

Journal of the African National Congress

MAYIBUYE

October 1992

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TO PE



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VERWOERD
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the ANC**

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VIOLENCE
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MAYIBUYE

Volume 3, No 9 • October 1992

In this issue:

REGULARS

- 3 Editorial
- 4 Readers speak out
- 6 News roundup
- 45 Review: The long journey of Clement Zulu (video)

CURRENT SCENE

- 2 Photo page: Zulu tradition belongs to the people
- 8 Relocating violence: new trends in NP strategy
- 12 Focus: Ciskei – Interview with "Soks" Sokupa, Chairperson of the ANC Border region
- 14 An eyewitness account of the Bisho massacre
- 17 Focus: QwaQwa – Interview with Pat Mathose, ANC Regional Secretary, Northern Free State
- 18 Labour roundup: Numsa strike • Sadtu wins recognition from DET • Briefs
- 32 Precarious peace in Mozambique

ANC

- 20 National Youth Conference: only a beginning

FEATURES

- 21 The federalism debate:
Oscar Dhlomo on removing the "F" and "U" words from politics • Mac Maharaj on the recent NP pro-federalism conference • Debates within the ANC on regional government
- 27 Who is to blame for high food prices?
- 29 Afrikaans writers: the anti-apartheid tradition
- 34 Opinion: Assessing the week of mass action in August • Combatting racism • Time to invest in youth
- 37 Riddick Bowe boxing victory on Nelson Mandela's birthday

SERIES

- 26 Profile: Wilhelm Verwoerd – committed to all the people of Africa

THE LIGHTER SIDE

- 40 *Up the wrong street*: a short story
- 43 Those 30 years: tales of the underground, detention, jail and exile
- 46 Xword competition
- 47 New competition: win a trip to PE

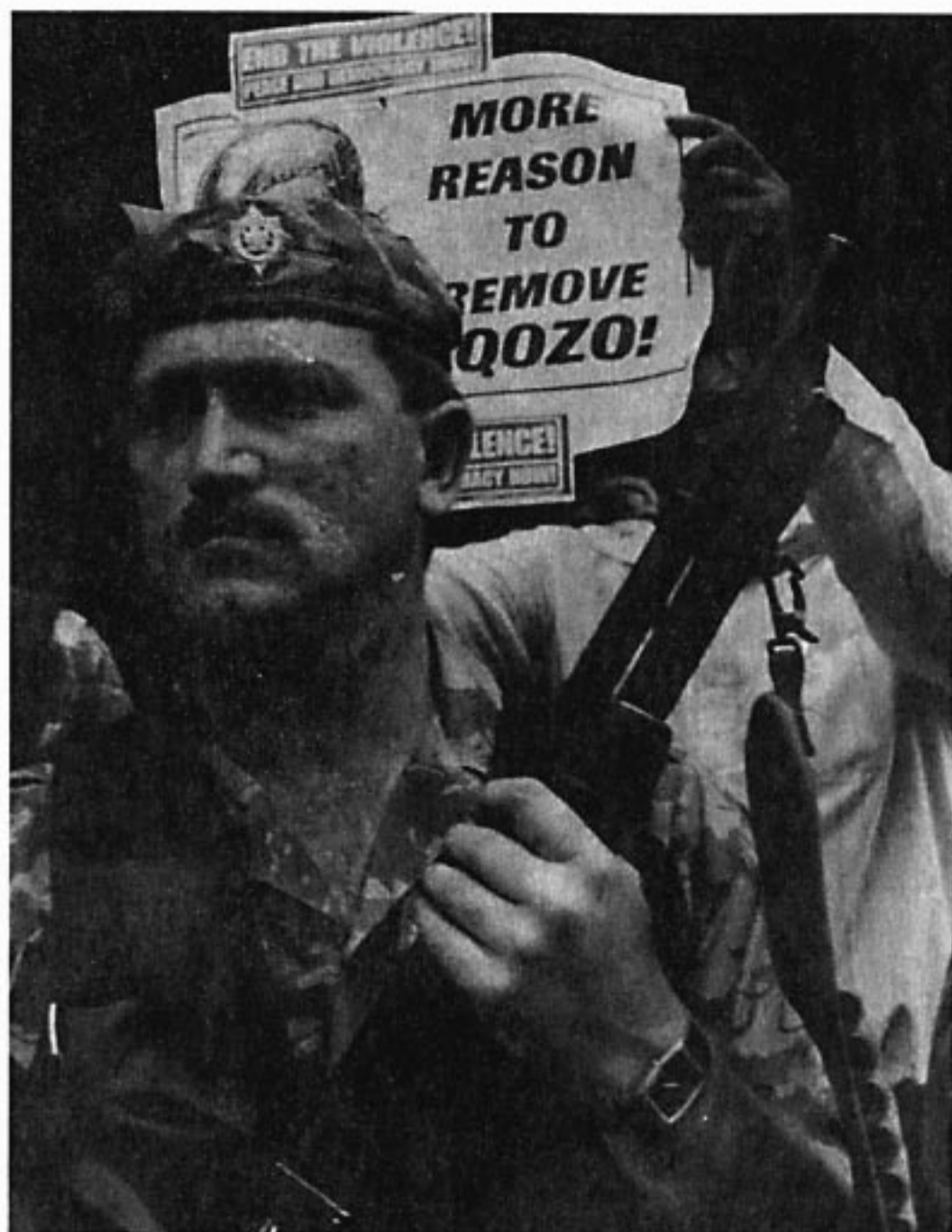
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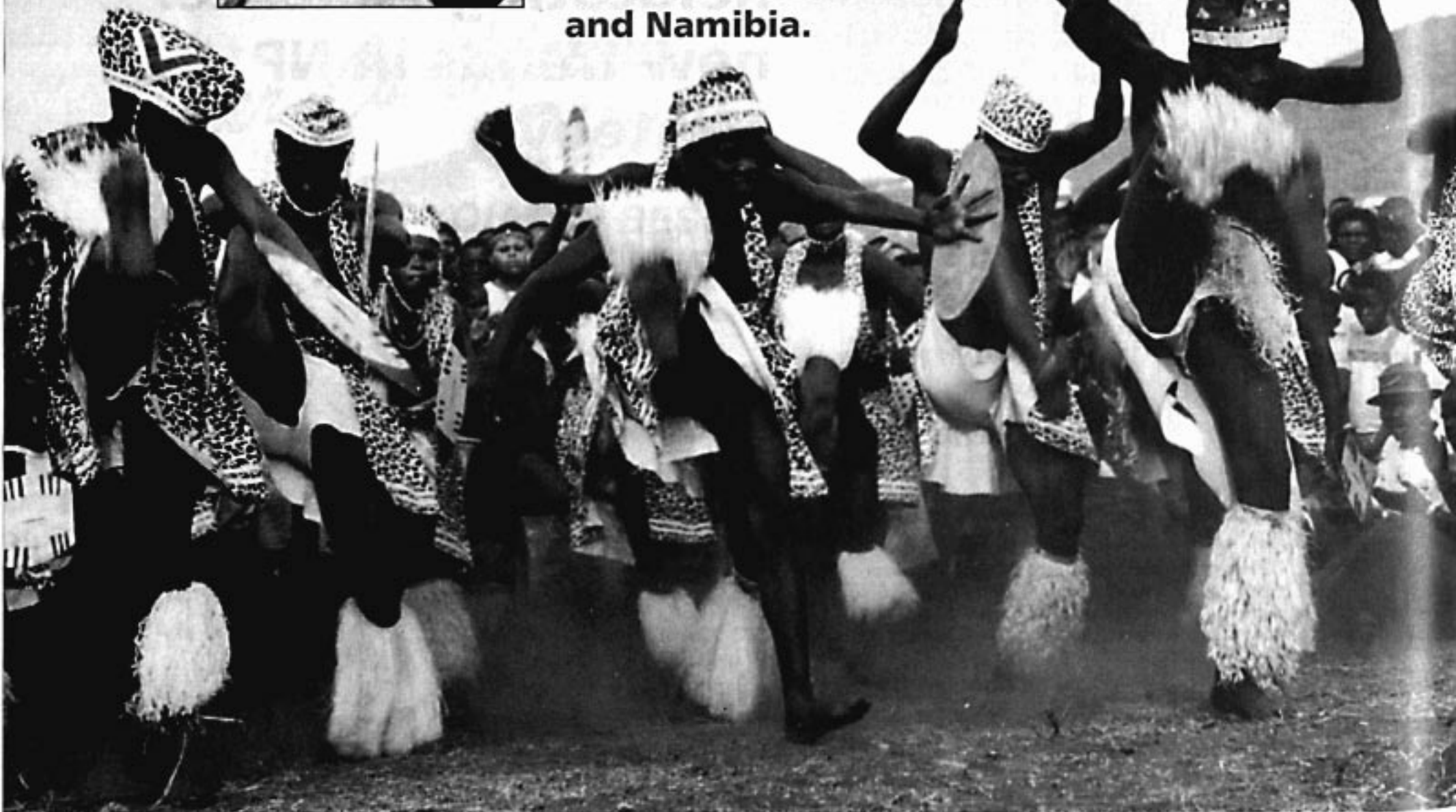
• 21-25 The federalism debate

Zulu tradition belongs to the people



Chief Z M Mlaba (above), Natal regional secretary of the Congress of Traditional Leaders, addresses a cultural festival at KwaXimba, Catoridge, organised by Contralesa to celebrate the proud history of the Ximba people in the struggle against colonial domination.

