underlined the point I'm making. All the delegates supported the decision to go on strike. That was part of the struggle. It is therefore a front of struggle to change South Africa.

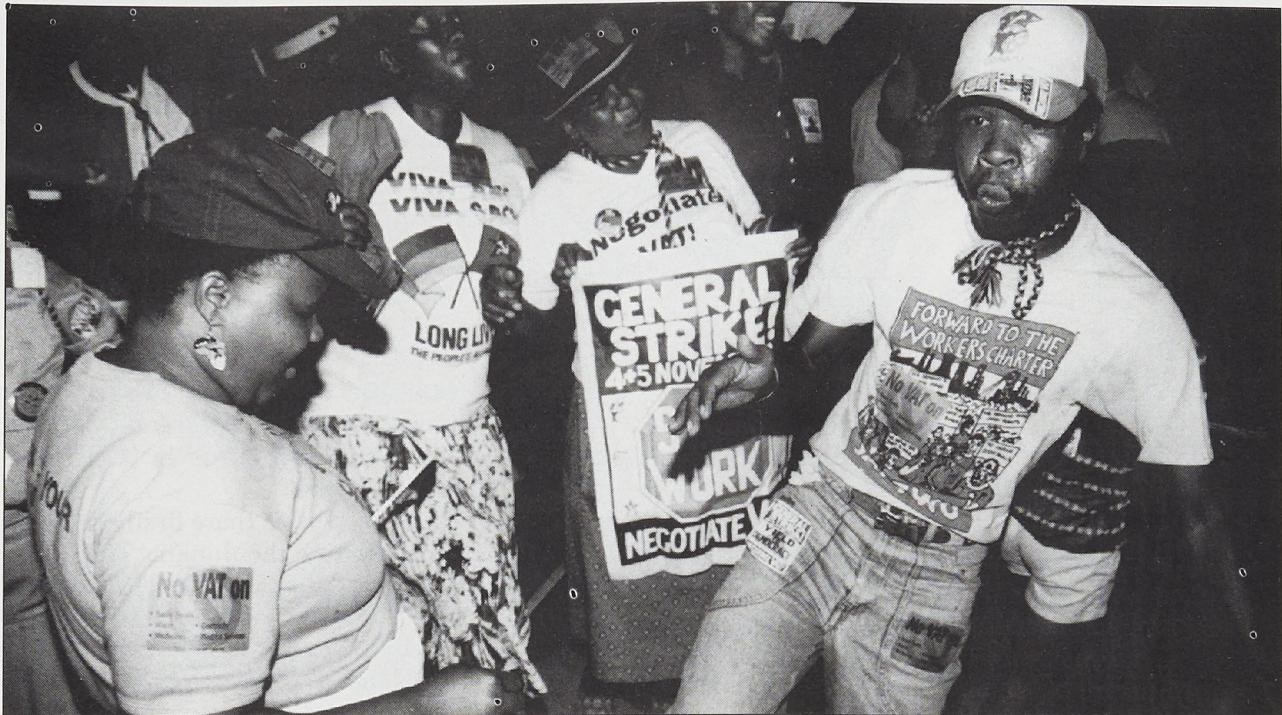
MAYIBUYE: What do you see as the prospects for the Patriotic Front in the next year and beyond?

JZ: I think we will win more people into the PF. I can see greater consensus as we march into a new South Africa. It is therefore not remote that when we move closer to a new South Africa we may reassess the situation and see whether we cannot actually talk about taking power together as a united front.

Those are issues which have not been looked at but could be determined by the manner in which the Front operates, by the manner in which the Front projects itself and by the kind of strategies and tactics that will be worked out by these organisations either individually or collectively.

I think it is the work of the Front from now onwards that is going to determine what fruits we will reap. The point I'm making is that you cannot at the beginning start by running before you even crawl. Our discussions and the first conference of the PF mark stages.

Now if we are able to crawl properly, stand properly and walk properly, what can stop us from running together? ◆



General Strike: so where to now?

It's more than VAT, it's the whole economy, commented Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu on the eve of the general strike. By unilaterally introducing changes to the tax system, the government opened up a hornet's nest.

The government presumed that, while agreeing to negotiate a political solution, it could go ahead with unilateral economic changes like VAT. Such changes would not only adversely affect the majority of South Africans but also prevent a future democratic government from meeting the needs of the people.

But the people of South Africa saw through the government's ploy. VAT gave them an opportunity to put the issue of the economy at the centre of the agenda of change in the transition.

Apartheid has not only denied our people the right to vote. It has also created unbearable economic

On 4 and 5 November a referendum was held in the streets of South Africa. This article looks at one of the core issues around the general strike – the demand for an economic negotiating forum.

hardships and led our country into a serious economic crisis. Thus the achievement of political democracy would be a hollow victory unless it is accompanied by improvements in the living and working conditions of the majority of the people.

POLITICAL SOLUTION

While a political solution will be one giant step towards solving the economic crisis, the democratic movement can't rely solely on

political solutions nor wait until there is a political solution. In practical struggle and in negotiations, it must strive to improve the conditions of the poor and start laying the basis for a democratic economy.

The government and big business are currently involved in many initiatives to restructure the economy so as to maintain wealth, and thus power, in the hands of a few – even after a new democratic government is in power. The introduction of VAT,

privatisation and negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank are all examples of such changes which will impact on the long term structure of the economy.

If this is allowed to continue, the ability of a new democratic government to deliver basic needs to the people is going to be considerably weakened. By intensifying the struggle around socio-economic demands, the democratic movement is safeguarding the economic and political future of the ordinary people. The success of the general strike needs to be consolidated.

ECONOMIC POLICY FORUM

The Tripartite Alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu has endorsed the need for a negotiations forum on socio-economic questions. Economic policy in the transition, like all other aspects of government, cannot be the sole preserve of the National Party and big business. Major political and sectoral organisations have a vital role to play.

The Economic Policy Forum would not negotiate a comprehensive economic plan for a new South Africa. This is the task of a democratic government. Its role would be to block any government moves which will adversely affect the people and begin to look for solutions to the immediate eco-

nomic problems that the people face. Top on its agenda will be VAT, taxation, retrenchments and unemployment. Education, housing and social welfare also need priority attention.

Business and government remain divided on whether or not they should participate in such a forum. Union sources believe that, in the wake of the general strike, big business has realised that if it can't smash the trade unions, it had better negotiate with them. A meeting between organised labour and business is scheduled for the near future.

Government continues to insist that economic issues should be discussed under "Any other matter" on the agenda of the All Party Congress. However, the Tripartite Alliance has agreed that this is not acceptable. It is no alternative to mechanisms that will determine socio-economic policy in the transition.

TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE

The idea of an economic policy forum has the support of the Tripartite Alliance, other trade unions and most of the broad patriotic forces.

Many of the details about the forum still have to be worked out. Cosatu, the ANC and the SACP are presently involved in a process of detailed research and consultations. ♦

Key issues for the Economic Policy Forum

- Retrenchments and unemployment.
- Job creation schemes which will provide houses, electricity and roads.
- An end to privatisation and commercialisation.
- Education and training including literacy.
- VAT and taxation.
- The budget.
- Equalisation of pensions and worker control of private pension funds.
- Worker rights for bantustan, public, farm and domestic workers.
- An effectively restructured National Manpower Commission. ♦

A people's referendum

The general strike on 4 and 5 November was the largest strike in the history of South Africa. An estimated 3.5 to 4 million people took part. However even the high numbers do not tell the whole tale of its organisational and political significance:

- The general strike has put economic issues and the relationship between political and economic change at the centre of the agenda of change.
- For the first time substantial numbers of mine workers, rural workers, farm workers and coloured workers participated. Areas plagued by violence such as Northern Natal also joined the general strike.
- A very wide range of organisations supported and participated in the strike. VAT Co-ordinating Committees sprung up in all parts of the country bringing together a wide variety of organisations and consolidating the unity forged at the Patriotic Front conference the previous week.
- Never before has such an organisation characterised a mass campaign. Over 50 marches and other protest actions, involving 500 000 people, were arranged in the build-up to the action. And all over the country the education sector heeded the call not to stay away.

Despite warnings from the bosses and employers about intimidation and violence, the show of force came from the side of the security forces and agents provocateurs. This is the primary reason behind the loss of life during the strike. ♦

MAYIBUYE starts a two-part series looking at the South African Indian community. In the next issue, we report on organisation in various sectors .

Organising in the Indian communities

In this article, an ANC activist looks at approaches to organising the South African Indian community.

The number of Indians who have joined the ANC does not reflect the community's tradition of resistance to apartheid. The ANC needs an approach which takes into account their specifics.

Euphoria gripped the Indian community after the unbanning of the ANC and the release of its leadership. Freedom, it was felt, was around the corner.

But many problems such as political violence have been encountered since February 2, 1990.

NIC Conference

A conference hosted by the Natal Indian Congress on 16 November and attended by about 150 religious, cultural, sporting and civic organisations agreed on the following:

- to commit the NIC to continuing its close alliance with the ANC.
- to participate in the All-Party Congress and support the ANC and Patriotic Front demands.
- that the Bill of Rights proposed by the ANC provides a sufficient guarantee in respect of language, religion and culture.
- to call for the scrapping of the House of Delegates and the LACs (Local Affairs Committees).
- to encourage the formation and consolidation of independent structures of civil society and urge them to play an assertive role in the struggle for a non-racial democratic future.

Added to this is the lack of a clear strategic approach to organising in the Indian areas. This has made it difficult to transform the support for democratic change into organisational gains for the ANC.

Any organisational approach must take into account forces at play within the sector being organised. It has to be tailored taking into account the fears, concerns and aspirations of the target group. This applies to all communities, be they within the bantustans, minorities or within areas plagued by violence.

INDIANS AND THE ANC

The process of organising the Indian community after the unbanning was one that simply opened the doors of the ANC to the community. Serious attention was not paid to developing a political line to this community.

Those who joined the ANC were, in the main, not new recruits but age old sympathisers of the Congress Movement. Others were motivated by the freeing of the political process. The ANC approach was therefore passive and not pegged to any active campaign or mobilisation.

The approach to the Indian community has to take into account their specific history and concerns. As a minority community it displays, not unnaturally, fears consonant with a "minority syndrome". It perceives itself to be sandwiched between apartheid colonialism represented by the Nats and their allies and African nationalism and its allies.

The community as a whole has consistently rejected apartheid and successive attempts to co-opt

it out of a sense of moral repulsion at the system.

In the current situation the community is displaying an uncertainty about who it will be backing. This arises partly out of the Nats posturing as champions of peace and integrity.

To counter the effects of this, the ANC needs to adopt an approach which:

- relates to existing organisational formations both in civil and political society;
- presents its policy positions forcefully on issues like language, culture and religion;
- explains the safeguards in ANC policy, proposed constitutional provisions and legal structures which guard against a repetition of events in Uganda where Indians were dispossessed and forced to leave; and
- appreciates the historical role played by the community in the fight against apartheid.

SOME OBSTACLES

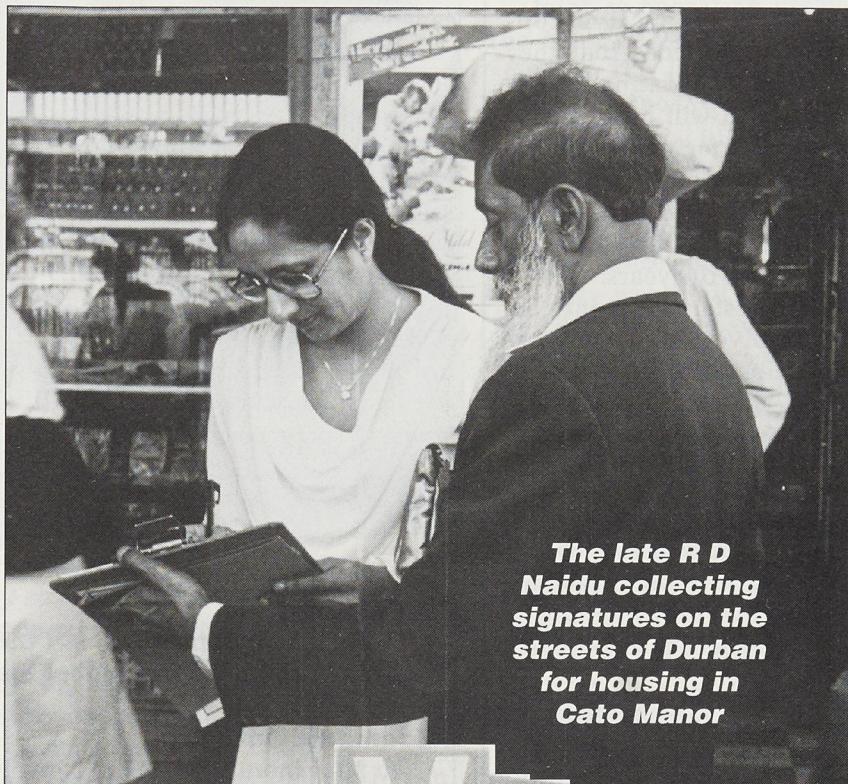
The unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela and other leaders coinciding with the escalation of violence has served to create the impression that the ANC is responsible

for violence. The community is apprehensive about joining the ANC lest they become targets of violence that is directed at the ANC.

