

Work in Progress

Peter Mokaba (23), Portia Nhlapo (24), and Jerome Joseph Maake (23).

The accused face ten counts under the Internal Security Act, all related to alleged ANC activities. Mokaba is alleged to have joined the ANC in 1980 and received military, economic and political training. He allegedly brought a Makarov pistol and several rounds of ammunition into South Africa, and collected information for the ANC while in Molepo and Lebowakgomo in May 1981. It is further claimed that he recruited Masilo Jonas Sehlapelo as a member of the ANC, possessed banned literature and used a dead letter box for smuggling ANC messages, weapons and explosives.

Maake is accused of being an ANC member and receiving military training outside of South Africa. He is said to have conveyed hand grenades to South Africa with the aim of undertaking sabotage, and to have recruited various people, including Portia Nhlapo, as members of the ANC.

The accused are all former students of Turfloop students, and on a number of occasions the court has been packed with students from that university.

According to one of those allegedly recruited by Maake - MacMillan Letsoalo - the accused taught him how to use a hand grenade. He also explained the workings of a cell system to a group of students, and talked about his experience in using guns in his period away from the university. This the witness took to mean that Maake had undergone military training.

The trial continues in the Pietersburg Regional Court.

Harrison Noggekele, Joe Thloloe, Veli Mguni, Philip Dlamini, Sipho Ncgobo, Nhlanganiso Sibanda, Stephen Zolo, Mfana Mtshali, and Shadrack Rampete.

The accused in this trial are alleged to have participated in the activities of the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). This is the first trial in some years involve substantial allegations of PAC activities within South Africa.

One of the accused initially pleaded guilty to the charges, saying that he had passed on certain weapons

(a machine gun, two magazines and a hand grenade) to journalist Joe Thloloe. However, he was subsequently allowed by the presiding magistrate to change his plea to one of not guilty.

Inter alia, the accused are alleged to have set up the Azanian National Youth Union - AZANYU - as a front for PAC activities. A number of AZANYU office bearers are amongst the accused.

STATE REFORM - yes repeat no

It is a truism that the state's 'constitutional reform programme' differs from the rightwing blueprint only in being a different means to the same end - preservation of white supremacy in South Africa. And that the new polarisation of the white rightwing under Treurnicht was planned for and precipitated.

Grand apartheid remains the cornerstone of powersharing though its implementation may alter; africans in urban areas won't even be afforded symbolic representation in the mooted tricameral parliament; Group Areas remain; and influx control is being tightened up in legislation and execution.

But why is the state having such trouble legislating - if not implementing - some cosmetic reforms? Why is it so difficult for a government that has changed the structure of the state to allow for an enormous range of executive actions, to implement a little co-optation? The rightwing threat is not enough to account completely for this.

Currently parliament's playing the by-election blues, leading to a number of reassertions of good old-style apartheid - to the dismay of the Coloured Labour Party. Some examples are: Hendrik Schoeman's statement that coloured and indian MPs would, come the day of their elevation, have to do without 'pizzlies' in the

parliamentarians' township and stay in their 'own' group areas; reassertion of railways apartheid; Chris Heunis's puzzling about-face on compelling sports clubs to open up, and noises about integrated paddling pools in Durban. (Theoretically, the idea is that constitutional reform gives local level bodies such as municipalities more control of such decisions, and Heunis is after all Minister of Constitutional Development).

A more long-term sign though is the way the De Lange committee report on education in South Africa has been handled. When the report came out at the end of 1981, it was hailed as a grand breakthrough for reform, recommending as it did a unified education ministry, equality of opportunity in education and equitable distribution of facilities and resources, to be watchdogged by a Council for Education representing parents, teachers and experts of all races.

The official response to it was an interim memorandum in which the government put the kibosh on a single ministry and desegregated schools. It appointed a working group, made up almost exclusively of state functionaries, to process responses and make final recommendations. Almost simultaneously with the Treurnicht split, the Bloemfontein Volkskongress rejected the recommendations wholesale. Now, one white paper of a possible series may come out of this parliamentary session, and legislation is postponed, effectively for years. But it's quite clear, from the insistence on racial quotas for universities, from apartheid in technicons, from the creation of Vista university, that the issue is on the shelf.

It could be argued that as the educational revolts of 1976 and 1980 faded, the perceived need, from the state's point of view, for reforms in this field faded as well, and the relative urgency of rightwing reaction became greater. Or that change in educational structures and policy needed to be brought into line with the overall constitutional alterations.

But the very point of co-optation is to win legitimacy with a broader range of groups, and a watered-down version of De Lange would have helped. Areas like education, sport, and the

Immorality Act seem tailor-made to boost foreign, English-speaking and reformist black support.

Another issue is the Pageview/Mayfair muddle. After insisting on whitening out Pageview, a section of Mayfair is thrown to the Indian community as a belated sop - a move unlikely to win support there and alienating working class whites into the bargain.

It is not enough to say with the Sunday papers that the state or the government is trapped in its ideology like a fly in amber. Perhaps the interpretation that the end remains the same while means change needs to be looked at again. Is the end Afrikaner supremacy, white supremacy, or capitalist supremacy?

The President's Council recommendations and the presentation of the industrial decentralisation plan indicate that it's the latter. But willingness to share the formulation of policy with representatives of capital seems limited, as witness big business's frustration after the Good Hope conference. Consultation there was a one-way street, indicating (shades of Hoggenheimer) that policy determination is reserved for a narrower faction even than white capital.

This may indicate unwillingness finally to give up the idea of a united and dominant Afrikanerdom - and its (ideologically) all-important 'Christian-National values' - which can hardly be shared either with the Hoggenheimers or with the heathen; or an awareness that new coalitions will mean the sacrifice of that powerbase in favour of the right. Certainly for some years now old alliances have been in their death throes, while old ideologies appear to prevent the forging of new ones - even where it is not power that is ultimately shared, but responsibility for the executors of power.

The governing faction in the state may not find its way to a new alliance, except with bodies within the state, like the military. It may finally rely on its position within the state apparatuses to hold political power and so resolve the contradiction, in execution if not in theory, between the notions of total onslaught and reform.

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DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

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