The two-day event at the beginning of September included dancing by Amabutho and women, bull fights and a rally with speakers from the ANC, trade unions, the church and traditional leaders from all over South Africa, as well as from Lesotho and Namibia.



Improving with experience

South Africa seems to be moving forwards and backwards at the same time. "Conciliation" and "belligerence" are all wrapped in one to produce a pungent smell. This confused and, tragically, contagious perspective is based on a wrong premise.

It is quite true that the country would have gone much further down the road to democracy had there not been a deadlock. But there has been a deadlock in constitutional negotiations. Unprecedented mass action is a consequence of this. The ANC broke off negotiations because of the unwillingness of the De Klerk government to take practical steps to deal with the violence.

Now the government concedes that the constitution-making body should be elected, sovereign and operate in a democratic manner. It has come round to acknowledge that violence has to be addressed resolutely if negotiations are to resume. In Codesa, the issue of international monitoring would have been haggled over in search of compromise formulations. Now, it has been achieved through direct action with less scruples.

As *MAYIBUYE* went to press, there were indications that the government would move on the demands regarding hostels, carrying of dangerous weapons and political prisoners. Broad agreement on the other demands was also expected. The ANC was then to decide, firstly, on the Mandela-De Klerk Summit and, secondly, on the resumption of negotiations.

However, smiles and handshakes, and a few measures to deal with the violence, are not the be-all and end-all to the problems South Africa faces. The campaign for freedom of expression and association in the repressive bantustans, the restructuring of the SABC, lower food prices and so on, must continue.

Certainly, the ANC and its allies should examine lessons from previous experiences. The demands in each campaign should be clearly formulated and articulated. Morality and sheer tactics dictate that the ANC should always try to prevent the loss of life. Actions should be within the parameters of the Peace Accord. And if there are weaknesses in the Accord, they should be rectified in appropriate forums.

Perhaps the most central lesson from the past few months is that the democratic movement should accurately understand the De Klerk regime. The failure to realise the trap set by Pretoria's security forces in Bisho, and the optimistic noises from Codesa Working Groups earlier, are serious collective errors of judgement: not appreciating the regime's contempt for human life and its resolve to defend the old order.

As it moves to new campaigns and, possibly, the resumption of negotiations, the democratic movement needs to note this: The country is under the reign of a reckless clique of rulers. They must be outmanoeuvred so as to fulfil, without delay, the hopes of millions for peace and democracy. ♦

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Readers speak out

AMNESTY

Dear editor

The South African government has once more reneged on the agreements entered into with the ANC. According to the Pretoria Minute, all political prisoners were supposed to have been released before 30 April 1991.

However, the government is now trying to link the release of remaining prisoners to an amnesty

involving the security forces. The regime had never raised the issue, but as they get more and more exposed they are stalling the process in order to hide their past.

From the ANC point of view, we should begin to ask ourselves why the regime is behaving in this manner. Is it because they want to stall the process of negotiations, or are they buying time to destroy evidence that links them to atrocities? We should also ask ourselves what our objectives are and what we intend achieving. Certainly we are not going to have Nuremberg trials. But we will demand to know who the rotten elements

are within the present government so as not to entrust them with responsibilities because, whether we like it or not, we will have to inherit the present security forces.

I am of the feeling that if we agree to amnesty on condition that we get access to the security files, we might gain an advantage over the government. By keeping our comrades in prison, the regime is trying to discredit the liberation movement in the eyes of its followers.

SZ, Diepkloof

GAY RIGHTS

Dear comrades

I would like to respond to the views of NL in the July issue where s/he opposes the ANC's position on gay rights on the grounds that homosexuality is condemned in the Bible.

Of course, everyone is entitled to their own religious beliefs. But I would like to ask why it is that Christians take up some of the moral rules in the Bible, and leave out others.

For example, the Bible teaches that adultery should be punished by stoning to death, yet Christians do not practise this today. Nor do Christians today consider themselves bound by St Paul's hairdressing specifications.

NL's letter quotes the verse in Leviticus that says that male homosexuality is "abomination". However, I wonder whether NL is aware that Leviticus 11 v 9, dealing with diet, states that "Everything in the waters that has not fins and

scales is an abomination to you." According to this, it is sinful to eat crabs or mussels; yet do we see Christians abiding by this rule today?

I believe that much of the Bible has to be understood in its cultural and historical context. And I believe that Christians, with all due respect, need to be careful that they are not using the Bible merely to confirm their own already-existing opinions or prejudices.

JN, Observatory

Dear comrades

Human rights are God-given; they are not created by man. The rights which gays and lesbians are claiming do not exist as they were never given to men by God.

The issue of homosexuality is a matter of people who follow the dictates of their instincts, comparable to a kleptomaniac. A kleptomaniac is dictated by instincts to steal but cannot claim that to be his/her right since it goes against society's norms.

Mbali Mncadi, writing in the July issue of *MAYIBUYE*, is making a grave mistake by saying that our society has been conditioned by law to approve of only heterosexual relationships. The law reflects and protects the moral standards of society as set by the society itself. Even before Roman Dutch law was followed, the only sexual relationships allowed were of the heterosexual type.

Mbali is also incorrect in comparing relationships across the colour bar with homosexuality.

MANDELA'S BELIEFS

Dear comrades

I was disappointed to see in *MAYIBUYE* a photo of Cde Mandela with Hindu priests in India. Is he a chameleon, taking on the religion of those he wants support from?

I trust you will print my letter and prove you do not only print letters which are useful for propaganda. Show us the freedom of the media we want to see in the SABC.

PI, Cape

Ed: Mandela was not "taking on" any religion. He was simply observing rites expected of a distinguished visitor by his hosts. He respects all faiths.



ANC President Nelson Mandela in Calcutta, India

She is misleading people because the two differ. Relationships across the colour bar have all the consequences God wanted a relationship to have – the establishment of a family and the rearing of children. Homosexual relationships do not lead to that – they lead only to the self-satisfaction of individuals.

Lastly, homosexuality is the same sin that led to the destruction of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

NLS, Vosloorus

PWV WOMEN'S LEAGUE

Dear comrades

I would like to comment on the article about the Women's League which appeared in the July issue of *MAYIBUYE*. I am concerned at how the matter has been handled by the leadership of the ANC.

I was one of the people who took a memorandum to the ANC head office complaining about the sacking of Cde Winnie Mandela. I was involved in discussions in the PWV Women's League (WL) about the attack by the media, with the assistance of senior leaders, on Cde Winnie Mandela. The REC was accused by the members of being quiet on the issue.

Desperation set in when Cde Dali was expelled from the Department of Social Welfare (DSW). The newspapers were full of rumours.

We wondered whether it was simply because there was a female head of department and a male deputy.

At the Annual General Meeting I was elected onto the REC. A number of problems had arisen which needed the attention of an interbranch meeting which was called for the following Sunday. With the reluctance of some members of the WL to take up the case of Cde Winnie, a DSW Support Committee was formed. The premises of the WL were used. We saw nothing wrong with that since we were not acting against the ANC but rectifying some wrongs within the movement.

Before the interbranch meeting there was an article in the newspapers that Cde Winnie had expelled the secretary and the organiser from the REC. This was a lie since no posts had been allocated yet. The WL National Executive people who attended the interbranch meeting were biased in every way possible. Mavivi Manzini, for example, called for the suspension of the entire REC, even though only three of us were on the DSW Support Committee. She proceeded to take over the meeting and appointed a committee to report on the meeting.

We got the most shocking news the next day when newspapers reported that the entire REC had been suspended – which the deputy chairperson (who was chairing the meeting) was unaware of. Even the branches present did not know about this, since no vote was taken.

Communication from the NEC of the WL was



There are renewed calls for sanctions against South Africa in the wake of Boipatong and Bisho

OPEN LETTER

Dear sir

An open letter containing the following resolution taken by the Synod of the Church Circuit of Volklingen on 27 June 1992 on the topic "Solidarity with the Oppressed People in South Africa" was sent to the State President of South Africa.

"The Synod of the Church Circuit of Volklingen is deeply shocked and worried about the stagnation of the process of democratising South Africa and also about the increase of violence.

"The Synod has substantial evidence that the present South African government has failed in her responsibility in both of the above-named issues. This impression was backed by talks with South African partners who

are at present guests of the Synod.

"In view of this situation the synod demands that economical and cultural sanctions should once more be imposed on South Africa until an Interim Government of National Unity is installed.

"The Synod requests the German government to consult the other EC members with the aim of reimposing extensive sanctions on South Africa (including the participation of the South African team in the Olympic Games in Spain).

"The Synod is calling upon all members of the individual parishes of the Church Circuit of Volklingen to partake in boycott actions against South Africa."

WM, Germany

largely through the press. When the NEC decided to call a PWV interbranch meeting, it did not turn up. How can we trust such a leadership which practises the democracy it has learnt in other countries?