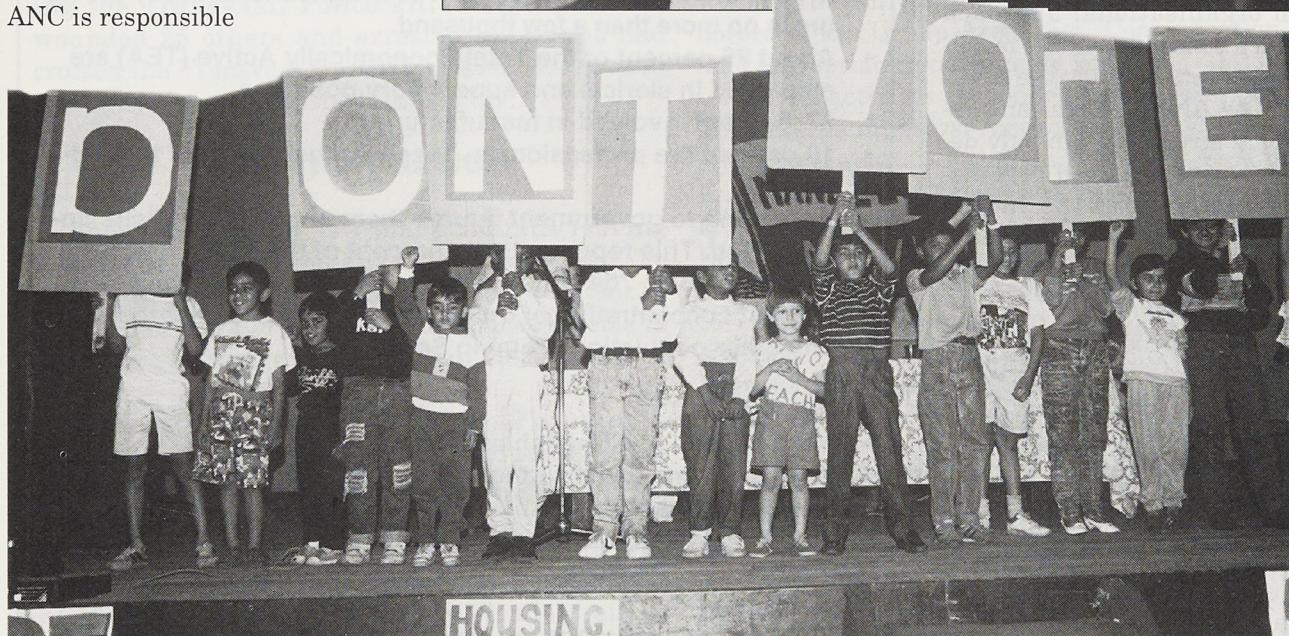
The ANC is the "parliament of the people" and as such it should have all sectors and classes represented at all levels of its structures. In some regions the absence of leaders from minority

communities on leadership structures has served to impede the process of organising them. Whilst sensitivity needs to be displayed about this issue the criteria of leadership positions must be merit.

Activists working within the Indian community display great reserve in articulating the concerns of the community. Because →



The late R D Naidu collecting signatures on the streets of Durban for housing in Cato Manor



***Staking a place in the future
Anti-tricameral elections meeting in Pietermaritzburg, 1989***

in many instances the fears and concerns of the community arise from its conservatism, activists become apologetic and fail to inform the approaches and policies developed by the ANC.

INDIAN CONGRESSES

The NIC and TIC, after consultation with the ANC and their respective constituencies, decided that they will continue existing for the present and will mobilise the community for non-racialism and against apartheid. The Indian Congresses enjoy support and wield influence built over almost 100 years.

To transform this into active involvement in the national liberation struggle, of which the ANC is the acknowledged head, is the challenge. The key issue is not the continued existence of the Indian congresses but meeting this challenge.

This requires two thrusts: the Indian Congresses, hand-in-hand with ANC branches, must get down to mobilising the community into struggle and the ANC must implement an organisational approach which consolidates this mobilisation into building the ANC.

The ANC national and regional structures can only develop a generalised organising approach to the Indian community. This has to be fine tuned by activists in the different localities.

Raising the issue will serve to raise debate about our organising style. Recognising minority fears and concerns does not serve to reinforce them – rather it serves to alert us that these forces have to be addressed if a united South African nation has to emerge as a product of the national democratic struggle.

Historical

The forebears of South Africa's Indian community first arrived by the ship "Truro" on 16 November 1860. By 1911 some 150 000 Indian people arrived in the colony as indentured labour particularly for the sugar cane farms and mills.

Indentured workers were paid about R2-R3 a month for the fifty years the system was in operation and faced repeated flogging and denial of food. A second group of Indians called "passenger Indians" came to South Africa at their own expense to engage in trade.

Those who completed their period of indenture engaged in hawking or small scale farming, threatening white workers and small traders. The government respond-

ed by:

- repatriating non-indentured Indians to India;
- imposing a poll tax of over a third of the average annual income with the penalty of imprisonment for defaulters;
- denying Indians the vote;
- allowing only Indian indentured labourers to enter the colony; and
- forbidding Indians from leaving Natal without a permit.

The famous Mahatma Gandhi of India was appalled by the living conditions of Indians and Africans. He founded the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in 1894. After the 1913 strike by Indian workers in the Northern Natal coal mines, the NIC linked up with worker struggles.

Some figures

Population

- Total Indian population: 941 000
- This is about 2.6 percent of the total South African population

Economic activity:

- In 1911 there were 142 670 involved in agriculture. Today the figure is no more than a few thousand.
- About 25 percent of the Total Economically Active (TEA) are employed in clerical and supervisory positions.
- 37 percent involved in manufacturing.
- 10 percent are professionals. Teachers make up half that figure.
- According to government figures there are 20 000 Indians unemployed. This represents six percent of the TEA.
- During the 60s, 70s and first half of the 80s Indians had the highest concentration of university graduates compared to any other population group in South Africa.

Language

- Most Indians use English as their sole language.
- Where Indians use the languages of their grandparents Hindi- and Tamil-speakers are by far the largest.
- This is followed by Telugu, Gujarati and Urdu.

Religion

- The two main religions are Hinduism and Islam.

background



Sari power!

Widespread community resistance prevented rent increases being imposed in Phoenix in 1980

The NIC played a key role in organising striking workers against the poll tax. Workers marched into Transvaal defying laws requiring permits for entering the Transvaal. Police killed nine workers, wounded 25 others and arrested those who had crossed the Transvaal border. However, the government gave in and abolished the poll tax.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation saw many Indians leaving farms and seeking employment in factories. The International Socialist League – the precursor of the Communist Party – played an important role in organising Indian workers. Indian membership of the Communist Party rose.

At a historic meeting in Curries Fountain in 1945 attended by 150 000 people the conservative NIC leadership was replaced by a progressive grouping led by Dr Monty Naicker.

A similar process was underway in the Transvaal where the TIC elected the "Nationalistic bloc" under Dr Dadoo. The joint leaders of the NIC/TIC led militant mass campaigns.

The first was the passive resistance campaign

launched on June 13 1946 against the Ghetto Bill. Volunteers courted arrest by occupying land from which they were barred. The mass action was met with repression with Dr Dadoo, for example, having to attend several trials at the same time.

DADOO-XUMA-NAICKER PACT

Joint co-operation between the NIC, TIC and the ANC resulted in the signing of the famous Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact in 1946. This unity was threatened by the "Cato Manor Riots" of 1949 (see box) but swift action by the organisations restored peace and harmony.

Unity was built on through the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the active participation of Indian workers in Sactu and the Congress Alliance in 1954. The Alliance hosted the historic conference in Kliptown which drew up the Freedom Charter. Dr Dadoo was bestowed with the highest honour of the ANC – the Isithwalandwe – at this Congress of the People.

GROUP AREAS ACT

The Indian community was not spared the horrors of the Group Areas Act. Compensation for land expropriated was pitifully low.

Indian activists responded to the formation of MK in large numbers. Among the first MK detachments were outstanding cadres such as Ahmed Kathrada, Indress Naidoo and members of his family, Laloo Chiba, Billy Nair, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, and Mac Maharaj.

The clampdown of the sixties deprived communities of important sections of their leadership. The NIC was revived in the late seventies, with the TIC being formally reconstituted in 1983.

Co-opting the Indian community, instead of trying to repatriate them, became the government's chosen strategy. The South African Indian Council was set up with individuals nominated by the government while Local Affairs Committees were established for civic representation. These structures attracted unsavoury collaborationist elements and were rejected broadly.

Crime has reached unprecedented heights in South Africa in the last few months. For the ordinary citizen the fear of mugging, house-breaking, rape, hold-ups and car hijacking is always lurking. Homes, cars, work-places or places of relaxation are no longer places of safety. They have, in fact, become high-risk areas.



Crime and political violence

The signing of the National Peace Accord gave momentary hope that the political violence might be contained. Some senior police officers expressed the view that with political violence brought under control, they would be able to tackle the high rate of ordinary crime. But this was a simplistic view – and one which failed to see how the one phenomenon influences the other. Crime is thriving in the unstable climate that has been created by the political violence.

Poverty, unemployment and the high drop-out rate due to the education crisis are undeniably the major causes of the soaring crime rate. But much of this is compounded by the policies that have been pursued by the government over the years. First and foremost among these is the flooding of Mozambique with arms for Renamo which have found their way back into the country. This has happened with the direct involvement of those members of the police force whose

aims are served by the proliferation of political and criminal violence.

Arms have become freely available on the black market. Reporters from the *Weekly Mail* and other newspapers have gone out to buy these arms to help uncover the facts. Recently the *New Nation* journalists were able to hire killers from the hostels: as long as the intended victim was not an Inkatha member. There is definite proof of collusion between crime and politics. The Civil Co-

operation Bureau (CCB) was made up mainly of white criminals and disgraced policemen. Then there are the many cases of drug smugglers who work with criminal police officers.

At another level, it has always been government attitude to pay very scant attention to rising waves of crime in the black townships. The police force's major concern was to prevent a spillage of the crime into white areas. They would then act ruthlessly against even remote suspects. A good example is the case of the "jackroller" gangs which terrorised the black townships but were not arrested because many of them could also be used by the security police against political enemies of the apartheid state. But, again, it was inevitable that these gangs would begin to terrorise even the white areas.

TRAIN MASSACRES

Criminals are often used in the train and taxi massacres that the police seem so incapable of stopping even when provided with eye-witness accounts. These are, according to observers in the townships, usually common criminals who have been arrested for serious crimes and make deals with elements within the police to work as mass murderers or agents provocateurs.

The security police have been known to use this system, particularly in the war against the liberation movement. Many of the

agents who were arrested by the ANC had criminal backgrounds and had been enticed or blackmailed into betraying their people.

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Crime, therefore, also has its roots in the politics of the day. It cannot be mechanically separated from the political violence. Two trends have emerged in the establishment's interpretation of violence. Radio, television and newspapers categorise virtually every act of violence as unrest-related and therefore political. Then there are the South African Police who want to categorise clear-cut cases of political violence as ordinary crime. The reasons for their emphases serve their political agendas.

The question may also be asked what the government hoped to achieve by releasing tens of thousands of criminals into an already crime-infested society!

These problems cannot be tackled if the whole question of the political system is not resolved, or at least transitional mechanisms worked out which will enjoy the confidence of the people.

Proposals put forward by the state and affluent communities have centred on recommendations that there be more police and higher budgets for them to be able to have "bobbies" on the beat and that there be more armed

neighbourhood watches. While it is true that immediate measures are needed, they can only scratch the surface. They would also have the effect of increasing household guns, introducing more hostile police which would, in fact, increase the siege mentality and spur criminals to perfect their methods.

There is a need to address the socio-economic causes of crime and to create confidence in the police among the people. Police conduct has done nothing to bring this confidence about and no amount of statistics by senior police officers to prove that they are winning the battle against crime will help unless the people themselves are involved in the process.

Discussions on television and in radio talk shows have tended to underplay the rising incidence of violence by white criminals. This entails robberies, rape, family murders, etc. Such an approach can only lead to half solutions. This kind of crime is there and rising fast due the militarisation and siege mentality. Also the reality of poverty and unemployment is affecting a greater number of this section of our population.

POLICE HARASSMENT

The attempts to eradicate crime should also not give licence to the police for a wanton harassment of township residents. It should be an honest search for criminals, co-ordinated with the communities and their organisations, as part of the struggle to change the political system that has led to this state of affairs.

However, due to its past conduct, the SAP does not enjoy the confidence of the black people. A great deal will therefore depend on the manner in which the Peace Accord is implemented. If this is done right, it would build this confidence out of concrete conditions and allow the work to deal with crime to begin in earnest. ♦

Major factors contributing to the crime rate

- the major socio-economic sources of crime;
- the arming of certain political groupings to perpetuate political violence;
- free flow of smuggled guns from the Renamo bandits;
- the government's release into our midst of first time criminal offenders whatever their crime;
- the use of criminals in the political violence.

In the world of the white majority.....

Black advancement programmes: do they work?

The concept of black advancement is in a way a product of struggle. It emanates from the struggle against racial oppression and discrimination within the structures of commerce, industry and the administration.

As one Black Management Forum official has put it, "the black manager is an illegitimate child of the struggle." Historically, the black manager corps in South Africa became a reality only after there were massive struggles on the labour front beginning with the 1973 labour upheavals.

At that time the need was for black personnel managers who would 'tame' the black employees who were steadily asserting themselves. Thus, it was a case of expediency rather than that of policy change to allow blacks to move into managerial positions. This was still the case after the formal abolition of job reservation.

PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO

Other than personnel, the only other branch of management that was opened to blacks was that of sales. Even then, this was restricted to the sales of those consumer goods that were consumed or had the potential to be consumed by blacks. In a nutshell,

Black advancement has gained currency only recently. It was previously precluded by state legislation and other racist practices. Formal changes in legislation, however, have not made much difference, argues Pappie Moloto of the ANC's Human Resources Development Department.

the advent of black management was driven by racism and the preservation of the status quo.

