

Codesa: Trojan horse of black liberation?

Codesa is being used as a tool to depoliticise and deradicalise black people in South Africa, according to STRINI MOODLEY, publicity secretary of Azapo. This is an edited version of a speech he delivered at an Idasa forum in Durban recently.



Moodley: Codesa won't deliver

When the mythical Cassandra of Troy stood on the walls of her city and looked down at the mammoth wooden horse that had been dragged before her city gates by the Greeks, she warned the Trojan people to reject the fraud that she knew would lead to the destruction of her people.

Fate so designed that nobody listened to Cassandra and the Trojan people dragged the horse through the city gates and celebrated and caroused that entire night.

When the Trojans had exhausted themselves with celebration and fallen asleep, the Greek soldiers who were hidden in the belly of the wooden horse emerged and began to slaughter the Trojans.

After 10 years of valiantly warding off the attack of the Greeks, a simple ruse – the Trojan horse – saw Troy and its people completely destroyed.

In a sense, we of Azapo suffer the same frustration that Cassandra had when she urged her people to reject the wooden horse.

Codesa is the Trojan horse of black liberation.

Azapo's frustrations are exacerbated by the realisation that as our planet hurtles towards the 21st century, the greater part of the human race remains firmly fixated in the Dark Ages.

Nothing has been more illogical and vicious than the wars that have been brought on by unscientific notions such as tribe, race, religion and language. Even more illogical is the notion that the human race can only resolve differences if these notions are made the criteria for any form of negotiations.

Codesa is a product of that mindless view that tribal, ethnic, language and religious differences are the cornerstones of our future existence. We must first see ourselves in our different tribal, religious, language, racial and other garments and apparel before we can talk about resolving conflicts.

What is even more appalling is that many of those sitting around the Codesa table are or have been linked to violent repression which even now rips out the lifeblood of children and women.

Codesa is a denial of the value and true meaning of democracy. It is part of the conspiracy that has distorted democracy so completely that the yardstick by which we measure democracy is the United States of America.

How Azapo would do it

Strini Moodley faced a lively audience after his address. Asked whether he hated whites, Mr Moodley replied in the negative, adding "but I love blacks more".

Here are some of his responses to other questions:

What can/is Azapo doing outside of Codesa to realise its objectives?

Azapo will continue to mobilise and educate the people for the seizure of power. To conscientise the masses politically remains important and will be redoubled in the face of all the confusion in the country. Azapo will continue with community projects that empower the people.

Is Azapo not marginalising itself by shunning Codesa especially as it polls very low support in political surveys?

No. Azapo is aligning itself with the people and Codesa is going to fail because it is not an expression of the people's demands and aspirations. Whatever is said about support in market surveys is not necessarily true.

What is Azapo's relationship with the patriotic front at this point?

Azapo wants a true patriotic front made out of true patriots with a clean record of non-collaboration. It is busy laying the basis for this patriotic front to emerge. Soon there will be a meeting of unions affiliated to Nactu, Cosatu and other independent unions to address economic and political issues. Political organisations like the PAC and ANC will also take part.

Why Codesa is undemocratic

On the Sunday before the whites only referendum, the National Party put out a double-page advertisement in all the Sunday newspapers.

The headline to that advertisement read, "If you are scared of majority rule, vote Yes!" This advertisement, for the first time, told the truth about Codesa.

Underneath that headline the advertisement went on to say, "A Yes vote will allow us to do what the Rhodesians never did: Negotiate from a position of real strength, a democratic constitution that prevents domination and offers security to those who have a lot to lose. Protect your rights to political freedom, your own religion, own values, language, right to own property, savings, investments and pension funds. AT CODESA MOST OF THESE GUARANTEES HAVE ALREADY BEEN SECURED."

Not a single party within Codesa objected to the advertisement. Up to that time the liberal media and political observers, analysts and commentators were lauding Codesa for its programme to bring liberation to black people.