NM, Protea North

Ed: There are as many interpretations to the saga as there are interested parties. The matter is best left to the disciplinary hearings to pass judgement. ♦

Write to:



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Johannesburg 2107

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roundup



Huge crowds gathered in Bisho at the funeral of some of the victims of the Bisho massacre on 18 September.

Police probe aimed at forcing amnesty

The SAP has announced a probe into crimes allegedly committed by senior ANC members. The probe comes at a time when the government is under intense pressure to act against security forces' members implicated in violence in the country, such as General Joffel van der Westhuizen and SADF officers involved in the Bisho killings.

It is clear that the government – despite having indemnified most senior ANC members – wants to make a trade-off. It will not press charges against ANC members if the ANC accepts general amnesty.

However, the ANC has reiterated its call that remaining political prisoners must be released unconditionally. It has also warned that the arrest of ANC leaders will be a recipe for disaster.

Peace accord under fire

Violence-related deaths have increased by almost 30 percent since the National Peace Accord (NPA) was signed a year ago. This was revealed by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) on the first anniversary of the accord.

The HRC recorded 3 400 deaths and 5 055 injuries between

14 September 1991 and 30 August 1992. However, in the year before the accord was signed, 2 649 were killed.

Peace Committee chairperson John Hall said that, while critics could say the accord was a failure on the basis of statistics, "indications were that, without the accord, we would be in a much worse situation".

Bantustan dictators close ranks

Shortly after the Bisho massacre, Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi hosted a dinner to honour Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo. Buthelezi hailed Gqozo as a "brother and comrade in arms", while Gqozo pledged Ciskei's military support for KwaZulu.

At the dinner, Buthelezi warned the ANC not to march on Ulundi. "If the ANC adopts illegal and undemocratic procedures in doing what they propose to do, the Zulu people will certainly respond undemocratically and illegally," he said, warning of a civil war.

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has also said he will use force to "protect Bop's sovereignty". Both of them have not referred to the issue of free political activity, which is the objective of the proposed marches.

SADF changes its clothes

After a number of attacks in Natal by people wearing SADF brown uniforms, the army has decided to change its clothes. Unrest monitors say that 32 people have been killed by attackers wearing the brown uniforms in the last few weeks. Among the victims are an Inkatha supporting headman, Fana Nzimande and his family, in the Midlands, and eight people in Umgababa on the Natal south coast.

Inkatha has blamed the ANC for these attacks. However, the ANC's Midlands region points out that a member of 121 Battalion was recently arrested for the Nzimande murders. Democratic Party unrest monitor Roy Ainslie has said it is possible that the "third force" is behind the uniformed attackers.

Federalists gather

The government's plans for a federal South Africa were recently revealed at a conference on federalism, attended by the National Party and its bantustan allies.

According to the government plan, South Africa should be divided into seven regions that are controlled by strong, autonomous re-

gional governments. Each region could make its own laws, have its own police force and decide how to tax people and spend its money. Central government would only control defence, national security, foreign affairs and constitutional planning.

The demarcation of the seven regions seems to have taken into account the right-wing's desire to have a "volkstaat" in the Western Transvaal-Northern Cape.

Police promotions

Carltonville's police station has for some time been condemned by human rights lawyers and activists for the brutality with which it deals with suspects. Assault charges have been laid against a number of local policemen by residents.

A Lieutenant Viljoen is being investigated in connection with the death of a taxi driver in the Klerksdorp taxi war. He also faces charges of assault and torture.

But this seems not to have dimmed his career path. Viljoen was recently promoted to the rank of captain.

Meanwhile Niemand, the head of the notorious police station, has risen from the rank of major to colonel.

All in a day's work?

Buying the "Zulu vote"

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the National Party's OFS congress that the party needed about a million "Zulu votes".

And in a bid to win these votes, the government has agreed to transfer about 600 000 hectares of land to the bantustan.

Not only is the land transfer an attempt to buy votes, but it seems also to be an attempt to strengthen Inkatha's position at the negotiations table.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened to secede from the rest of the country if federalism (his style) is not accepted.



Somalia's fate for Mozambique

Mozambique was only weeks away from a disaster on the scale of the famine in Somalia, said the British charity organisation, Oxfam. It called on the European Community to convene an urgent meeting on the crisis.

Oxfam urged the international community to press both sides in Mozambique's war to implement their ceasefire agreement by the 1 October deadline (see also page 32).

"This would enable relief supplies to get through to the areas worst affected by the civil conflict in Mozambique and the most severe drought in living memory," said Oxfam, adding that some three million people were faced with famine.

"Collapsing government structures, unpaid soldiers and the severity of the drought are all combining to produce a disaster on the scale of that sweeping through Somalia."

Drought-induced famine in Southern Africa – said to be the worst this century – threatens at least 18 million people in a region populated by 130 million, according to UN figures.

Nelson Mandela meets members of the Dance Theatre of Harlem which gave a fundraising performance for the ANC at the New Johannesburg Civic Theatre in September.

Winnie resigns

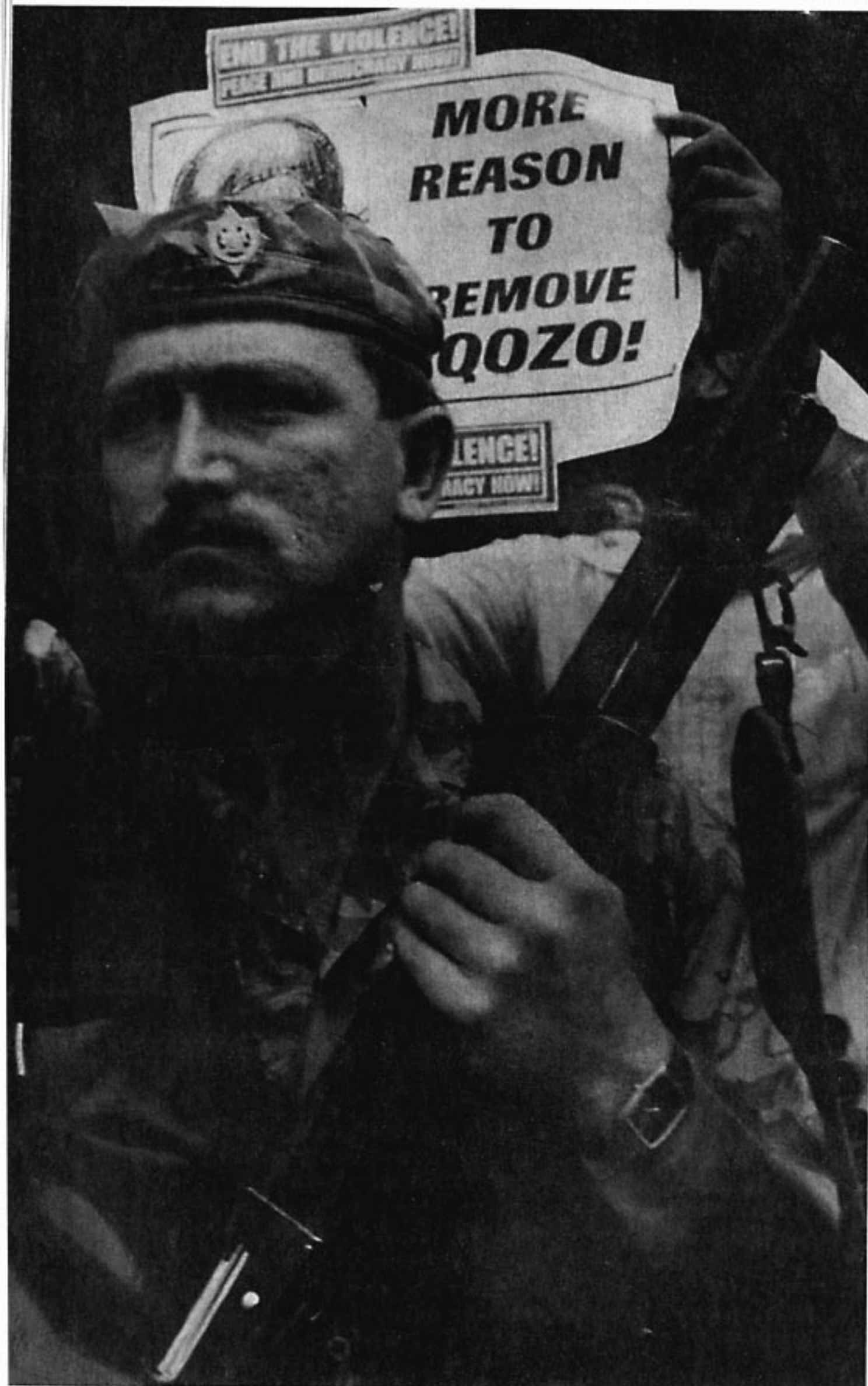
Winnie Mandela has announced her resignation from the National Executive Committees of the ANC and the ANCWL "in the interests of her family". The resignation has been accepted by the ANC NEC.

However, Gwen Mahlangu of the suspended ANCWL PWV executive, blamed a group within the ANC for orchestrating Mandela's resignation. This has been rejected by the ANC NEC.