The advancement of blacks into the technological field illustrates the problem in the existing black advancement programmes. To this day, there has been no significant change in the racial composition of the engineering or technical personnel available.

RACIAL PREJUDICE

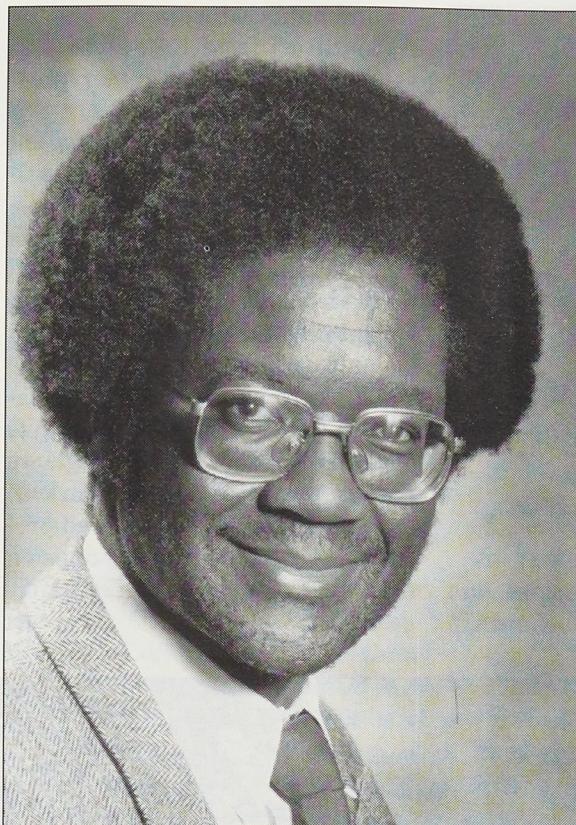
This is reflective of the racial prejudices that were entrenched in apartheid laws. Of all the existing top engineering positions in the country, we have still to see blacks presented as part and parcel of the advancement of technology in this country.

It is not only the government that pays less for the training of blacks in the field of technology.

Companies are also reluctant to invest in the training of black people to occupy meaningful positions in the technological and scientific fields. A junior degree is regarded as being an adequate investment in blacks in the technological field whereas the same companies would scour the world in search of higher qualified whites. The changes in Eastern Europe have come as a boon to many such companies as they were able to receive white engineer or technical personnel on a silver platter. This led to the employment of foreign whites at the expense of creating a local source of trained blacks.

DIRECTORS

At the level of directors, there are only 29 black non-executive directors of companies. This num-



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Engineers, the
SA Institute of
Physics and the
SA Engineering
Association**

**The exception
to prove the
rule?**

ber does not indicate how much power of decision-making has devolved to blacks in the country. Wherever black directors are found, they are almost always the only ones on the board or are at the most two.

SPECTATORS

Their numbers make them either spectators or endorsers of the decisions of the "white majority". Black executive directors are still a rare species indeed. There are no more than five in corporate boards.

With the exception of the bantustans, there has been no significant improvement in the employment of blacks in the top six thousand positions in the civil service. This would be even more distressing if one were to take the government at its word that there will be no changes in the civil service. The government's opposition to the ANC plan to train senior civil service personnel is clear proof that its talk about dispensation of power is mere hogwash. It may

tinker with numbers to create a facade of change but it will make no fundamental changes in this area.

The private sector has of late had to be seized with the question of black advancement. Some companies have responded more or less progressively through the introduction of new training schemes, fresh recruitment of blacks into management structures, as well as into technological jobs.

The catch, in this supposedly positive development, is that the entry level is overwhelmingly at the basic level, where the newly employed have to answer to a more or less hostile middle management.

MIDDLE MANAGEMENT

It is precisely this middle management personnel which has resisted changes and prevented qualified blacks from being promoted to more responsible jobs. In some instances this resistance has been used as a smoke-screen

by the top level management to disguise their opposition to black advancement.

There was a time when some overseas based companies that did not want to disinvest adopted a policy of placing black faces in the managerial staff as well as a few in technical occupations. In most of these cases there would be a white face at the top within that department even if that person was less qualified. In some cases blacks were employed as tokens in order to open investment opportunities for the company. In extreme cases an incompetent black would be employed and then paraded with a magnificent title, whilst not doing the work that went with the title. A junior white employee would carry more clout and conduct the real decision-making.

FAILURE TO PERFORM

It should not, however, be said that blacks have been held back unfairly in all cases. It has also been recorded on several occasions that black people failed to perform as soon as they were placed in positions of authority. In many instances the failure was due to a differential in expectations between the employer and the black employee.

The employer would expect the same output from a Wits graduate as from a Unibo graduate. The Unibo graduate would have some handicaps which are traceable to background, lack of exposure to industry and commerce, which would therefore require an induction programme that is more thoroughgoing.

A new environment would have to be consciously created by all participants in the economy to enable black advancement to become a reality. It should become a conscious effort on the part of all parties in order to ensure that black advancement programmes are made workable in the interest of all South Africans. ♦

Organising for transition

MAYIBUYE asked the Black Sash and Idasa how they were contributing to the transition and prospects for the future.

The Black Sash

Jenny de Tolly, president of the Black Sash, responded as follows:

We are a women's political pressure group and human rights organisation. We are non-party political and non-denominational. As stated in our constitution (which was drafted in 1955 when the organisation was founded) we seek:

- to promote justice and the principles of parliamentary democracy in SA;
- constitutional recognition and protection of human rights and liberties for all.

We believe that the many legacies of apartheid, including the gross maldistribution of South Africa's resources, need to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

We attempt to put our principles and beliefs into practice in a number of ways:

- offering para-legal services in our nine advice offices throughout the country. These services are extended into some rural areas by fieldworkers;
- offering skills training courses to those wishing to set up advice offices;
- promoting our vision of human rights and a civil society

through our publications and other forms of membership

- and public education;
- monitoring of human rights transgressions, such as repression and violence;
- analysing and commenting on legislation, policy and constitutional proposals in those areas that we believe we have a contribution to make;
- lobbying and protesting against acts of injustice and unjust laws.

We are a small national organisation of under 2 000 members. We are mostly volunteers, though we do have paid staff who work in our advice offices and related projects. Much of our work is done on a co-operative basis with other organisations. ▶



Photo: The Star

Black Sash members protesting against the detention of Bop hunger striker Johannes Simelane.

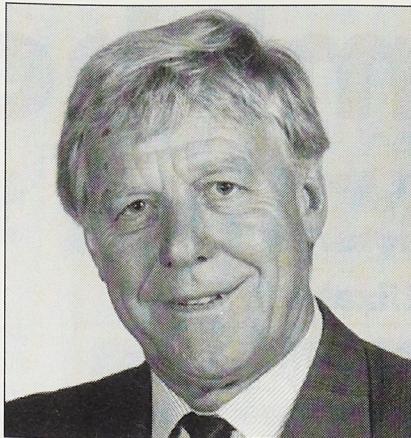
Idasa

Dr Alex Boraine who, with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, launched the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) said:

"Idasa over the last five years has attempted to take the search for democracy into every constituency and area of life.

To meet the urgent challenge for a democratic culture to emerge in South Africa and to learn from recent experiences, Idasa has decided to establish a Training Centre for Democracy. This will provide a repository for the work that Idasa has done, a library of democratic materials and a training centre offering short-term courses in democracy for adults.

Idasa has sought to focus its activities for 1992 under five major areas:



Alex Boraine

- **Local Government.** To facilitate debate and discussion at grassroots level to build a climate conducive for negotiation.
- **Education.** Idasa will join many other organisations in trying to face up to the chaotic situation in education. But Idasa goes beyond formal education to concentrate on edu-

cation towards democracy.

• **Violence and Policing.**

While being involved in facilitation and mediation a more positive contribution will be to establish a spirit of tolerance and acceptance so that the emphasis will be on peaceful negotiation rather than on violence and destruction.

• **Economy.** A very serious attempt will be made to devise an economic programme leading towards freedom and prosperity in South Africa.

The vast gap between leaders struggling towards negotiation proper and ordinary South Africans who continue to remain confused, fearful and angry is one of the major problems facing South Africa. Idasa will, as a critical ally of transition, continue holding workshops and conferences focussing on current political issues to inform and democratis the debate.



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Umkhonto we Sizwe

On December 16 1961 bomb blasts rocked apartheid structures in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban, to announce the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the beginning of armed struggle. MAYIBUYE looks at the history and current tasks of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The 1960 massacre of unarmed protesters in Sharpeville and the subsequent banning of the ANC and PAC shattered all hope of achieving democracy through peaceful means alone. Whatever little scope of peaceful protest remained, it became clear to many that non-violence on its own was incapable of bringing about change.

There were never any illusions that the path ahead was going to be rosy. The apartheid regime commanded a huge and modern war machine, while Africans were unarmed and denied all military know-how. Even those who served during World War II did so only in non-combat roles. Despite these heavy odds, the founders of MK took to battle.

SABOTAGE

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

"We hope – even at this last hour – that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the government and its supporters to its senses before it is too late, so that both the government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war."

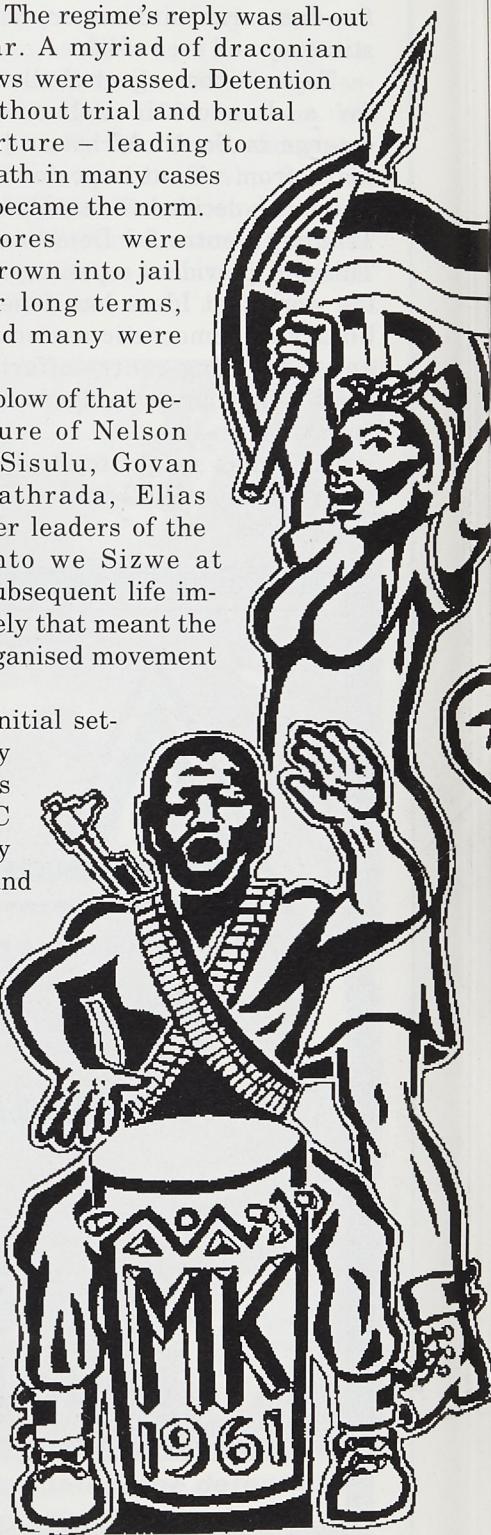
30 years

The regime's reply 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 for long terms, and many were

driven into exile.

The most severe blow of that period was the capture of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and other leaders of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe at Rivonia and their subsequent life imprisonment. Effectively that meant the destruction of the organised movement inside the country.

However, those initial setbacks were not only due to the enemy's strength. The ANC was organisationally not ready to withstand the onslaught. A number of mistakes were committed. "We made the same mistake to which we are so exposed today. Instead of relying on new and relatively unknown activists we resorted to tried and tested members of the ANC. We ignored the fact that these comrades were known to the SAP and that they would immediately be obvious targets



Sizwe in the fight for liberation

as soon as violent acts were launched," says Nelson Mandela, the first and present Commander-in-Chief of MK.

Following the Rivonia arrests, the task of rebuilding the ANC inside fell on the exiled leadership and cadres. With South Africa surrounded by a cor-

don-sannitaire of colonial governments, Umkhonto we Sizwe had to find ways of bringing back its soldiers who had acquired military skills and the art of revolutionary warfare. Numerous attempts to come back – by land, water and air – were made.

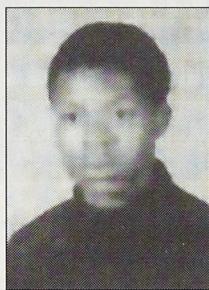
Invariably in most cases they involved negotiating enemy territory.

The 1967/68 Wanke/Sipolilo campaign in the then Rhodesia was one such attempt. Soldiers of the Luthuli Detachment crossed the Zambezi River into Zimbabwe with the aim of finding their way to South Africa. Unfortunately there were premature engagements with the Smith-Vorster armed forces, in which MK combatants fought gloriously.

The uprisings of the early and mid-70s, coupled with the liberation of Mozambique and Angola and the escalation of the liberation war in Zimbabwe, gave fresh



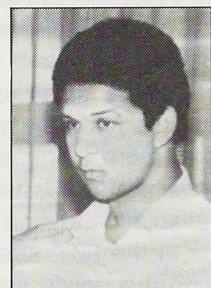
Lest we forget



RICHARD "BARNEY" MOLOKOANE, one of the most outstanding field commanders of MK. He died with Victor Khayiyane and Vincent Sekete in 1985 in a shootout lasting more than four hours when they were intercepted by the enemy during a retreat after successfully shelling Secunda.