Not a single party – barring, perhaps, the NP – is truly representative as none of them have truly tested their strength democratically at the polls.

In fact, as far as Azapo is concerned 95 percent of the people

sitting at Codesa have no right to sit there. They belong to a discredited, illegitimate regime, or to puppet banana enclaves run by military dictators or by NP appointees who rule over some of these bantustan enclaves.

Some of them have stolen money and they earn fat cheques from the government to ensure that black people remain oppressed and exploited. Every day there are revelations of programmes and plots by De Klerk's security agencies and puppets of how they are involved in committing terror and violence against black people. There are revelations of billions of rands being defrauded through the government's various agencies.

These are the people who are sitting at Codesa to discuss the future of this country. There is no doubt in Azapo's view that Codesa will, in the final analysis, fail to deliver the goods to black people.

Since 2 February 1990 nothing, I repeat nothing, has happened which dramatically alters life for black people.

And just as the Trojan horse put the Trojan people to sleep, Codesa is depoliticising and deradicalising black people. We are being numbed into a sleep because we believe that Codesa will solve our problem.

Azapo's vision for a lasting settlement

A truly democratic solution cannot be implemented with the participation of De Klerk as the NP or the government.

The liberation movement - all its components - must come to terms with the reality that none of us singly can bring liberation. Solidarity is the key to our liberation.

Despite the misguided argument that the regime is too powerful to unseat, the liberation movement has the capacity, the resources and the will to work out a programme of action.

If De Klerk is serious about wanting to resolve the conflict in this country, then he has only one honourable option - to suspend his parliament and resign as a government.

If De Klerk indicates his willingness to resign, he must make that known to the liberation movement and to the world at large. The liberation movement can then work out how a transitional authority can smoothly take over the day-to-day running of government, take over the budget and finance, quarantine the security forces, bring in a peace-keeping force, and oversee fair and free elections for a constituent assembly.

If De Klerk wishes to discuss these points with the liberation movement, he must meet us at a neutral venue, at a meeting chaired by a neutral co-ordinator.



National Women's Coalition: spirit of generosity.

Anna Zieminski

A 'minor' process where people - not power - count

By BEA ROBERTS

The past year has witnessed the mushrooming of a variety of negotiating forums, alliances and social contracts, Codesa possibly being the most important - and most precarious. But for those who despair at the difficulties and deadlocks of the national process, the personality clashes and party-political jealousies, nevertheless, here and there, cause for cautious optimism exists.

One such initiative is a process which was started in 1991 and culminated in April this year, with scant media coverage. (However, women are no longer surprised when their actions fail to capture the national consciousness for more than the briefest of periods - but the determination to succeed continues to grow).

The National Women's Coalition was launched at a meeting in September 1991 when a range of women's organisations, service groups, political parties and church groups met around one common objective: to ensure that women's equality, and the means to enforce it, would be entrenched in a future constitution.

On April 25 and 26 more than 250 women from more than 40 organisations country-wide met in Johannesburg to plan and workshop the process needed to determine what rights South African women want. With the mix of the SACP and the Women's Bureau,

Women for South Africa and Cosatu, the Rural Women's Movement and the Association of University Women, the Black Sash and the Executive Women's Club, the ANC, National Party and Inkatha, the chances of reaching consensus seemed slim indeed at the outset.

Procedure did pose problems, not unusual given that women came from such diverse socio-economic and educational backgrounds, and from radically different political schooling. But even though procedural differences took almost three hours to resolve on Saturday morning, something was gradually emerging as the two days unfolded. Could one call it a sense of common purpose? Or was it perhaps the Sisterhood...

Gender certainly was the unifying issue - no matter where women came from, all had a common sense of frustration at the discrimination they experienced at personal, societal and structural levels. However, little time was wasted harping on this. The emphasis was very much on the future and a determination to transcend the present.

But what made the weekend a unique experience, more than the actual achievement of common purpose and recognition of common ground, was the spirit in which it took place. To be sure, there were bitter

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