The "Winnie issue" has paralysed the Women's League in the PWV for virtually the entire year. Recently the entire PWV Regional Executive Committee of the Women's League was suspended after some of its members allegedly organised a pro-Winnie demonstration outside the ANC's head office.

ANCWL general secretary, Baleka Kgositsile, says the Women's League is in the process of drafting a code of conduct for all ANC leaders, to ensure that such problems do not arise again. ♦

Relocating violence:



There is a sharp increase in violence in rural areas administered by the NP's allies. Combined with renewed attempts to "win the hearts and minds" of blacks, the latest trend puts in bolder relief the NP's current strategy, writes a correspondent.

The impression that best captures the two essential elements in Oupa Gqozo is this: a very little man in a very large cap.

It encapsulates his rather sad and lonely life: from his unhappy, parentless and grindingly poor childhood in Warmbaths and Kroonstad, to a present in which not much has changed. He is a little wealthier and has, in the SADF officers who surround him, found the security of surrogate parents. But he still has no playmates.

Without his very large cap (and the very large guns it symbolises) he remains the scared and lonely little boy of his youth, keeping up his courage by insisting loudly that he is "a major player" in South African politics.

He is not the kind of ally over whom anyone would expect FW de

new trends in NP strategy

Klerk to risk the kind of international outcry which followed the massacre of 29 pro-democracy marchers in Bisho.

So why did De Klerk not intervene to prevent the slaughter and, as mounting evidence suggests, allowed his SADF generals to actively prepare for a bloodbath?

The answer is to be found in the "federal alliance" the NP is building to fight the ANC in non-racial elections.

De Klerk's planners originally believed they could put together an ethnic alliance of the pro-apartheid parties in the tricameral parliament and the bantustans. The theory was that each party would "deliver" its own language, racial or ethnic constituency – De Klerk's NP would be responsible for the 3,9-million white voters – to muster a combined anti-ANC pool of votes big enough either to keep the ANC out of power or draw off sufficient votes to force it into a post-apartheid coalition with the NP.

CHAMBER OF LOSERS

Realising that it had little chance of bleeding enough votes off the ANC to make any difference, the NP attempted, instead, to lock into place what chief government negotiator Tertius Delpont acknowledged would be "a chamber of losers" – a senate controlled by minority parties – to exercise a veto over an ANC-dominated assembly.

But this proposal, too, would not float.

De Klerk has therefore fallen back to his third line of defence in his battle to protect minority domination.

It is called "federalism". And even before the blood shed at Bisho had soaked into the dust, the government Chief Director of Constitutional Development, Francois Venter, had laid out a proposal to the government-convened conference

on federalism and regionalism in Pretoria which explained why he needed Gqozo.

The government's "suggestions" envisage a seven-province South Africa after apartheid in which provincial governments will exercise the only real power – over finances and taxes. The central authority will be able to do only what the provincial governments are prepared to pay for.

And in the provincial governments, minority parties (Delpont's

"losers") will continue to exercise undue influence – Venter suggested that decisions of provincial administrations would require two-thirds majority support.

The proposal is, in reality, no more than regionalising minority rule.

To its bantustan allies the NP has allocated the job of limiting the regional strength of the ANC and its allies. This could prove crucial in the Constituent Assembly regional lists and future regional government.

Winning Hearts and Minds

The recent transfer of Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Land Affairs, Johan Scheepers, to handle only Land Affairs was widely interpreted as a significant demotion. As Deputy Minister of Law and Order, he was chief co-ordinator of State Security Council structures. A few days earlier, he had issued a statement on the ANC Pretoria march which seemed out of step with De Klerk's own comments.

However, argue analysts, Scheepers' new deployment signifies a change of tack in De Klerk's National Co-ordination Mechanism (NCM). More attention is being paid to Wham: winning the hearts and minds of blacks, a strategy refined during PW Botha's reign.

Elections are not far off, and De Klerk's image has taken a battering. Using its control of state resources, the NP hopes to quickly polish its image and buy black votes. An NP document detailing plans for expansion into black areas cites as one of the main priorities the need "to cultivate the concept of 'winning hearts and minds'".

How is this to be achieved?

State land and drought relief are allocated in such a way as to benefit the NP. The SADF and SAP, in areas like the Vaal Triangle and Lebowa, are portrayed as forces restoring services and supplying water.

The reverse side of the coin is to blame "the ANC's mass action" for dislocation in black communities. Trade unionists believe the TPA's refusal to settle the Nehawu strike and delays in pension allocations during the Week of Action in early August are aimed at discrediting the ANC.

So, for those who have not fallen in Bisho, Boipatong and Esikhawini, there might be an improved deal in the offing: so they can deliver the two million "African votes" Pik Botha says the NP-Inkatha alliance needs to win the majority in a future election. ♦



Part of the strategy to achieve this is the intensified programme to win the hearts and minds of black voters and a systematic anti-ANC propaganda and disinformation campaign (see box).

But a sharp change in the patterns of violence in the two months since De Klerk launched his federalist campaign suggest he is not limiting the regional campaign to patronage and thinly-disguised bribery.

Until July this year most of the political slaughter has taken place in the PWV – 75% of the deaths occurred in the urban complex surrounding Johannesburg, according to police statistics. Faced with new exposés, the ANC's demands and UN monitors, the government is trying to relocate violence to bantustans and rural areas, especially Ciskei, KwaZulu, Northern, Western and Eastern Transvaal.

In the second weekend of August, with City Press reporting bus-loads of Inkatha hostel-dwellers returning to Natal, the national picture changed sharply.

In those two days 24 people were killed in Natal – 20 in areas under bantustan jurisdiction. The

following week, the Human Rights Commission reported as the first since August 1990 that more people had died in Natal than in the PWV. The pattern continues unchanged. The area is also experiencing a sharp rise in the number of Trust Feed-type massacres – against Inkatha supporters – which are then blamed on the ANC.

Elsewhere too there are indications of preparations to regionalise the violence – even QwaQwa, until now relatively untouched by the generalised slaughter of Reef townships and cities, is recording an escalation in attempts to destabilise the democratic opposition (see page 17).

"GAME-RANGERS"

In Gazankulu, villagers report that youths are recruited and carted away by the ruling party and then reappear as "game-rangers". Some of them have confirmed being trained in Natal and other areas. In other parts of the Northern and Eastern Transvaal, harassment of ANC supporters by the SADF has increased. Residents of Messina in the far north and Driefontein in the east have reported the sudden appearance of se-

De Klerk's security strategy: the

MAYIBUYE looks at De Klerk's National Co-ordinating Mechanism which was supposed to herald a shift from the reign of the securocrats. But Big Brother hasn't gone away.

Ex-Ciskei Military Intelligence chief, Col Gert Hugo, says that a substructure of the SADF's Eastern Province Command, Unit Eight, based in East London, is linked to the SADF/Ciskei Defence Force's Joint Operational and Joint Intelligence Committees. Both these structures are connected to the National Co-ordinating Mechanism (NCM), which De Klerk put in the place of PW Botha's National Security Management System (NSMS). The CDF, Hugo says, would have liaised with the SADF in Pretoria and with Unit Eight in planning the Bisho massacre.

The NSMS gained notoriety as a sinister, secretive network under the State Security Council. It slotted into the state strategy of using repression to crush democratic opposition, while at the same time attempting to win the hearts and minds of the community by appearing to address local grievances. Its myriad structures at national, regional and local level were dominated by people from the security establishment. Membership of NSMS structures was kept secret.



Mourners at the funeral of victims of the Bisho massacre, 18 September

curity force units, some in civilian clothing, speaking foreign dialects.

In the PWV, it is to be expected that the state will try to drive the covert units further underground, and employ them selectively in train violence and other professional hit-squad activity.

But the main emphasis is shifting the violence to bantustans and rural

areas. The object is to turn the territories into no-go areas for the ANC.

The ANC's campaign to win the right of free political activity in these areas clearly poses a direct challenge to this objective – and thus to the NP's hopes of manipulating a decent showing for its allies in elections.

Which is why, although his government has exercised formal and di-

rect control over the Ciskei since last July, De Klerk did nothing to stop the guns from blazing at 1.31 on the afternoon of Monday 7 September.

And why the very little man in the very large cap remains in place – a strutting puppet whose job description is now limited to one simple instruction: keep ANC support in your area as low as possible. ♦

leopard hasn't changed its spots

However, in PE, a mini-Joint Management Centre had six black and 27 white members and its Personnel Executive Committee was headed by Rev Mzwandile Maqina, the head of Ama-Afrika, an anti-UDF vigilante group.

De Klerk claimed that he was disbanding the NSMS and replacing it with a civil system, the NCM. But, as a document circulated to government departments in March 1990 stated, Security Committees remain part of the new system.

JOINT SECURITY STAFF

One of the Task Groups of the NCM is the Joint Security Staff (same name as in the old system)! Its duty is described as identifying and co-ordinating joint security force operations at a national level; drawing up contingency plans to handle any security crisis which could develop; and handling *Administration Total War* (the State's War Book).

Therefore the NCM refines and improves the old system to better achieve the same objectives in changed conditions.