We lower our banners in memory of all who fell in battle inside and in far away lands, those who were murdered by the regime's death squads and those who perished at the hands of the hangman.

Raze those prison walls to the ground



ROBERT McBRIDE, serving life imprisonment. Despite all the agreements entered into with the government regarding the release of political prisoners, many MK soldiers remain incarcerated in Pretoria's jails. We salute them all, and must mount a powerful campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

impetus to MK's war effort. June 16 1976, in particular, "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", says Chris Hani, MK's Chief-of-staff.

From 1976 onwards it became possible, in a general sense, to infiltrate equipment and personnel to carry out armed actions. But there was this bit of a paradox: for armed actions to be launched and sustained a strong political underground organisation had to be in place, and none existed in any meaningful way.

At the same time, for any po-

litical mobilisation and organisation to grow, armed action was essential.

The military operations from 1976 onwards were characterised as armed propaganda, ie, as Joe Slovo would put it: "to announce once again the presence of MK in the only way an army announces its presence – action."

Armed propaganda was ex-

tremely successful and played a central role in generating the political mood which culminated in the 1984-86 upsurge.

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

→

Strategy evolves in struggle

Development of the armed struggle was underpinned by a continuous search for viable strategies. At the beginning, the aim was to steadily build up military forces culminating in what was vaguely seen as an armed uprising.

But there was a lingering hope that the regime would come to its senses before it was too late. In the meantime, emphasis was on propaganda sabotage actions.

In subsequent years, MK was greatly influenced by African and other guerrilla struggles. The ANC strove to locate armed cadres within the country as the catalyst of a revolutionary build up in classical guerilla style. This was to change over the years.

ARMED AND MASS ACTIONS

The return of some leading cadres from prisons and the uprisings of the early 70s created conditions for the emergence of a viable underground. But the main approach remained recruitment for military tasks.

After the 1976-77 uprisings, the relationship between mass and armed action became the focus of debate.

Whilst it was recognised that armed propaganda actions had an important role to play, it was argued that more emphasis needed to be placed on mass mobilisation. Uprisings of the people would create a reliable foundation for armed actions.

In the 80s, street barricades and running battles with the police saw to the steady merger of mass and armed actions. There was more emphasis on the upgrading of popular self-defence units, with MK as the officer corps of a broader people's army. Armed struggle was seen as giving a cutting edge to mass actions.

These combined efforts would deepen the crisis of the state, leading to a national mass uprising in which the armed component would play a crucial role.

At the same time, experiences gathered in Ingwavuma and other rural areas showed that it was possible for cadres to conduct classical guerilla operations with the people's support.

STRUCTURING IN ACCORDANCE WITH STRATEGY

At the beginning, the burning need to assert a military presence led to the formation of MK command structures which absorbed virtually all the senior political leaders.

The formation of the Revolutionary Council and later the Politico-Military Council helped to create the necessary balance and co-ordination between political and military areas. But within these structures there was a tendency to work in parallel fashion.

Armed struggle necessarily has its own dynamism. But it was felt that, especially within the country, there should be set up political leadership bodies which would oversee the work of the underground.

Efforts in this direction matured with the introduction of Operation Vula.

DEVELOPMENT IN STRUGGLE

As the ANC attuned its military programme to all-round developments within the country, its capacity to seize the moment was enhanced. The crisis of the apartheid regime was accelerated.

Today, the challenges of military strategy have become even more complex. The overriding tasks have become:

- to build MK as a force for peace and fundamental change;
- to defend the people;
- to win over soldiers and police behind the democratic struggle; and
- to prepare for a professional army of a democratic South Africa.

◆



Grassroot support for MK is expressed at countless rallies and marches

But armed propaganda was not going to lead to the military defeat of the enemy. It had to develop and grow into a generalised people's war, with the actual engagement and annihilation of the enemy's armed forces constituting the central emphasis. For this to happen MK had to base among the people, and numerous attempts were made to establish urban and rural MK bases. To this end also a strong underground organisation remained an absolute prerequisite.

UPRISINGS

The uprising of the mid 80s threw up the possibility of arming the masses in political motion and leading them in an armed insurrection. What led to all these shifts in strategy and what debates and arguments informed them? (See box opposite)

Broadly speaking the ANC never fully managed to develop the war beyond the stage of armed propaganda. Then came February 2 1990 and the subsequent Minutes leading to the suspension of the armed struggle.

Was it a successful armed struggle, anyway? If revolutionary advance is measured by the

A camp in Uganda, 1990



number of enemy corpses, then the answer would definitely be in the negative.

"We must avoid a mechanical and classical way of judging the success of a guerrilla army," says Chris Hani. "In countries like Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Zimbabwe, the guerrilla armies were able to entrench and root themselves inside the country by setting up liberated areas..."

REAR FACILITIES

"In our country, due to the absence of rear facilities and real support from neighbouring countries, we had to send small and mobile units which were able to inflict serious damage on enemy installations and neutralise and destroy enemy personnel..."

"I want to single this out as our important achievement: we inculcated into the minds of our young people a feeling of pride, patriotism, and readiness to sacrifice for freedom. Many of them were able – in their own way – to challenge the apartheid state using Molotov cocktails, stones and everything they could lay their hands on. In other words we were able to build detachments upon detachments of people who related to and identified with Umkhonto we Sizwe," says Chris Hani.

What then is the role of MK today in the light of the three Minutes and the Peace Accord? All the agreements reached with the government thus far recognise the right of MK to exist, though the government continuously tries to interpret them to

mean the contrary. The integration of MK into a future non-partisan army will only start in the context of an Interim Government and finally when a democratic government is in place.

PEACE ACCORD

The Peace Accord upholds the people's right to self-defence and the December 1990 Consultative Conference of the ANC, the July 1991 National Conference and the August MK conference in Venda all took brilliant resolutions on the issue. Yet there has been little practical implementation. MK's role in this regard remains crucial.

"We are all agreed that our people should defend themselves. Take for example the violence in the trains.

"It is just impossible for MK to monitor it and defend the people because it is random. You don't know where and when this violence will strike.

"So the best way of dealing with it is to train the people to defend themselves. I hope that the people's organisations – the ANC, Cosatu, the Party and the civics – would actually begin to tackle this matter seriously by making use of the available skills of MK fellows and women who are everywhere in the country today.

"Our branches must make full use of these comrades in training people who are selected by the formations themselves because these self-defence units should belong to the people and be accountable to the people's organisations," says Chris Hani. ♦

Towards a regular army

Interview with Joe Modise, Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

MAYIBUYE: Why did the ANC suspend armed actions?

Joe Modise: We suspended armed actions to give peaceful negotiations a chance. But the regime wants to interpret it as an abandonment of the armed struggle.

As far as we are concerned, armed struggle can only be abandoned when apartheid is gone. By that I don't mean the repeal of a few apartheid laws. We can only abandon the armed struggle when we have a democratic constitution that allows the people to determine their own destiny.

MAYIBUYE: What about self-defence given all this violence?

We have called on our people to organise themselves and begin to set up self-defence units. This is their right.

MK will assist them in building these community defence organs. But they are not ANC structures; neither are they MK structures. They are community structures.

MAYIBUYE: Is MK recruiting new members?

JM: Very much so. MK is recruiting new members and upgrading its cadres. We are converting our army from a guerilla one into a regular army. We have regular officers, helicopter pilots and naval officers who have completed. Jet pilots are about to complete. We are continuing to recruit and prepare soldiers for a future defence force.

MAYIBUYE: When will this new defence force emerge?



JM: This will take place soon after there is a settlement. The integration of various forces – MK, SADF, homeland armies and others – will be the business of a future democratic government.

MAYIBUYE: Will there be a role for MK in the Interim Government period?

JM: Personally I think that MK has got a role to play even during this period. The forces that are supposed to provide security for our people today are the ones who are accused by the people of involvement in some of the killings. These suspicions will not end until people see their own sons participating in their own defence and protection in this interim period. Of course this will be a subject for discussion during negotiations about interim government.

MAYIBUYE: What will a democratic army be like?

JM: There is no such thing as a democratic army. Armies are all autocratic institutions. There is no democracy in the army – this must be clear. But we want an army that upholds and defends democracy.

MAYIBUYE: What about conscription into the future army?

JM: We want voluntary forces in the new army. When the ANC goes into government the first thing we will do is to ban conscription. We will ask for volunteers. I'm sure thousands of young people will come forward to join the defence forces of our country. ♦

Storm in a tea cup: row over sports symbols

It is not for Nocsu (National Olympic Committee of South Africa) and Mr Ram-samy to take decisions about national symbols such as the flag and the anthem, said De Klerk.

The Nocsu initiative is an interim measure which does not pretend to be a permanent solution. It is clear that sports administrators have no problems with the symbols. The De Klerk regime must be reminded that Nocsu is a democratic non-racial sporting organisation representative of sports-persons.

The decision it took was arrived at after consultation with the relevant structures. The aim was to enable sportspersons to participate in the Olympic Games without the taint of apartheid.

The current flag is a combination of the flags of the former Boer Republics and the British colonies. It emerged out of a compromise reached between Afrikaners and British imperialism. It is therefore a product of the Union of South Africa and the declaration of South Africa as a republic which unjustly excluded the African majority from the processes that led to the adoption of the anthem and the flag.

The flag and the anthem are issues to be settled in national constitutional discussions. Since the present constitution is universally accepted as illegitimate, all that it entails, including the flag and the anthem, should be discussed at that level before finding its way to the international community.

The present flag and anthem therefore cannot be symbols of our country.

To put it more bluntly, the majority of our people bear no allegiance to them. These symbols represent oppression and are a stark reminder of the reality that most South Africans still do not have a vote in

**In a letter to MAYIBUYE,
Ronnie Mamoepa of the ANC
PWV Media Department
comments on the reaction of
the National Party government
to the Nocsu suggestion of an
interim flag and anthem
for sports.**



the country of their birth.

We are not against the springbok as an animal. Nor are we against *Die Stem* as a hymn. What we are against is their use as national symbols and the manner in which they were adopted.

The government claims that the process of adopting them was long and sensitive. But it is not the length of time taken to adopt a flag and anthem that determines their legitimacy in the eyes of the majority. It is the democratic consultations that accompany such processes that will determine its acceptance by the people.

We believe Nocsu has been very sensitive in taking into account the views and aspirations of the majority of the people, particularly the sporting fraternity. ♦

EDITOR'S NOTE:

De Klerk and his supporters are too insensitive in wanting to impose symbols of apartheid on non-racial sports bodies. Perhaps this is understandable. But it is extremely pretentious for the representatives of apartheid to plead lack of consultation.

Subjecting the anthem, flag and sports symbols to a referendum - we assume Education Minister Louis Pienaar means a non-racial referendum - is in itself not a bad idea. But shouldn't the funds be used for such pressing issues as development programmes? And where does Pienaar get the mandate to threaten that he will withhold taxpayers' money from Nocsu? ♦

Making the new South Africa ungovernable: Nat style

The NP's latest constitutional proposals are cause for concern. They include pages and pages of plans, some of them quite bizarre, to ensure that the NP remains in office forever. Even if nine out of ten South Africans think the NP is unfit to govern, the Nats will have guarantees of places in any future government, and at least one presidential year in three.

The NP seems to like the number three. Having failed with the tricameral parliament, it is now trying out the tricabecial (three-headed) presidency. Once more, for the sake of clinging to power, what should be a resolute step forward becomes a clumsy stumble backwards.

We need as much stability as possible. We have to develop a culture based on shared values and symbols, get used to the fact that we are all South Africans, not just a collection of races and tribes inhabiting the same territory. If the sporting bodies, including rugby, can unify, then surely we do not need a federation of presidents.

POSTPONING DEMOCRACY

The NP is helping no one, least of all its followers, if it pretends it can postpone forever the day when the country might in its wisdom choose to have a president whose name might not be De Klerk and whose skin might not happen to be white.

Right now it appears that the NP is not only player, referee and

Before the policy was divide and rule. Now it is divide and veto, argues Albie Sachs of the ANC's Constitutional Committee, in response to some of the NP's recent constitutional proposals.

owner of the ground. Not only does it bus in its supporters, it wants to make the rules and determine the outcome as well. Rule number one would be that no matter how many goals the opposition scores, the NP emerges the winner, or at worst, earns a draw. We are left not with a contest but with a show.

GENUINE CONSENSUS

Consensus in government works if it is based on real and not enforced agreement, that is, if it represents a true meeting of minds. Consensus is just another word for chaos if it is rigid and prescribed.

If the people of South Africa decide that the tasks facing any new government are so huge, and the damage done in the past is so great, that at least for the initial period the only way to go ahead would be through as broadly based an administration as possible, then it will give such a mandate to the political parties, and they will voluntarily form a coalition government of national unity.

Couplings, like marriages, work if they are based on consent;

they become scenes of misery and strife if they are imposed.

Thus we support multi-party democracy as an inflexible constitutional principle, and keep an open mind on multi-party government as a possible political option. The NP proposals would mean that there would never be any chance to change the government, only the internal combination of its parts. The result would be a sort of multi-party one party state, with no open debate, no opposition, everything done by supposed consensus behind closed doors, with the public none the wiser and elections making no real difference.

CONSTITUTIONAL COUP D'ETAT

What the people of South Africa and the world want to know is: if the Nationalists lose the first non-racial elections in this country, will they accept the verdict of the electorate, or will they refuse to vacate office? Their proposals tell us in advance what their answer is. They are preparing a constitutional coup d'état which will make them part of a government-for-life, whatever the



electorate might say.