PW Botha's NSMS was based on the theory of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare which had to be fought on all fronts – political, economic, social, psychological and military. The theory underlying the NCM has shifted to Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC), aimed at destabilisation: people should become too demoralised, demotivated and confused to be able to organise constructively.

A report on the use of LIC by the US government in Central and South America emphasises the role played by disinformation and the use of repression and terror. The report also highlights the importance of using surrogate forces as "financially and politically less costly".

The violence ravaging South Africa today and attempts to win the hearts and minds of black people can thus be seen as part of overall state strategy. De Klerk's NCM provides the ideal mechanism to serve the NP and its allies in their objective of retaining power.

(This article is based on an excerpt from No blood on our hands by Anne Truluck, to be published by the Natal Midlands Region of the Black Sash shortly).

Focus: Ciskei

The state wants to start a cycle of violence



What motivated the more than 100 000 people to march to Bisho on 7 September?

MAYIBUYE spoke to 'Soks'

Sokupa, chairperson of the ANC Border Region, a few days before the Bisho massacre.

MAYIBUYE: What is the role of SADF and SAP in the Ciskei?

SOKS SOKUPA: The secretary of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement is Basie Oosthuizen who is from SADF Military Intelligence (MI). He was earlier deployed in Namibia, involved in what they used to call, I think, Operation Tango. The kind of operation that we are seeing in our region, vis- a-vis chiefs and headmen has very striking similarities to that operation in Namibia.

The personnel around Gqozo consists mainly of seconded SADF officers and, of course, Commissioner of Police General Viktor who was at the Askari base, Vlakplaas, before. A number of officers from South Africa are still being seconded to Ciskei to fill administrative positions.

Quite reliable information exists about secret meetings being



held between South African and Ciskei security forces around two to three am in Queenstown. The ANC knows for a fact that they are stockpiling weapons in certain strategic places.

The people are reporting increasingly that there are Zulu- and Sotho-speaking soldiers and police. There are also Portuguese-

speaking soldiers in the area.

The potential for violence erupting on a large scale has never been greater.

MAYIBUYE: How serious are restrictions on free political activity?

Soks: Almost all ANC meetings

are disrupted, often with tear-gas, by Ciskei police and soldiers. Section 43 of the Ciskei Security Act requires the ANC to apply for permits for meetings and rallies. Magistrates have been told not to give these permits. Outside of Ciskei, problems are experienced in areas like Aliwal North and Sterkstream. There are AWB structures operating there.

There is intensive recruitment of people who are being trained on certain farms. Violence is erupting in various places, for example Peddie and Middledrift. There have been grenade attacks. In late August two people were shot and killed in their sleep in Tendergate, Whittlesea. One of them is an old man of 71 years. It is because he was vocal and would stand up in meetings and speak out against headmen and the police.

MAYIBUYE: Are various sectors of the population behind the demand that Gqozo must go?

Soks: At the Border Peace Conference in July last year, a whole number of organisations came together, including business and churches. This started a broad campaign. The political statement that came out of the conference was that Gqozo and the Ciskei administration are stumbling blocks to free political activity.

To achieve a free climate, we believe the only solution is the removal of Gqozo. Unless he is removed, violence is going to erupt on a large scale.

MAYIBUYE: What are the links between Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) and Inkatha?

Soks: Musa Myeni has been frequenting the Ciskei, holding talks with Gqozo and his cabi-

net. Gqozo mimics almost everything that Buthelezi does. Gqozo himself frequents KwaZulu.

We received reports recently that rifles were discovered near Whittlesea. When serial numbers were checked, they found the rifles were registered with the KwaZulu Police.

One of the Ciskei cabinet ministers who recently resigned informed us that Brig Gqozo once brought Patrick Hlongwane of Recoc along to a meeting. He said "our friends in KwaZulu" thought that this is the right person to work with.

MAYIBUYE: How do you assess De Klerk's strategy in the Ciskei?

Soks: The white officers in Ciskei are running the show. Gqozo is instructed as to what to say and how to go about his business. Many ministers found the situation intolerable and resigned. Some soldiers and police have refused to carry out orders to harass the people.

Gqozo is being used by the regime. The government should be unhappy with a person like him. But we think that before he goes, they want him to do something – to mess up the ANC by starting a cycle of violence.

MAYIBUYE: And Gqozo's personality?

Soks: He has serious problems. He had a mental breakdown when he was doing matric. Some of his relatives in Kroonstad where he grew up are members of the ANC. He aspires to be a millionaire. Hugo says that MI is blackmailing him because of his scandalous social background: it is rumoured that he takes drugs and drinks heavily. ♦



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Bond with the people strengthened

- an eyewitness account of the Bisho massacre

Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC Political Education Section and NEC member detailed to work with the Border Region reviews the Bisho experience.

On 7 September over 100 000 marchers approached Bisho, "capital" of the Ciskeian bantustan. They marched for freedom of political activity and against the violence perpetrated by the Gqozo puppet administration.

Those who marched came from East London, Peddie, Queenstown, Aliwal North, Adelaide, Masakhane, Sterkstroom, Fort Beaufort, Keiskammahoek, Zwelitsha – in fact from the whole region. There were the young and old, men and women.

Many were veterans of the struggle in the rural areas, some were seasoned shopstewards, others were civic, student and women's leaders or activists. It was also a march with support from other regions. Contingents from the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Western Cape arrived. Leaders of other regions and numerous other figures joined the march.

At the centre was the ANC/SACP/Cosatu tripartite alliance, together with Sanco, Sadtu, Cosas, Sasco and the Border Council of Churches. It was clear that support for our demands went well beyond those who marched and



that business in the region would also have liked to see the objectives of the march succeed and Gqozo go.

VICTIMISATION

Preparation for the march had been long and intensive. For days before the march leaders like Chris Hani, Steve Tshwete, Thozamile Botha and Ronnie Kasrils had been visiting factories and villages and hearing of the daily victimisation of the people. The mood was militant, the demand was clear. Gqozo had to go and the people were going to march to ensure that that happened. Cyril Ramaphosa and Gertrude Shope joined us on the day of the march.

The night before as the Ciskeian Supreme Court sat to hear an application to ban the march, one could hear the villagers in the middle of



Bisho singing: "UGqozo uyayishiya lendawo. [Gqozo is leaving this place/vacating his seat of power.]"

DANGER LURKED

As we marched, there were so many people that the marshalls had some difficulty maintaining control. On the previous march it was clear that, danger lurked. As we approached the border then, we confronted lots of security men in battle formation.

This time it looked different. We moved quickly towards razor wire that blocked the entrance to Bisho. We hardly had time to take in the deployment of soldiers in so far as these could be seen.

The comrades who, after consultation, went into the stadium and through the fence, fell into an ambush and met vicious, planned fire. Those at the razor wire – within South Africa, according to apartheid's borders – were also shot at with bursts of machine-gun fire and grenade launchers.

BULLETS

A security comrade threw his body over Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa to shield him from the bullets. Marshalls died while helping others to take cover. Comrades stayed in the stadium to ensure that all the wounded were evacuated – in cars and later ambulances. The next day, there was hardly a car without bloodstains on its seats, many with the marks of bullets on their windcreens.

That night a vigil was held at the spot of the massacre. Some comrades had returned temporarily to Kingwilliamstown. When they sought to rejoin the group at the vigil they were stopped by threats of police dogs and teargas. They returned to the stadium in Kingwilliamstown.

REAFFIRMING

In the middle of this sorrow, people's creativity came to the fore. Two new songs were composed, one of which goes: "Wena Gqozo sithi hayi-hayi. [Gqozo, we say no more, no more.]" A choir was established in King and throughout the evening youth toyi-toyed up and down, reaffirming the just cause of the ANC.

The arrival of Nelson Mandela, Bishop Tutu, Revs Chikane and Mgojo did much to raise the spirit of the people. By the time of the rally, the day after the massacre, the spirit was very militant and determined. The people of the region signalled, as more than 30 000 packed the stadium, that Gqozo's fate is sealed. He will still be removed.

The ANC cannot forgive or forget the loss of a single life and we

Campaign for Peace and Democracy rolls on

If anything, the Bisho massacre underlines the need to intensify the Campaign for Peace and Democracy.

WHAT ARE THE MAIN OBJECTIVES?

- **Achieve a democratic and sovereign Constituent Assembly (CA), including:**
 - ♦ internationally-accepted percentages for decision-making;
 - ♦ prevent the regime from introducing federalism before the CA sits;
 - ♦ ensure an effective Interim Government.
- **Free political activity:**
 - ♦ end repression in the bantustans and other areas;
 - ♦ end violence by addressing ANC demands, including hostels and dangerous weapons; and
 - ♦ democratise the SABC.
- **Release of political prisoners.**
- **Address food prices, housing, services, etc.**

Marches and other actions are being planned to compel the regime to allow free political activity in Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Qwaqwa and other areas. The Asinamali Campaign on food prices is to be launched at national level on 13 October. Pressure on the SABC will include boycotting products advertised.

- A Week of Action from 11 to 19 October, will focus on political prisoners, the opening of parliament and a march to the Mozambican border to protest against the electrified fence. Occupation of cities will form part of the decisive actions.
- Consultations are being held for Pay as You Earn (PAYE) to be paid to a Fund for a Democratic SA rather than the present regime.
- The actions will be reviewed only if the demands are met. ♦

have to rigorously examine the way we conducted this campaign, in order to avoid any such losses in the future.

At the same time, we need to remember that the ANC had to respond to the people's demand to do something about the Gqozo terror. The march was made a national campaign and, despite the tragic loss of life and injuries, it has in fact strengthened the bond between the

ANC and the people of this region. The people saw that the ANC was prepared to come to their assistance and face enemy bullets in support of their demands.

But it is clear that we underestimated the willingness of the regime to drown our democratic demands in blood. We did not expect to face fire without any warning.

• continued on page 16



Photo: SouthLight

*The Bisho massacre was premeditated.
The CDF soldiers picture here are
engaged in an ambush, not minimum
force crowd control*

← continued from page 15

It is clear that we did not know nearly as much as we ought to have known about the deployment of troops and preparation of an ambush. We face a militarised adversary, unarmed. We cannot go into action against such a force without the type of preparation that expects this enemy to do its worst.

BROADER DEMOCRATISATION

Gqozo and his Pretoria backers must not make the mistake of thinking that matters are now settled and that they have a free hand to continue with Ciskeian/SADF planned terror. The creation of a climate for free political activity in the Ciskei and other parts of the country remains a priority on the way to broader democratisation.

An end to bantustan terror will be achieved whether it is resisted or not. The people of the Border region, supported by all who share their sorrow and determination, will ensure that this succeeds. ◆

Assessment...Assessment... Assessment...Assessment...

Discussion of the Bisho experience will continue for some time. With the advantage of hindsight, a number of observations have already been made.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED?

- ☛ The mobilisation which went into preparations for the march strengthened contact between the national leadership and ordinary people in the villages.
- ☛ The demand for free political activity and the removal of the administration is supported by a broad range of forces.
- ☛ The issue of repression in the bantustans is now high on the agenda – nationally and internationally.
- ☛ The regime's agenda and the character of its allies have been exposed. It is now obvious that the massacre was premeditated; and that De Klerk could have prevented it.
- ☛ The heroism of the people – particularly the marshals – was shown under fire; and their determination and sense of urgency has been reinforced.

WHAT ARE THE IMPORTANT LESSONS?

- ☛ The ANC and its allies underestimated the resolve of De Klerk's government to defend an ally, no matter how tainted.
- ☛ The regime is adept at blaming a crime on its victims. It tries to:
 - ◆ justify the use of live ammunition on the basis of a peaceful disregard of a court order; and
 - ◆ use the event to isolate the SACP and undermine the alliance.
- ☛ There are no limits to the "liberal" Democratic Party's unprincipled behaviour.

ARE THERE GROUNDS FOR SELF-CRITICISM?

- ☛ The gulf between the actual demands and the fiery speeches in rallies widened as talk of overthrowing Gqozo became the vogue.
- ☛ An error of judgement was made: not realising that the gap left in the stadium fence was in fact a trap to lure people to their slaughter.
- ☛ In all situations, the morality and tactics of the ANC dictate that saving lives should be a high priority. ◆

The Beast of Bisho

Gqozo and De Klerk have the blood of Bisho on their hands.

De Klerk and his puppets must go!
Forward to an Interim Government!



GQOZO MUST GO!

The seeds of violence



Violence is not intense in the Northern OFS. But in the past three months there have been worrying developments in QwaQwa. **MAYIBUYE** spoke to **Pat Mathose**, ANC Regional Secretary.



MAYIBUYE: Are the reports about escalating violence in the Northern OFS accurate?

MATHOSE: In August, the regional organiser for QwaQwa, John Modisenyane, was nearly killed by a new group of people associated with Mopeli's Dikwankwetla Party (DP). They tried to ambush him but he escaped. We have also received information about a hit-list.

In some remote villages in the mountains, there is a group of locals calling themselves Inkatha.

In Phuthaditjhaba, the administration started again in July with mass demolition of shacks. The people carrying out the demolition were from a security firm in Richards Bay, Natal.

MAYIBUYE: Why is the DP behaving in this way?

PM: The DP is alarmed to see the ANC going to the villages, where Mopeli used to manipulate people by exploiting the high level of illiteracy and the allegiance of people to the chiefs.

Now, the people have started to question the system. Mopeli is

also worried because the ANC's mass action campaign has been more successful in QwaQwa than in the urban areas.

He has moved to the extreme. In village meetings, he says people should side with De Klerk's NP.

MAYIBUYE: But is Mopeli not simply competing with the ANC on a fair basis?

PM: Mopeli has staged his own meetings in the villages, especially during the ANC's voter education campaign. But the problem is that when the ANC arranged with local chiefs to use a school for its meetings, Mopeli would immediately book the same venue on the same day. The ANC decided, instead of fighting over a school, to use the open grounds. Far more people would come to ANC meetings.

The QwaQwa police began to intervene. They became very violent – beating up and arresting people.

MAYIBUYE: Why has Mopeli withdrawn from the Peace Accord?

PM: The DP has been trying to

expand into the urban townships. But the people reject Mopeli. In Bothaville, he was only able to stay for five to ten minutes because people were demonstrating against his presence.

No property was damaged. No one was injured. There was not even a threat of physical violence. The following day Mopeli wrote to the press and said he was pulling out of the Peace Accord because the people don't respect democracy.

We believe this is just an excuse to start violence on a large scale.

MAYIBUYE: Are there any problems of free political activity in the urban areas?

PM: Most of the councils are controlled by the Conservative Party. When people want to march to air grievances, lengthy negotiations with these councils end up with the councils refusing permission or demanding a R10 000 "guarantee".

The ANC decided that it couldn't go on like this. It held direct negotiations with the SAP. We succeeded in a number of areas.

In most of the very conservative small towns, this was a big victory. It was the very first time in their history that people had marched. They came out in very large numbers.

MAYIBUYE: What about the farms?

PM: We do not have any access at all to most of the farms. But what is more worrying is the information that there is a group of people from Natal who are being trained to use firearms by local farmers. We are still following up the report. ♦

Numsa strike –

a setback, not a defeat

Labour
roundup



Members of Numsa dismissed at Boart Hardmetals, Springs, after the strike was declared illegal, 8 September

The four-week strike by 100 000 National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) members in the engineering industry was stopped in its tracks by a supreme court decision declaring it illegal.

The judge based his decision on provisions in the Labour Relations Act relating to procedures for conducting strike ballots. He said Numsa had allowed non-members to vote, had failed to allow workers to vote in secrecy, had not exercised proper controls over ballot papers and ballot boxes and had refused to release details of the ballot to Seifsa, the employer organisation.

UNLIKELY

Numsa said it was impossible to stick to the letter of the law on balloting procedures. The union had members on strike in 840 workplaces and it did not have the administrative resources to check every paid-up member against every vote. Numsa said there was unlikely to be a union in South Africa which could hold a strike ballot strictly in terms of the LRA procedures. It said even employer organisations would struggle to abide by the conditions and accused Seifsa of having conducted an irregular ballot for a lock-out.

Whatever the merits or not of the legal argument, it is clear that Seifsa was forced to rely on legal technicalities in order to stop the strike. The fact that the vast majority of Numsa members were on strike should have been ample proof that the workers supported the strike. Numsa has asked Cosatu to lead a campaign to get the section of the LRA used to stop the strike scrapped.

On the face of it, Numsa members have so far gained nothing from the strike. At the time of going to press, Seifsa had just increased its wage offer from 8,6 percent to 9,1 percent across the board and agreed to backdate the increase to July. All unions on the industrial council – except Numsa – had either accepted

this offer or agreed to recommend that their members accept it. Numsa refused to accept it. The offer would amount to far less in real terms than workers earned last year – with high inflation.

Numsa activists say there were membership gains during the strike and that workers' confidence in their ability to challenge the employers has grown enormously. In addition, latent tensions between Inkatha supporting members and others had been resolved through united action. Inkatha supporters, mostly from the hostels, were in the forefront of the strike from the start.

However, they concede there is also demoralisation among workers over the outcome of the strike, with many feeling they should have resisted the court decision. This has led to some tensions between the national leadership and local and regional structures.

DISMISSED WORKERS

Numsa and Seifsa are still in dispute. The union could still go through the legal procedures necessary for another strike. But this is unlikely. Already Numsa's – and Cosatu's – attention is on campaigning to get the 2 000 odd workers dismissed during the strike reinstated.

Anglo American, in particular, has been targeted for a campaign of industrial action to force its subsidiaries like Boart to reinstate dismissed workers.

At the same time, Numsa is busy balloting 70 000 members in the motor industry for a legal strike over wages. The main base of these workers is in garages and they have never been on a national strike before.

A decision on whether to strike or not will be taken at the end of September. ♦

Sadtu wins recognition from DET

Ron Naidoo, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) National Administrator, explains how a national teacher's strike was avoided by last-minute negotiations between the teachers' union and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

In July, members of the Soweto branch of Sadtu were subjected to arbitrary transfers. Charges of misconduct were levelled against others. The authorities terminated negotiations, declaring their decision final. In September, the Soweto branch decided to go on strike.