The result can only be permanent constitutional crisis and paralysis of government at every level. The proposals encourage parties to fragment rather than coalesce, and institutionalise sectional intransigence rather than promote the creation of a broad South African vision. Nothing more dangerous can be imagined than enabling small minorities to hold the whole country to ransom and block any moves towards real equality. The minorities do not protect themselves this way, they make themselves more vulnerable.

What is needed is a democratic system that encourages good government and protects all sections of the population against abuse, whether they be majorities or minorities or individuals. What has to be avoided at all costs is a constitutional arrangement that makes any form of government impossible and that entrenches the privileges of the minority.

UNITARY/FEDERAL DEBATE

The NP proposals advocate a huge multiplication of what they call "governments". In addition to a large, multiplex and powerless government based on forced consensus and minority veto at the national level, they want large,

convoluted and powerless governments in each of nine proposed regions. Whether or not there should be more or less spending by government can be debated, but surely no one wants more spending on government.

Instead of one Prime Minister, we will have ten, each with his or her official house, car and entourage. There will be ten cabinets, Chief Justices, Ministers of Health, Education and Water Supplies.

ARTIFICIAL UNITS

It is one thing to prevent excessive concentration of power in one person or in one institution – we support the principle of strong checks and balances within an overall democratic framework. It is another arbitrarily to divide up the country into artificial units with no coherent historical or cultural base.

For 80 years the white minority happily accepted an integral and harmonious relationship between parliamentary-type institutions at central and provincial levels. Now, after the disastrous experience of dividing the country in terms of bantustans, tricameralism and own affairs, they wish to split the country up once again, this time in territorial terms. Our harsh experience has been that fragmentation has always result-

ed in more rather than less oppression. Before, the policy was one of divide and rule; now, it is one of divide and veto.

Without a national endeavour, national funds and a broad national framework, how will it be possible to advance education, create an effective health care system and tackle the terrible housing problem? Are we to have a multitude of police forces and para-military formations, each operating according to its own rules and each going its own way?

Instead of trying yet once more to invent artificial formats for South Africa, let us articulate in a clear and practical way the powers and the sources of funding that the centre, the regions and the localities will each need in order to carry out their respective tasks both democratically and effectively.

What is urgently required is the establishment of core democratic values and smoothly functioning democratic institutions throughout the length and breadth of the country. Everyone should be able to say: this is my constitution, and I adhere to its rules because they are clearly the best for everyone; today I am in opposition, tomorrow I might be in government; the rules are the same, whether at this moment I win by them or come out the loser.

Department of Human Resources Development

For a people who have been deprived of the opportunity to develop their full potential, the creation of a department to develop human resources is essential. For the ANC Department of Human Resources Development, this challenge means setting itself the following objectives:

- To promote the development of skills among members of the African National Congress.
- To assist in the procurement of means of employment and training for the returning South Africans.
- To co-ordinate human resources activities in South Africa.
- To conduct research in order to establish human resource needs of the country.
- To be a resource centre as far as human resources matters are concerned.
- To promote the development of skills by assisting organisations and individuals in the country.
- To strive to involve all people's organisations in the development and the planning of human resources strategy in South Africa.
- To direct students through counselling to professions that are of strategic importance in the development of the economy.

In line with the above, the following are currently being organised:

1. For those holding degrees and diplomas – 6-12 months in: accounting, management, electronics, computers, banking, post management, public administration, local government.
2. For those with matriculation level passes – studies in carpentry, plumbing, building, textiles, secretarial.
3. For those with a junior certificate – training in rural craft, agriculture, fish and poultry farming and handicrafts.

Details of dates for applications and commencement of courses will be announced soon in *MAYIBUYE* and in the *New Nation* or contact C B Xaba at (011) 330-7078.

The party takes stock

Charles Nqakula of the SACP looks at some of the issues facing the Party congress beginning December 5 1991.

Addressing a press conference as part of the "pot-boiling" process recently, Joe Slovo said that the SACP's national congress will be a watershed event.

Four hundred elected delegates from more than 300 branches, party leaders at various levels, observers and foreign guests from communist and social democratic parties will attend.

Indeed, the SACP, holding its first congress under legal conditions in more than 40 years, will be required to spell out in unambiguous terms whether it shall be going, and how it will handle the mammoth task of building the party. One of the most crucial debates will relate to the question of the character of the party - what type of party South African communists want to build.

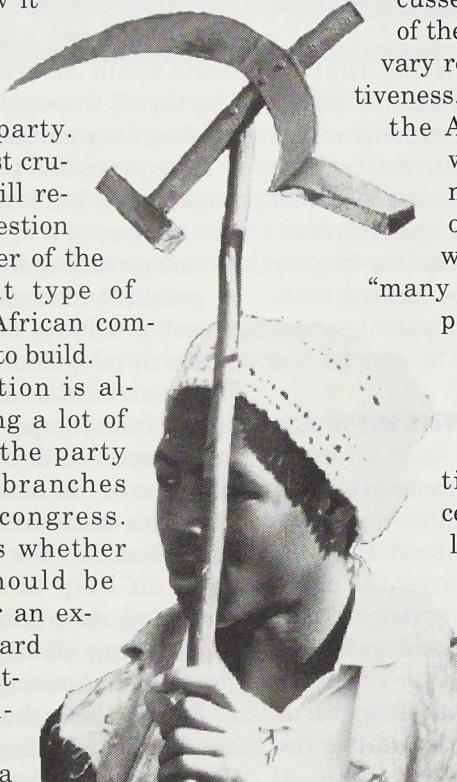
This question is already receiving a lot of attention as the party regions and branches prepare for congress. The debate is whether the party should be mass-based or an exclusive vanguard party of a limited total membership.

There is a

lot of argument as well that the debate should not be handled as an either-or option, that the party consider a formula that will blend the two concepts to come up with a vanguard mass party. The call is for a party of activists that, in the final analysis, will not bother so much about numbers. The argument for a vanguard party of a limited total membership seems to be enjoying more sympathy than the other options.

ALLIANCE

The Alliance will also be discussed as experiences of the different regions vary regarding its effectiveness. In some regions the Alliance has not worked well. But most of the debate on the Alliance will relate to the "many caps" issue. The party has lost a number of its cadres who were earmarked for leadership positions as they accepted deployment, largely, within the ANC. As full-time functionaries with the ANC, they will not be available to the party on a



full-time basis. The biggest blow to party interests has been the unavailability of Joe Slovo and Chris Hani, who would have been the best cadres to guide and direct the process of building the party.

In the circumstances the party is going to be required to mount a programme to unearth and develop new cadre material to fill party positions full-time.

One of the weaknesses of the party since its relaunch last year has been the absence at head office of a full-time leadership collective. As a full-time ANC functionary, Slovo has been available at the party office on an ad hoc basis. The party, therefore, will need to look for a General-Secretary who will be full-time at the party office.

POLITICAL MANIFESTO

The debate many are looking forward to relates to the role of the party in terms of the present political developments in the country as well as the future. A basis for that discussion has already been established, with members in the party branches debating the issues embodied in the draft Political Manifesto.

Also under discussion is the draft Constitution which seeks to address the legal space that is available and how, within that situation, the party can develop. The new sphere of operation has influenced a number of changes to the old constitution. The issue of secret membership will be addressed taking into account these realities.

The new constitution dispenses with the Politburo and introduces a Central Executive Committee (CEC). The new situation will usher in the positions of Deputy Secretary and Deputy Chairperson. The CEC, therefore, will be composed of the five executive members and an additional eight Central Committee members.

Politics on the home front

A determined mood is prevailing on the housing front where civics are demanding that all actors in the South African economic landscape play a role in resolving the housing crisis.

A joint approach involving the bosses, government and people's organisations is being hammered out to resolve the housing crisis. The National Housing Forum (see accompanying story) is the product of this approach.

Capital and government have followed paths determined either by selfish motives or racial ideology. For example, the extent to which the bosses have been involved in housing has been determined by their pursuit of profit. Capital hoped to reduce worker militancy by improving workers' living conditions.

Cas Coovadia, a civics activist, points out that employers' associations have been lobbying for changes in housing policy but they have not been getting involved in negotiations unless forced via consumer boycotts.

On the other hand, there has been little contact between housing corporations and community organisations. Instead, consultations with the discredited black

local authorities was preferred.

After decades of struggle on the housing front, regional forums consisting of civics, business and regional authorities are emerging to address the problem of housing.

Civics are insisting that an all-embracing approach be adopted involving government structures and financial institutions. They insist that the latter cannot be spectators to the process. According to civics, low-income housing needs to be located within the overall development strategy for the country.

BLACK TOWNSHIPS

Before 1948 township residents were expected to fund housing costs. The Central Housing Board was set up under the provisions of the Housing Act of 1920. But over the next two decades the state concentrated on resolving the "poor white" problem. Black townships were expected to raise funds through the sale of



sorghum beers. (See graph opposite for state expenditure on housing).

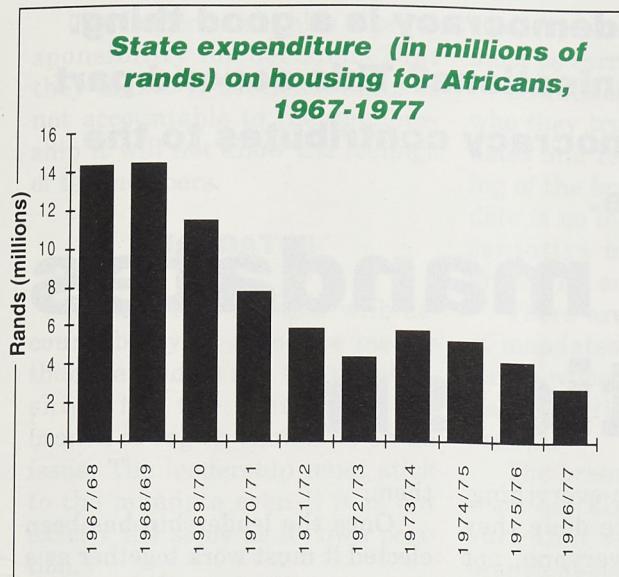
Policies around home ownership were aimed at polarising the elite from the rest of the community. The state hoped that divisions could be created through shortages, thus politically immobilising the community.

The state has proven to be an impediment in resolving the crisis by:

- not providing land where it is most required; and
- not providing finance to initiate development.

The central state has also withdrawn from the provision of housing. Responsibility has shifted to the provincial authorities. The state has made available limited subsidisation for conventional and self-help housing. It has scrapped rent control and has been selling off relatively cheap government housing stock.

Since 1983 the government has been targeting subsidies to first-time home buyers. This has



been beneficial primarily to whites.

Even if the state intervenes, the cheapest of the houses have been estimated to cost R20 000. This will be the "match-box" sized houses found in townships. Building societies are not willing to finance if monthly installments are more than 25 percent of the income. According to 1985 figures on income this excluded 99.4 percent of the total economically ac-

For communities to be able to participate meaningfully in this process requires them to be empowered to be able to take informed decisions. Communities must not be mere rubber stamps of decisions, a process often passed off as consultations. The field must be levelled so that all parties can participate meaningfully.

This requires capital to provide money for training of leader-

tive African population.

Civics are demanding that the housing crisis be resolved by the joint work of the state, business and communities. The state must not escape its responsibility to provide the basic infrastructure required – this includes roads, electricity, and sanitation facilities.

ship in development programmes. Furthermore labour can be allocated from the community for building projects.

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

The tactics which have evolved have been in keeping with the change in demands. Consumer boycotts have succeeded in bringing private capital around to meeting its responsibility. The withholding of service payments has proven useful in pressurising state structures to meet some of the community demands. In the case of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Board civics have managed to get the City Council to contract 2 experts for the civic structures.

"Whilst these negotiations are continuing," says Cas Coovadia, "arrangements arrived at will only be concretised in the framework of national constitutional changes. But civics are pushing for the holding of regional Constituent Assembly elections which will help determine regional requirements." ♦

National Housing Forum launched

The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) and Independent Development Trust (IDT) convened a meeting on 1 August to look at the question of hostels. It was agreed that hostels were part of a broader housing and development problem and that it was necessary to set up a National Forum of Housing and Development. This forum will look at national policy and delivery for the interim and hostels would be one of the issues discussed.

A working group was set up to look at the immediate question of hostels. It reported its finding on 1 November to a meeting of delegates from the key liberation movements, government, civics, trade unions, business and development agencies.

A National Working Committee to promote hostels initiatives was created. It was agreed that:

- there be a moratorium on hostel demolitions unless consented to by the local community;

- hostel dwellers and local communities should participate in plans for hostels;
- government should take responsibility for ensuring that society is adequately and decently housed.

The committee was given a mandate to raise R150 million as grant money to fund initiatives. The committee was given the task of looking into the details of a Housing Forum. The committee would initially have reps from five groups: the liberation movements, government, trade unions, civics and organised business. Development Agencies such as the DBSA, IDT and the Urban Foundation will be observers.

The Housing Forum is an important challenge which requires us to:

- intensify efforts to democratically develop a housing policy;
- develop the organisational and administrative capacity to link struggles with negotiations forums.

Most South Africans agree that democracy is a good thing. But how does it work in our organisations? This second part of the **MAYIBUYE series on democracy contributes to the debate.**

Leadership, mandates and criticism

Most political organisations, including the ANC, claim to be fighting for democracy in South Africa. Many other political organisations are not democratic. At Nationalist Party conferences, for example, the leaders merely present positions to the membership. There is no real discussion and the members always accept what the leadership says.

LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

The constitution of the ANC says "the ANC is a democratic organisation whose policies are determined by the membership and whose leadership shall be accountable to the membership." When we say that the ANC is democratic we mean that the membership controls the organisation. It is the members of the ANC who elect the leaders and decide the policy of the movement.

Leadership and democracy are linked together. Leaders must ensure that they do not abuse the trust that the members put in them. We elect leaders to run the organisation. But we are not giving the organisation to them. They must look after the ANC and run it between meetings.

Not everyone can do everything. But when things are done they must be done for everyone, not just the leadership.

What are the things that make the ANC democratic?

The membership should be able to freely decide who their leaders will be. All ANC leaders must be democratically elected by the members. Leaders must accept that they can be voted out of their positions if the membership is not happy with the way they work or behave as leaders. The best way to make sure that leaders are elected freely is to have secret votes, so that no one can pressurise members to vote for

them.

Once the leadership has been elected it must work together as a team or collective. This means that one person in the leadership must not take all the decisions. Every member of the leadership must be allowed to contribute his/her views. Five heads are better than one!

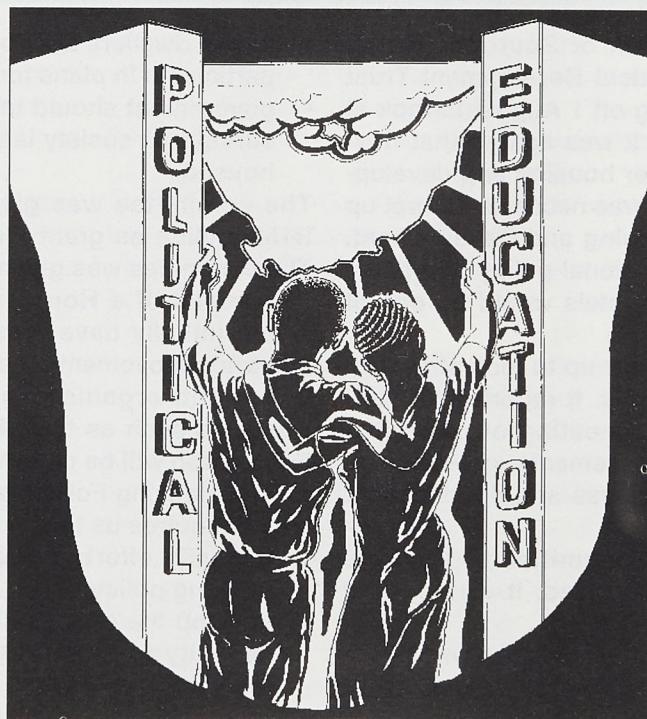
But each head must also know exactly what his/her tasks are. The collective must ensure that each leader fulfills the jobs s/he is given.

Collective leadership also means that the leadership takes joint responsibility for the decisions it makes. But this does not mean that the leadership must act as a club which protects itself through thick and thin.

The leadership must be open about the errors and failures it has made so that these can be corrected.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is the basis of democratic organisation. Accountability means that leadership must discuss decisions with the membership. Decisions must be explained so that the members understand why they are made.



The leaders must also take responsibility for decisions that they make. If the leadership is not accountable to the membership it will not know the feelings of the members.

MANDATES

Mandates go together with accountability. A mandate means that the leaders ask the membership what the position of the branch or region should be on an issue. The leadership must stick to the mandate even if it is not exactly the same as its own position.

This does not mean that personal views should not be expressed. But it must always be clear when an individual is giving a personal view and when s/he is giving a mandated position.

Mandates need to be flexible. Sometimes the situation changes between when the mandate is de-

cided by the branch and when it must be carried out.

Branches must elect people who they trust to give their mandates and represent the real feeling of the branch. When the mandate is no longer valid, the representative must go back to the branch for another mandate.

There are also different types of mandates. Let us take for example when a person is elected to be a publicity secretary of a branch.

The branch expects him/her to react quickly to issues and make sure that statements from the branch appear in the newspapers. There will be no time for the publicity secretary to go back to the branch for a mandate on every issue.

This means that the mandate of the publicity secretary must be a broad mandate so that work can be done effectively. But s/he must also account for the statements

that are made. To understand our strengths and weaknesses it is important that we look at ourselves critically. We need to be able to learn from our mistakes. This goes for individual comrades and the organisation as a whole.

SELF-CRITICISM

If a person does not perform a task then the person must be criticised. But this criticism must be constructive and comradely. The aim of criticism is not to destroy an individual or the organisation, but to understand the problem and correct it. Criticism does not mean endless moaning.

In self-criticism individuals look at themselves and identify their strengths and weaknesses. This helps them to improve their work. This means that the criticism must be done in a friendly way which allows people to respond positively to criticism. ♦



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South Africans will feel the after-shock of the Zambian elections for some time.

Kenneth Kaunda received only twenty percent of the vote. His opponent, Frederick Chiluba, of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), received support from an overwhelming 80 percent of voters. In the parliamentary elections, the MMD took 125 seats, leaving Kaunda's United National Independence Party (Unip) with only 25 – almost all of them in his home area, the Eastern Province.

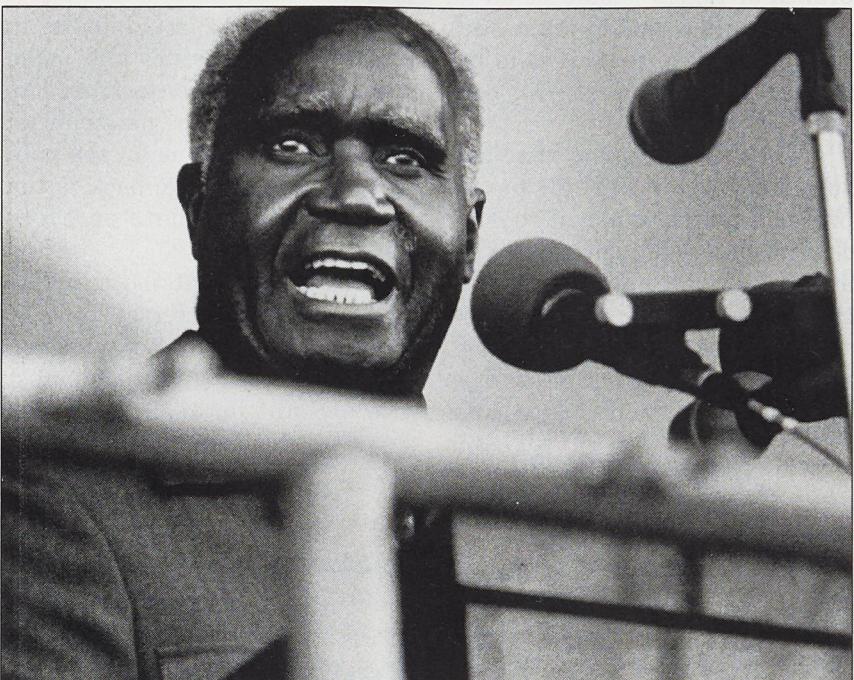
Support for the MMD was strongest amongst the workers in the Copperbelt (Zambia's main industrial area) where Chiluba received up to twelve times as many votes as Kaunda. All observers declared the elections "free and fair". They were also peaceful – not one casualty was recorded.

PRESSURE

What sort of party is the MMD? Its president, Frederick Chiluba, rose to prominence as leader of the Zambian mineworkers. Its leadership combines businessmen, professionals, former Unip politicians and a handful of unionists. The MMD was launched in early 1990 and it gained momentum as a coalition of individuals pressing for political pluralism and free elections. Under mounting pressure Kaunda finally agreed to multi-party elections. By this time, growing numbers of Unip members, especially youth, had defected to the MMD.

The MMD is populist in style. It has strong grassroots support and a core of committed activists, but seemingly little grassroots organisation. It captured the popular imagination and drew tens, sometimes hundreds, of thousands of enthusiastic supporters to its rallies. By contrast, Unip's rallies were poorly attended and apathetic. The MMD's slogan "the

Democracy triumphs in Zambia



Kenneth Kaunda ... received only 20 percent of the votes.

On October 31 Zambia had its first multi-party elections in more than 18 years. Among observers from many countries was Jeremy Baskin, seconded by the ANC, Cosatu and others. His impressions...

hour has come" and its promise of major changes to reverse Zambia's economic decline held great mass appeal.

The new party faces a tough challenge. From being one of Africa's most vibrant economies after independence, Zambia today is in a mess with conditions worsening monthly. (See opposite

page.)

The Zambian people have high expectations from their new government. But can the MMD deliver, and what are its plans?

Politically, the MMD is committed to pluralism. It favours a free press and the opening of the state-owned media. It wants to see a separation of party and

What caused the rot?

At the time of independence, the Zambian government inherited a backward economy. Copper production accounted for 90% of the labour force, export and total industrial production.

In the few years after independence, a programme of diversifying the economy led to the emergence of chemical, car assembly, textile and other industries. The economy grew at the rate of 13% a year.

But there was a concern that this was not benefitting the poor. Thus in 1968 Unip introduced a development plan which included nationalisation of a whole or part of some enterprises and some restrictions on the operations of foreign companies.

A programme to promote Zambians into executive positions was embarked upon. An agricultural reform policy was introduced to deal with absentee landlords and introduce measures aimed at benefitting small-scale farmers.

Though the growth trend continued for some time, new problems started to beset the economy.

In 1973 copper prices fell drastically, thus undermining the country's foreign currency exchange. This was worsened by corruption and growing inefficiency within state-controlled companies and government.

The economic programme was exploited by a rising elite to enrich themselves. All these problems were not helped by the campaign of destabilisation that Zambia was subjected to by the neighbouring racist colonial states.

With the independence of Zimbabwe, when the government sought to revive the economy, the obstacles – including inefficiency and corruption – had become too many to handle.

state. It opposes the Unip policy of ethnic balancing – in favour of merit appointments to all positions. In addition the MMD prefers that chiefs should keep out of party political involvement.

Economically the MMD has warned Zambians of difficult times ahead and of the need to work harder. It calls for Zambia to trade openly with South Africa. Its policies are a mixture of privatisation and substantial state

expenditure on services and the infrastructure. "It is not the role of the state" argues Chiluba, "to be involved in producing matches, candles and beer".

The MMD plans to sell off massive chunks of the state-controlled industrial sector. It also plans to increase expenditure on roads, hospitals and schools. In the short-term, however, privatisation must undoubtedly lead to job loss as the new owners trim

A MAYIBUYE correspondent formerly resident in Zambia comments...

The decline could not be arrested. Pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for adjustment programmes added fuel to the fire, leading to food riots.

Today inflation is running at over 100%. The Kwacha (the Zambian currency) is worth little and few commodities are available in the shops.

Industry is in crisis. Agriculture is in decline with an otherwise well endowed country importing food. International debt is, for the population size, among the highest in the world. Services and infrastructure are in terrible shape.

Debate will continue about the causes of the crisis. Those who abhor state intervention will blame it, while others will blame its avoidable side effects such as corruption and inefficiency. But there is universal agreement that a buoyant multi-party democracy and not the complacency of unchallenged political office is a necessary element for socio-economic development.

Concern has been aired about the close links that many in the MMD have had with apartheid South Africa over the years. "This is to exaggerate issues", observes an ANC diplomat. "Emphases might change, but the Zambian people and their new government support the anti-apartheid struggle. They are a member of the OAU and Frontline States"

KK and Unip were rejected by the people and made a graceful exit. For those in our country who seek out dictators to condemn, they better look closer home for the real prototype in our difficult transition. ♦

staff to a minimum.

Chiluba is willing to meet many IMF conditions regarding Zambia's debt. He is prepared to cut the civil service and privatise state industries. But he is more cautious on the question of removing food subsidies.

The major difference between Unip and the MMD is that the latter has the political clout to implement structural adjustments. ♦



Facing the future with hope

More than 120 women from communities throughout the Transvaal and Northern Cape gathered for this historic meeting, drawn together "because of our shared history of suffering because of apartheid, land policies, forced removals and incorporation".

The Rural Women's Movement is unique in that its membership is exclusively rural and offers village women's committees the opportunities to discuss and campaign around common concerns. Water, access to land, education, child labour and traditional limitations on women's status were voiced as central issues at meetings leading up to the launching of the Rural Women's Movement. The constitution, which was adopted in November, aims to "create forums for rural women to

The Rural Women's Movement was launched at the northern Transvaal mission of Lobethal recently with the aim of uniting women against oppression and giving them a voice in political matters.

unite against oppression, to demand that women have equal rights to land, to encourage women to be self-reliant, independent and creative, to get resourc-

es to develop their areas which would improve their daily lives and to work for the abolition of child labour".

The executive of the Rural Women's Movement designed the workshop so that it was not just speeches and talking. Women spent the first morning teaching each other handcraft skills.

Thoko from Hivos in Zimbabwe spoke about the strengths and weaknesses of women's projects from her experience in Africa. She warned of the dangers of relying on small self-help groups for income.

Thoko talked about the difficulties of competing with large factories to make goods cheaper than those in the shops. The women in groups "are not doing this work full-time. They work only a few minutes each day

while the factories are spending every minute of the day producing." But she pointed out that the groups have other benefits for women. Women acquire skills (like sewing), they empower each other by discussing common problems and they give rise to strong women's structures.

The Rural Women's Movement emerged from the historical struggles of rural communities against government policies of forced removals and incorporations. Over the years that the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) has been helping communities to resist forced removals, rural women have been at the forefront of the struggles.

FORCED REMOVALS

Trac fieldworker Lydia Kompe said: "When I first started working for Trac, I found that men excluded the women from community decision-making forums. When the government officials arrive in the community, the first people to be approached are the women who are looking after their children and their homes while their husbands may be in the veld tending the cattle or even in town as migrant workers. So I felt it was very unfair for the men to exclude them from decision-making."