Sadtu branches across the country were poised to come out in solidarity with Soweto and in support of Sadtu's campaign for recognition and the reinstatement of its leaders, Oupa Sebolai, Samora Lefuo and Lucky Tsagae. Negotiations for their reinstatement had ended in deadlock – in one instance, they had dragged on for 20 months.

EMOTIVE ISSUE

The union recognised that strike action by educators is an emotive issue, but the intransigence of the education authorities left it little alternative. Black education is in crisis because of the government's apartheid education policies. Sadtu members had suffered blatant victimisation at the hands of the authorities. Arbitrary dismissals, suspensions and transfers had become the order of the day.

Shortly before the Soweto strike, the DET met a Sadtu delegation and agreed to meet the demands of the Soweto branch, grant Sadtu recognition and reinstate Sebolai, Lefuo and Tsagae. This resulted in the national strike being called off.

Since its formation in 1990, Sadtu has had to apply to 15 education departments for recognition because the Department of National Education claimed it has no authority over its surrogate education departments. The state has delayed recognition of Sadtu, citing apartheid legislation that excludes recognition of a non-racial teachers' union.

IRONIC

Speedy recognition was granted to the National Professional Teacher Organisations of South Africa, a federal organisation based on ethnic lines. It is ironic that Sadtu is recognised by the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession, but denied recognition in South Africa.

Apartheid is still firmly entrenched in legislation on education. Sadtu believes that without political freedom, there cannot be freedom in education. ♦

Labour briefs



Photo: William Matlala

Cosatu's National Campaigns Conference, Wits University, 10 September

COSATU WON'T PAY PAYE

A recent Cosatu campaign conference resolved that the federation, the ANC and SACP should stop paying PAYE tax for their employees on 1 November. The federation aims to pressurise employers to stop paying PAYE by 1 December. Cosatu Assistant Secretary, Sam Shilowa, said the decision "had everything to do with the fact that the regime is killing our people". The money would instead be paid into a Fund for a Democratic South Africa, said Shilowa.

The conference also resolved to campaign against companies that dismissed or gave final warnings to workers taking part in mass action. Anglo American and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) have been singled out for action because of their handling of the metal and hospital strikes respectively.

UNIONS REJECT "EXPERTS"

Cosatu recently met the Minister of Manpower, Leon Wessels, to discuss the federation's reservations on taking part in the National Manpower Commission (NMC). The government has agreed to restructure the NMC, turning it into a tripartite body of business, government and labour. However, Cosatu is unhappy with the fact that the government has given itself powers to appoint "experts" to sit on the NMC.

"We are concerned about the appointment of these "experts", as they do not represent anyone," said Cosatu Assistant Secretary, Sam Shilowa.

COSATU TAKES ON BANTUSTANS

Cosatu has rejected the Bophuthatswana government's new labour relations law which allows limited union recognition in the bantustan. The federation said it would ensure that the act was not enforced.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) recently secured a landmark recognition agreement with Impala Platinum mines in Bop. The Bop government has banned Cosatu in the region and often acted against company officials who allowed Cosatu affiliates to operate at their factories. Meanwhile, the federation has called for the intensification of the campaign for free political activity in Bop and other areas. ♦

National Youth Conference: *only a beginning*



Parks Mankahlana,
ANC Youth League
Publicity Officer, talks
to *MAYIBUYE* about

the National Youth Conference held
recently in Johannesburg.

The Conference, says Mankahlana, achieved its aim of bringing politically divergent youth organisations together to exchange views. The ANC Youth League (YL) was central in initiating the gathering.

Other participants included the NP Youth Action, the Inkatha Youth Brigade, the Intando Yesizwe Party Youth League from KwaNdebele, the Labour Party Youth, the Dikwankwetla Youth League from QwaQwa, the Inyandza Youth Congress of Kangwane, the Ximoko Progressive Party Youth from Gazankulu, the African Democratic Movement's Youth from the Ciskei and the United People's Front Youth League from Lebowa.

Mankahlana points out that many youth organisations with a large membership and a long track record of active resistance to apartheid were excluded. Student organisations Cosas and Sasco were not present, even though the Conference discussed the education crisis. This was because the NP and Inkatha feared being outnumbered by anti-apartheid youth.

NOT REPRESENTATIVE

Many of the bantustan representatives like those from Ciskei, QwaQwa and Gazankulu have no constituency or organisation on the ground – they were appointed by their respective parties.

There are more than 80 youth organisations in the country, but only 13 took part in the Conference. The ANC agreed to this because it viewed the Conference as a starting point. But it did not regard it as representative enough for launching a coalition.

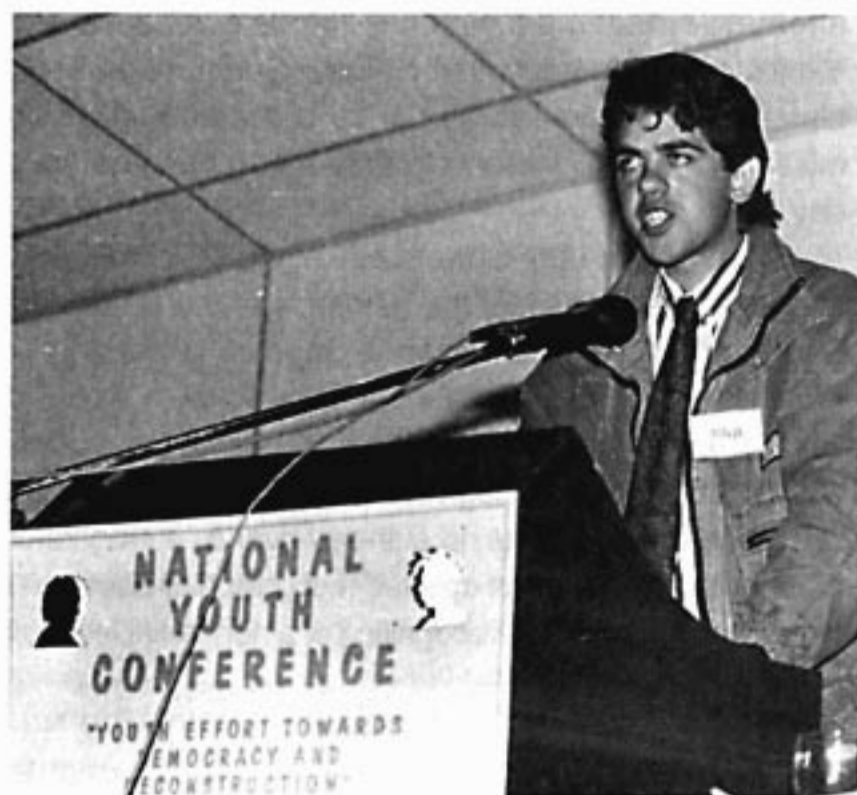
Mankahlana explains that it is relatively easy to agree on broad principles like democracy and peace. It suits the NP to say that apartheid must go and democracy should come in; there should be economic growth and a change of the education system. But when it comes to the practical steps needed, there is no agreement. So the YL feels that there is not a sufficient basis for acting together. At the same time it stresses the importance of ongoing contact and exchange of views.

POLITICAL TOLERANCE

However, common ground in some areas was found. It was acknowledged that apartheid is the major cause of violence. The need for an Interim Government as soon as possible was accepted. Ways of promoting political tolerance were agreed on.

All agreed that youth must participate in policy formulation in a democratic society and there should be a Youth Ministry. The possibility of a youth parliament is to be explored.

The main focus of the YL is mobilising democratic youth to take part in the campaigns of the ANC and to support the ANC in elections. Once there is a new government, the problems facing all young people will need to be more effectively addressed. Relations with youth in Africa and internationally will have to be developed. ♦



**This Afrikaner
Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)
member refused to identify
himself when he addressed
the Forum.**

MAYIBUYE looks at the federalism debate –
a contentious issue for negotiations.

Removing the "F" and "U" words from politics

Dr Oscar D Dhlomo, executive chair of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, calls for the debate on federalism and unitarism to focus on the devolution of power from central to regional government.



Current debate about the future South African state is impeded by red-herrings, wrong perceptions and deep-seated mutual suspicion. It rarely focuses scientifically on the merits and demerits of federalism and unitarism.

The debate tends to impute motives, false and otherwise, to those who proclaim their support for either of the systems. If the NP expresses support for federalism the ANC immediately accuses it of wanting to entrench apartheid and white minority privilege.

If the ANC expresses support for unitarism the NP immediately accuses it of wanting political domination over smaller political parties and regional communities.

How exactly these "political crimes" will be committed under either of the systems in a democratic state is not always explained.

The debate is further complicated by both parties and their allies being perceived as tainted by their past.

The NP abolished provincial councils and centralised most of their remaining powers under the tricameral parliament. Why the NP now suddenly promotes federalism with evangelistic fervour at a time when it is about to abandon its monopoly of political power is a question asked with much suspicion.

On the other hand the ANC-SACP alliance fuels the suspicion that the ANC wants to create a highly centralised one-party dictatorship like the former Soviet Union.