"The crises of forced removals or incorporation forced men to rely on women much more, though they still try to keep them out of the *kgotla*," says Mam'Lydia. In 1986, Trac organised a workshop specifically for rural women who were experiencing similar problems. This provided a great boost for the formation of rural women's groups. Since then, women have met to support each other, discuss their problems and to assert their right to be taken seriously by men.

Last May, 85 women representing 16 rural communities from the Western and South Eastern Transvaal held a week-

end workshop in Matjakaneng at which they decided to form the Rural Women's Movement. A resolution was passed which included the following:

- They condemned the bantustan system "which has caused untold misery with its forced removals, incorporations and evictions of our people from their ancestral land".
- They rejected bantu education and demanded equal education for all South Africans.
- They registered their opposition to discrimination on the grounds of race and sex.
- They called for the ending of the hostel system which has torn families apart.

The women also called on the government to allow black people the right to land – this would mean the scrapping of the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the Illegal Squatting Act. The meeting resolved to work for equal representation with men in a future democratically elected South African parliament.

Last October the groups travelled to Johannesburg to discuss developments in their communities and to elect a formal executive of the Rural Women's Movement. A speaker from Magopa said: "Even though many of our areas have been reprieved (from removals), there are still many problems which need to be talked about."

In many places, the traditional community decision-making body or *kgotla* excludes women. Women at the workshop said that strong women representatives should be elected to the *kgotla*. It is assumed that men will represent women either as husbands, fathers or brothers, but the women complained that the men never give adequate report-backs.

Rita Ndzanga from Magopa said: "We are living in new times – there must be new ways of doing things. In the past, women were not even allowed to sit on chairs in the presence of men.

Women take care of the most important things in life – health, education and the family – and should be represented at all levels in the society, from the *kgotla* to the parliament."

A speaker from Braklaagte said: "The men think that the Women's League will get a place in the parliament where they will campaign for the end of men's right to have more than one wife."

Some of the women felt strongly that polygamy should be stopped. Beauty Mkhize of Driefontein in the South Eastern Transvaal said: "It just causes problems. Men cannot support many wives financially and they cannot give all their wives the same amount of love. This causes terrible bitterness and suffering."

At a workshop in Sekhukhuneland in December 1990 delegates discussed women's problems and hardship in the villages. Poor water supply was a common theme – some women spent up to four hours a day carrying water for their families.

The shortage of water also meant that women could not cultivate crops or vegetables to supplement their families' food supply.

Women complained that the chiefs and *kgotlas* often blocked their efforts to set up self-help projects. For example, in one area, the women were refused permission to use a piece of land for vegetable growing.

KGOTLA

Moutse women felt that they should have a part in deciding on land allocation – historically, this has been done through the *kgotla*. They said: "Women also want to be under the (*kgotla*) tree taking decisions with men."

The words of Margaret Gaonose from Huhudi capture the feelings of women in the Rural Women's Movement: "There is a little hope for our land, a long way away there is hope." ♦

PEOPLE'S POWER FOR A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

NEW VIDEO

This video is a record of the historic ANC 48th Conference held in Durban, at the University of Durban-Westville from 2-7 July 1991. It was the first national conference that the ANC has been able to hold inside South Africa in 30 years.

Attended by almost 3 000 delegates and 500 international guests, the conference debated crucial issues facing the people of South Africa.

Negotiations, violence, strategy and tactics and the emancipation of women are some of the debates covered.

The election of a new National Executive Committee, including President Nelson Mandela and National Chairperson O R Tambo, is one emotional highlight of the video.



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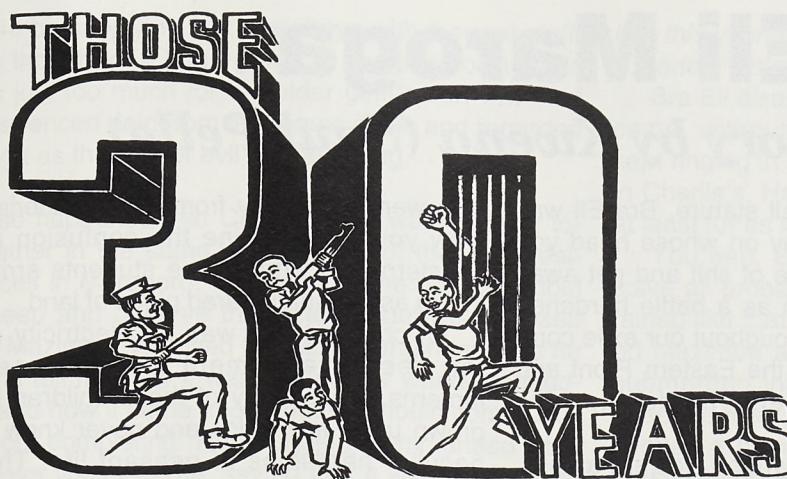
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Christmas crackers

It was 10 days to Christmas and I purchased some gaudy sheets of wrapping paper at the CNA. I made my way through the crowds of shoppers in Durban's West Street and was soon in an alley off Grey Street. "From West to East in a matter of minutes," I mused.

Nathu and Mandla were waiting patiently for me. We pulled on plastic gloves and carefully began wrapping our parcels. We exchanged some light comments – joking about "a white Xmas" and "Xmas surprises" – but this did not reduce an air of tension.

We wished each other "good luck" as we made our separate ways, each with his own bag of "presents". I made one delivery in a park and the other on a street corner. On each occasion the individual disappeared swiftly with the parcel.

I had one left which I was going to deliver in a different way later that night. I hopped on a bus for Berea and settled down on a back seat. Two stops later I saw someone climbing aboard with one of the parcels Nathu had been assigned to deliver.

I studied the individual to see whether he showed any sign of nervousness but he appeared perfectly at ease. I got off before him wondering if he would have regis-

tered surprise had he seen my similarly packaged parcel.

Later that night, December 16 1961, our "parcels" were exploding all over Durban. Umkhonto we Sizwe was announcing its presence all over South Africa. Overnight we moved from non-violence to armed struggle in an effort to overthrow apartheid. ♦

Xmas in a Party school

A group of South Africans were on a trade unionism course in the Soviet Union. The class included students from many other countries. As Christmas Day approached, some students argued that the class should take a day off.

The instructor said the matter should be decided collectively. It was the South Africans who lobbied successfully for business as usual. The Nigerians were not impressed. "These black Russians!", they were heard complaining. ♦

...In military training

Imagine the consternation among the comrades when, with Christmas only a few days away, no Soviet official would broach the subject of what the trainee soldiers from South

Africa would be doing on Christmas Day 1976. One trainee who could stand the tension no longer, bravely stood up and asked, "Tavaresh Kapitan! What are we going to do on Christmas Day?"

"When is Christmas Day and what happened on that day?" asked the perplexed Soviet instructor. After lengthy explanations, the instructor seemed to understand. "Oh, so you comrades believe in God's works!" He meant the bible: in the same way that Soviets would refer to the writings of the great Lenin and Marx as Selected Works, Collected Works etc. ♦

... In solitary confinement

Solitary confinement for me meant being the lone occupant of a courtyard housing the punishment cells of awaiting trial prisoners in Fort Glamorgan. I used to wonder, in the event of a fire, if they would ever get me out in time.

Being that isolated makes one value all human contact – the smiles of fellow prisoners as you are taken down a corridor; the stolen conversation when a work team is busy outside your cell window.

But New Year's Eve definitely found me out of sorts with the prevailing mood. I went to sleep at the usual prison lights out time, eight o'clock or thereabouts.

I had no wish to be awake to see this particular new year in. Nonetheless, at midnight

I was woken by the sound of ships in the harbour sounding their foghorns. And then the ghostly sounds of a prison New Year celebration started to filter into my courtyard: "Happy! Happy!"

I had to laugh. It sounded so bizarre. But I really couldn't understand what they thought was "happy" about this New Year. ♦

Bra Eli Maroga

A short story by Kwena (Saul Pelle)

In spite of his small stature, Bra Eli was not the type of guy on whose head you could plant a piece of shit and get away with it. His reputation as a battle hardened fighter was known throughout our exile community. He fought in the Eastern Front and Wankie in the then Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

I got to know him when I was still a child. He lived with his close relatives and we just knew that he was a brother to Peter Hans. Even then, in the early 60s, Eli was rough and tough and reckless with his life. Peter Hans, suspecting that Bra Eli might die by the blade or the bullet, employed him in his tailoring shop. In no time they were heart and soul into the business.

However, the guys kept backsiding to their old township ways. Come Friday night and they would be painting the streets of Soweto red. Of course in the process they would be involved in some brawls and knives would be flashed and at times blood would splatter and a lot of other things would happen.

Around 1963 Bra Eli and others were "lucky" to be in the first batch of recruits which left the country for military training. He was one of those people who was transformed into a genius when it came to the battlefield. Many stories are told about him, his valour, bravery and vigilance. Together with the likes of Ntate Mashigo and Mbijana, Bra Eli of the Luthuli Detachment made his mark as one of the few who infused the movement of liberation with energy and determination when all seemed to be dark and hopeless.

But one incident which is not necessarily related to his prowess in the battlefield stands vividly in my mind. In 1978 a group of students fresh from South Africa were deposited to a new area called Mazimbu in Morogoro, Tanzania. The students were of a tender age – 13 to 18. Mazimbu was a piece of land which was offered to the ANC by the Tanzanian government.

The ANC was to develop this land and make it habitable in such a way that it could be a second home to those South Africans

who were torn away from their motherland. Now you can imagine the confusion and consternation when these students arrived in this as yet untempered piece of land.

Of course there was no electricity and the best arrangement was the use of lanterns. Also, many of those children had grown up in townships and never knew the peculiar hardships of peasant life. There were about five derelict buildings and the Luthuli Detachment renovated these. In no time most of the problems were solved, save that of rats.

Bra Eli loved reptiles. His room was full of snakes of different kinds. He would catch and domesticate them. They would be crawling around his room and that would make it difficult for many of us to pay him a visit. All the same this did not in any way diminish our love for him.

Now there was this young guy called Charlie. He was one of the young people who were not given to mind their own business, such that he was a constant pain in the neck of the new inhabitants of Mazimbu. That he smoked grass should in no way act as a cushion for his misdeeds which gradually became a nag in the eyes of those who had to bend backwards for Charlie's pranks. But the problem was, when he had some deep puffs, then he would act in the most irrational manner, so that he became a serious point on the agenda of the Mazimbu community.

It came about that Bra Eli became sick and tired of Charlie's erratic ways and he took it upon himself to hold the bull by the horns, or the rat by its tail. The authorities in Mazimbu had issued a directive to the effect that Charlie never be allowed to put his big foot in peaceful Mazimbu. Serious learning had started and it was advisable not to have Charlie in the school premises lest he disrupts the learning process or instill fear into the hearts of those young girls and boys at school.

Charlie would, with contempt, defy this directive and at awkward hours would be seen in Mazimbu puffing away with some boys. You see, it was feared that Charlie

might be supplying the other boys with the real stuff. The thought of a large group of dagga-smoking lads was just too much for the older generation who had experienced pain from the thorns of life and regarded dagga as the root of evil for the young.

It so happened that Charlie and I were staying together in the same room in one of the ANC residences in Morogoro. That is when he had been told to keep and observe the distance between himself and Mazimbu. We used to chat for long hours and he would tell me how it was in Moscow where he studied and how it came about that he should come back without completing. He strongly recommended Stolichnaya vodka to me, saying that it was the best intoxicating beverage in the world, only that you had to chill it before downing it.

Then one Tuesday at about two in the morning, I heard a faint knock at the door accompanied by Bra Eli's voice imploring me to open the door. I did. The lights were off. He proceeded straight to Charlie's bed and lit a bright torch right into Charlie's face. Our guy woke up with a dizzy start, apparently still under the influence of the big zol he had polished earlier.

Bra Eli was at his best:

"Charles, isolate Mazimbu!"

"Charles, isolate Mazimbu!"

"Charles, isolate Mazimbu!"

"Saul, praat jy met die laaitie!" (Saul, knock sense

into this young man).

"Charles, isolate Mazimbu!"

Bra Eli disappeared into the night as quietly as he came, without even saying good night. His words kept ringing in my ears and I would suppose more so in Charlie's. He never again set his foot in Mazimbu, at least for as long as Bra Eli was alive.

You see, Bra Eli had a set mind that he could solve all problems his own way. 1981 it was. It had rained like that was its last act. The bridge that divided Mazimbu and other Tanzanian settlements was submerged into the overpowering waters. Floods ruled the area for some time. It was then that people spotted a hippopotamus trying to make its home in that vicinity. No sooner had many been told than there was stone throwing directed towards the hippo.

Bra Eli got to hear about the incident. He promptly rushed to the area in question and admonished those who were playing with fire. Whereupon he dived into the river to soothe the angry hippo. Those who were at the bridge have different stories about what actually happened, but all are agreed that the hippo's large jaws came into direct contact with Bra Eli's body. He died a day later.

Yes, Bra Eli defeated the soldiers in Zimbabwe but was killed by an animal that could neither speak nor run. Life is a downturn, an upswing, almost always unpredictable, but forever on the move. ♦

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The Biggest Bash that wasn't ...

For the benefit of the returned exiles amongst our readership, let us explain something very quickly – we are dog-tired of the same old line-ups year after year after year. Somehow, the fact that Lucky Dube and Mango Groove were still being used as the major drawcards to the Birthday Bash – three years on – made a lot of people yawn.

Then all the hoo-ha leading up to the concert itself – were Tracy Chapman and Ziggy Marley coming or weren't they? "Yes, they are." "Oops, sorry, they're not because we booked the concert for October 19." Then it was moved to October 26, but Chapman and Marley couldn't make that date. So there we were stuck with the "Biggest" Birthday Bash that seemed almost like a clone of last year's "Bigger".

Guess who was on? Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse (whose "Stix" have been cooling ever since "Burnout"), Little Sisters (boring clones of American heavy rock), Chicco (whose most successful crowd pleaser is still "Soldier"), Big Sky (nice try, wrong venue), Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens (lovely entertainment, but, well, they were on last year), Sankomota (nice try, wrong venue, plus on last year), and so on.

OK, it wasn't all bad or "seen it before" stuff. There were two new acts that, by general consensus, were a foot stompin' delight. These were Slam Factory, a trio of kids fronted by Justine Bekker, and Dr Victor and the Rasta Rebels, a band that pumps out a rhythm so irresistible that the crowds went utterly bananas, giving us all a protracted aerobics class. Slam Factory's current single is a mean cover of "Respect", made famous by Aretha Franklin, but the rest of the material is original.

Carping critics have complained that Dr Victor "only does covers". And dearly beloved though he is, he is making a killing off Nigerian-Swedish Dr Alban's "Hello Africa" and Eddy Grant's reg-

gae repertoire. The only original song he played was "Tumbai", also great fun.

And the big names? Well, Mango Groove, that group that takes all the flak for "making a living ripping off the 50s", were impeccable and more: they got the crowd totally *mal*. They were simply great.

The endlessly energetic Lucky Dube failed to stir up the crowds to the level of previous years. It wasn't that his level of dance and effort dropped. It probably was the fact that he played quite a few new numbers that the crowd was less familiar with. Anyway, they still liked him.

Chicco, too, came in at a high decibel level.

One of the other new acts was James Mange and the Whiplashes. Mange should be familiar as a man who has spent quite some time on Robben Island for high treason.

Apparently that's where he started playing and forming his band. Unfortunately they were less than ready for such a huge event and seemed pretty intimidated by the whole thing. Maybe next year?

A whole lot of people thought Platform One would be a kinda' Vanilla Ice/MC Hammer outfit. They couldn't have been more wrong. Out trooped an array of kids in traditional costume and traditional/urban sounds somewhere in the same family as Mahlathini, but not quite.

Was it the "Biggest"? Definitely not... and that's a dangerous thing to call your concert. In terms of crowd attendance, we've seen more at Ellis Park, and in term of artists, there wasn't much new. To be the "Biggest" it would have needed a massive injection of foreign talent... be that from Africa, Britain, America or all of those together.

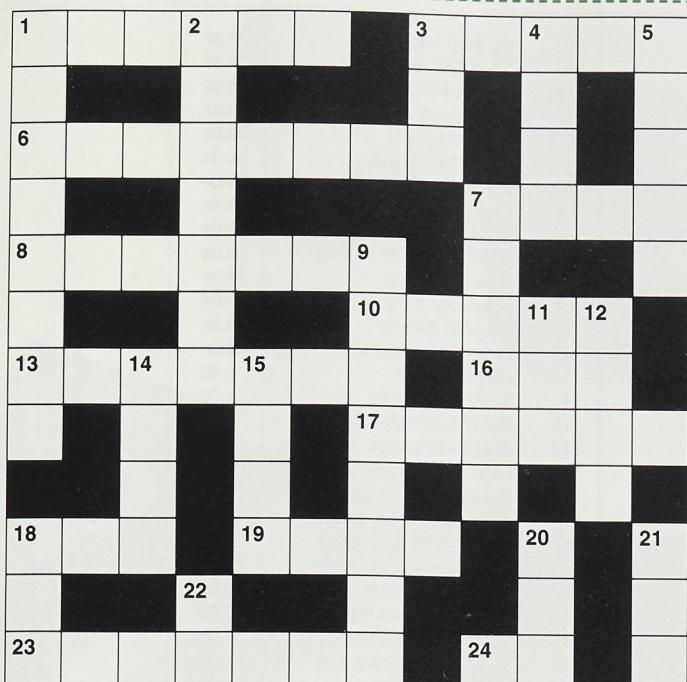
We were incapable of organising a solid line-up of exiles for a major blast of a concert and we have overblown the Birthday Bash. Maybe next year.

- G JO



Lucky Dube

The Biggest Birthday Bash was held at Ellis Park recently.



Name:

Address:

.....

Postal code:

Solution to **MAYIBUYE** Xword No 3

1	A	M	2	A	N	D	L	3	A	4	F	A	W	5	U
	N			R				P		U			M		
6	G	W	A	L	A		L	H					S		
	E	F			7	M	A	U	R	I	C	E			
8	L	U	A	N	D	A		E				B			
	A	T		N			D	11	R	10	O	M	E		
13		14	15		16										
				17											
18			19			20									
		22													
23					24										

The winner of
MAYIBUYE XWORD No 2
is Cleophas Mokgatlhe
of 858A Emdeni South
PO Kwa-Xuma 1868.

CONGRATULATIONS!

RULES

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

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MAYIBUYE XWORD No 5 CLUES

ACROSS

1. Once Secretary-General of the ANC.
3. United Cricket Board of SA.
6. Set free.
7. Place where soldiers eat.
8. ... Alexander is leader of Wosa.
10. Monarch.
13. Commonwealth Secretary-General who visited South Africa recently.
16. It takes ... to tango.
17. Capital of Greece.
18. Breathed by animals and plants.
19. Source of water.
23. Military unit.
24. Preposition.

DOWN

1. Table with months, weeks, and days of a given year.
2. It's a continent.
3. Country in the Middle East.
4. Colour.
5. Predecessor of Sansco.
7. Last provincial president of the Cape ANC.
9. All democrats believe in it.
11. Female sheep.
12. Not any.
14. 365 days.
15. Dullah ... is a member of the NEC of the ANC.
18. Turns 80 on January 8 1992.
20. General-Secretary of Cosatu.
21. All-Party Congress.
22. Led by Zach de Beer

CODE	ITEM	UNIT PRICE	QTY	TOTAL	CODE	ITEM	UNIT PRICE	QTY	TOTAL
001	Tambo T-shirt	8.02			096	Big ANC tr/st/b	72.37		
002	ANC T-shirt	8.02			097	Small ANC tr/st/b	72.37		
003	Andy cap	13.70			098	Big Spearman sw/tp/b	38.04		
004	Magnum cap	9.40			099	Small Spearman sw/tp/b	38.04		
005	Super golf cap	12.79			100	Big logo sw/tp/b	38.04		
006	Lumber jacket	164.90			101	Small logo sw/tp/b	38.04		
007	Football umbrella	41.21			102	Big ANC sw/tp/b	38.04		
008	ANC wristwatch	59.59			103	Small ANC sw/tp/b	38.04		
009	Road to Peace	5.00			104	Big Spearman sw/tp/w	38.04		
010	Joining the ANC	5.00			105	Small Spearman sw/tp/w	38.04		
011	Africa earrings	5.45			106	Big logo sw/tp/w	38.04		
012	Pendant	9.12			107	Small logo sw/tp/w	38.04		
013	Tie pin	12.79			108	Big ANC sw/tp/w	38.04		
014	ANC 1991 calender	1.38			109	Small ANC sw/tp/w	38.04		
015	ANC poster	2.70			110	Labour Bulletin	6.00		
016	A4 note pad	4.54			111	Work in Progress	2.50		
017	A5 note pad	3.44			112	Const Assembly T-shlrt	8.02		
018	A5 letter pad	3.21			113	ANC metal badge	2.70		
019	A6 pocket book	1.79			114	Logo metal badge	2.70		
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021	Small travel bag	24.06			116	Youth Lgue metal badge	2.70		
023	Gold ANC keyring	7.10			117	People Shall Gvn badge	2.70		
024	Logo lapel badge	3.21			119	Seat/walking stick	20.17		
025	Greetings cards	0.46			122	Lumber jacket kids	135.60		
026	Pack greetings cards	1.79			141	Video Mandela's Release	55.00		
027	Tambo poster	0.83			142	Video Fruits of Defiance	55.00		
028	Peace poster	2.70			143	Video The comrade king	55.00		
029	Logo earrings	12.79			144	Video Isitwalandwe	55.00		
030	Flag earrings	12.79			145	Video No Mdle Rd to Fredm	55.00		
031	Africa cufflink	15.35			146	Video Sophiatown	55.00		
032	Flag lapel badge	4.81			147	Video A Savage War of Peace	55.00		
033	Logo cufflink	14.44			148	Let the people decide	55.00		

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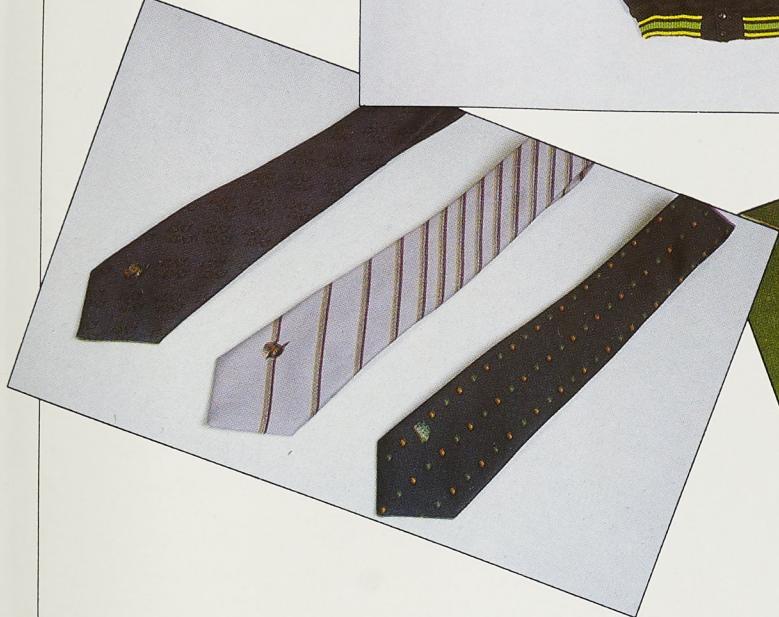
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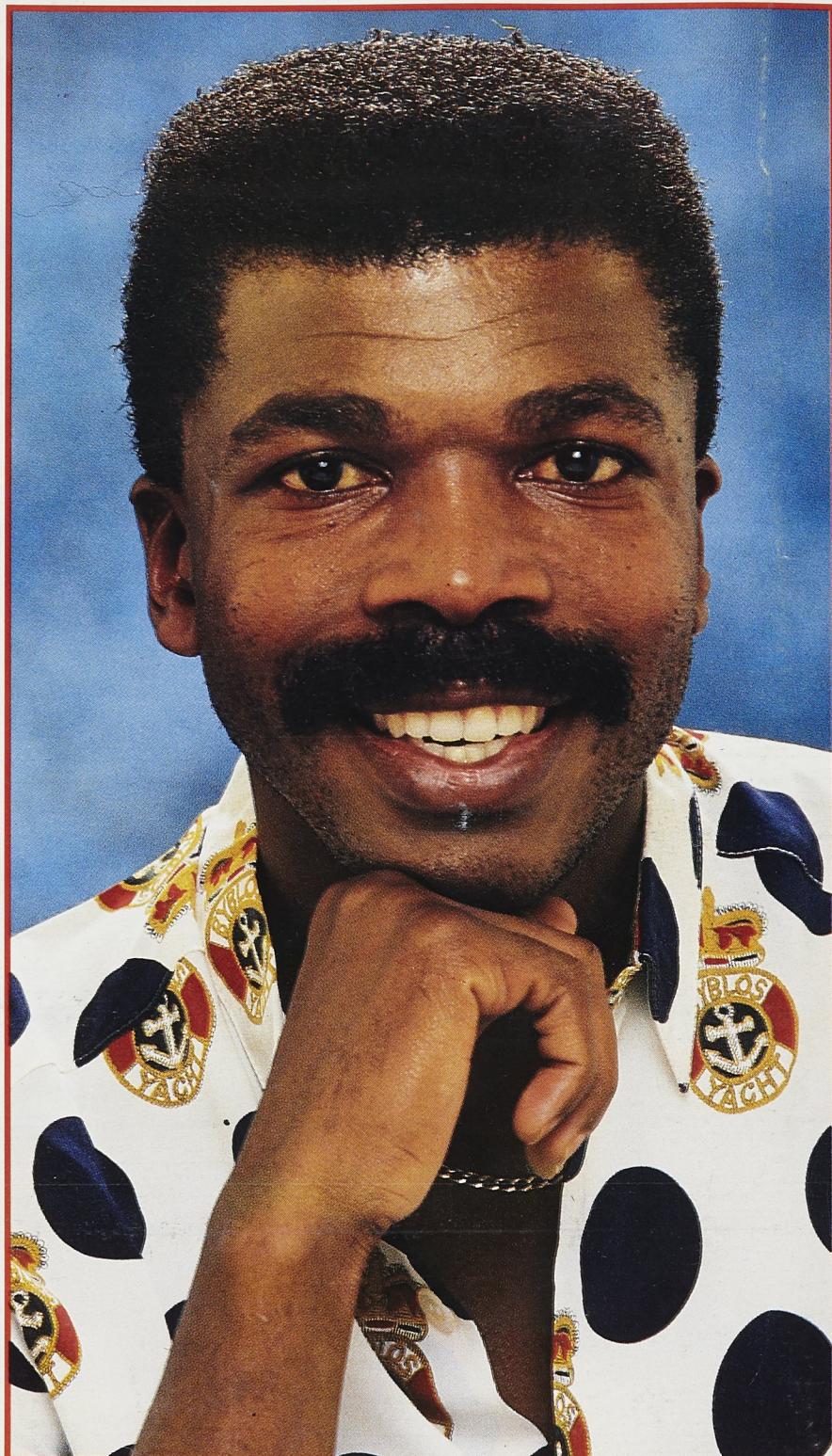
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