The ANC does not clearly state which powers will be devolved from the centre to regional governments or the constitutional measures to entrench these powers effectively. Since the ANC has already conceded that there will be

what it calls "effective regional governments" one is amazed why it does not go further and spell out exactly how "effective" in terms of devolved powers these regional governments will be.

Some of the NP's homeland allies who support federalism have invariably failed to be good ambassadors of good regional government. Their political record does the pro-federalism school much disservice.

NOTABLE POINTS

Both sides in this debate would do well to note the following points:

- **Democracy is quite feasible under either a federal or a unitary state.** The survival of democracy is dependent on the institutions that are created to buttress or reinforce it.

These include a justiciable Bill of Rights, an electoral system accommodating both national and regional political aspirations, separa-

tion of governmental powers, a vibrant and vigilant civil society and so on.

Needless to add, there are many democratic unitary and federal states all over the world.

- **Federalism does not mean geopolitical fragmentation.** A federal state such as the USA can still remain intact and united in terms of a common nationhood. The argument that federalism would fragment the country is therefore not valid.
- **Federalism cannot advance ethnic or tribal political agendas** especially if the provinces or states in such a federation are designated geographically and not ethnically or tribally. Similarly it cannot be used to entrench apartheid or to create a racially exclusive Volkstaat if there is a justiciable Bill of Rights which, inter alia, outlaws racial and other forms of discrimination. Federalism can also not protect parties and leaders that have been rejected by the voters in a free and fair election.
- **Regional, political and cultural diversity are possible under a unitary state.** This was proved by the provincial government of Natal which successfully resisted National Party rule from 1910 until it was abolished by the 1983 constitution which established the tricameral parliament. Great Britain, which is a unitary state, has its Scotland, its Ireland and its Wales.
- **There is no scientific evidence to prove that federal states perform economically better than unitary states or vice versa.** The so-called G7 countries which represent the seven

wealthiest states in the world represent an almost equal mixture of federal and unitary states.

- **Political scientists are fond of implying that federation is the best form of government for "deeply divided societies like South Africa".** One tends to suspect that this so-called deep division is not natural but was artificially maintained and encouraged by apartheid.

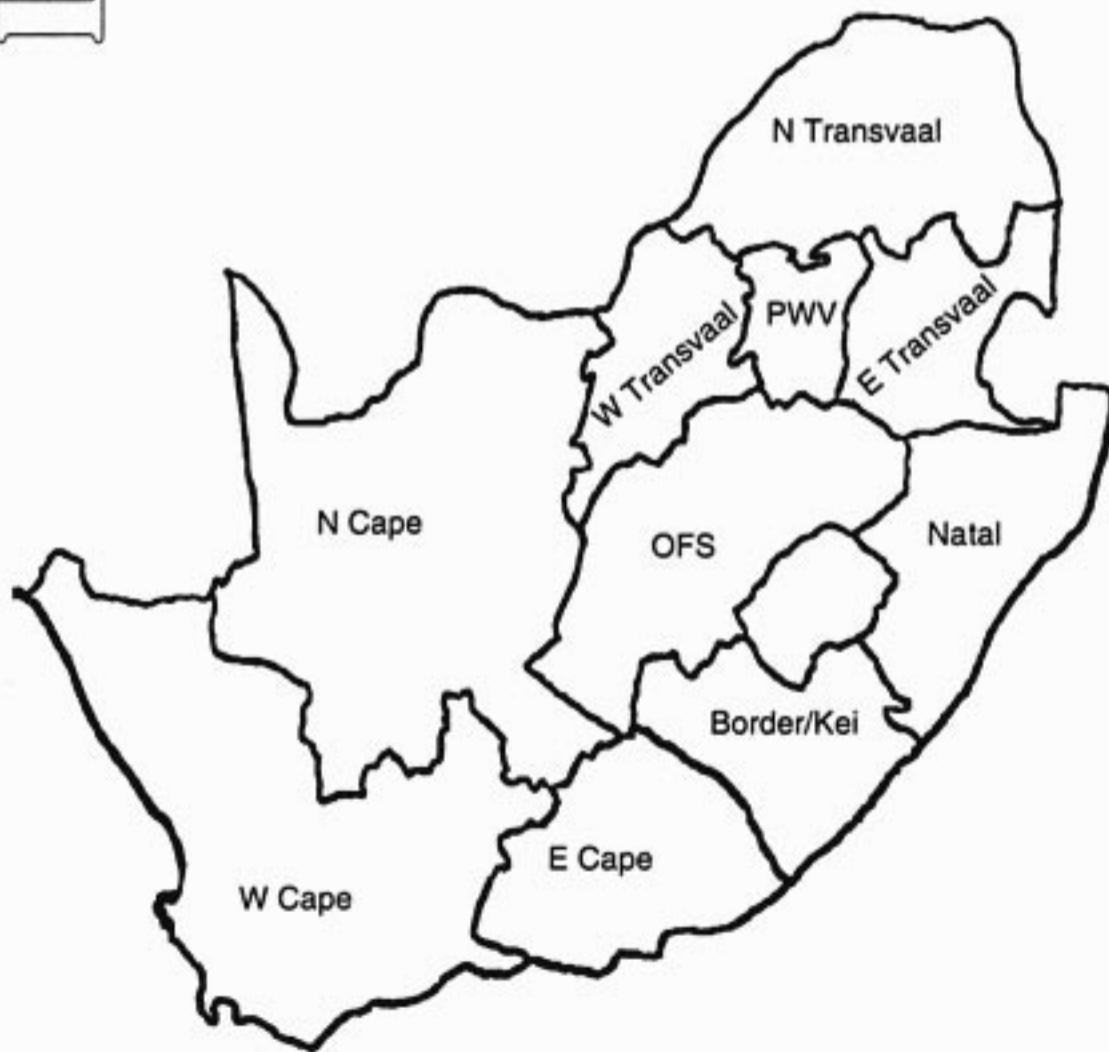
DIVISION

If this division was indeed encouraged by apartheid, our task is to heal and not perpetuate it. This is the challenge facing all of us regardless of whether we support federalism or unitarism.

The ANC and the NP and their allies would do well to immediately drop the "F" and "U" words in this debate. The focus should be on the devolution of power from the centre to regional governments. Both parties need to go further and debate which powers the regional governments will enjoy and how these powers will be guaranteed in the constitution.

I believe that we will ultimately end up with a form of government which will have elements of both federalism and unitarism. No talented and efficient non-ANC regional government would tolerate a situation where they were expected to act as rubber stamps for an all powerful central government located hundreds of miles away.

This system of remote control failed with the NP. There is no convincing reason why it would work with the ANC if it became a future government.



The ten regions proposed by the ANC

“ The National Party on the other hand must know that a future democratic government which devolved so much power that it turned out to be a lame duck, totally unable to initiate effective socio-economic policies to correct the imbalances of apartheid, would not last a day. ”

LAME DUCK

The National Party on the other hand must know that a future democratic government which devolved so much power that it turned out to be a lame duck, totally unable to initiate effective socio-economic policies to correct the imbalances of apartheid, would not last a day. If the present NP government did not have effective say over socio-economic policy formulation and implementation, one wonders if the "poor white problem" would have been so effectively addressed after 1948.

Compromise is clearly the solution. This compromise must concentrate on finding a mutually accepted formula for an equitable division of power between the centre and the regions. ♦

On the objectives of the conference:

"It is necessary to look at it in the context of the specific conditions in which De Klerk called it. There was, firstly, the breakdown in the negotiations process.

"Secondly, there has always been a clear understanding that government would not pass any laws relating to matters being discussed at Codesa until Codesa itself drafts the necessary legislative instruments.

"Then the government announced that it was going to hold a special session of parliament on 12 October. And it has increasingly been leaking information that that session will pass certain enabling legislation relating to aspects of the transitional process.

"It went on to organise this pro-federalism conference. It is very clear that the conference had objectives which were impossible for the regime to achieve.

"With the ANC and the Alliance not participating in the negotiations process, the NP wanted to probe going it alone. Part of that process would be to exercise pressure upon the ANC and the Alliance to return to negotiations without the agenda being altered.

"The NP also tried to use this conference to gang up against the ANC. They are well aware that the question whether South Africa should be a federal, unitary or any other type of state is a matter that belongs to the constitution-making body. They have tried in Codesa to undermine the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly and confront it with a *fait accompli*.

"Having failed in Codesa, they tried ganging up to present a formidable force for federalism. Perhaps they misread the international climate, thinking that federalism was a highly popular phenomenon in the world today and, therefore, to advocate it in South Africa would win extensive sympathy. But to succeed, they needed credible forces from within South Africa."

His assessment of the conference:

"It was as much a failure as their effort of calling a multi-lateral conference to address violence before the adoption of the National Peace Accord (NPA). That conference is forgotten. It led to businesspersons and churches taking an initiative supported by the ANC, which then led to the NPA, of which De Klerk had to be a part. The pro-federalism conference has had the same level of failure.

"Their proposals entail federalism with a vengeance. Central to their scheme is that the cen-

Federalism with a vengeance



Mac Maharaj, ANC NEC member comments on the recent NP pro-federalism conference.

tral government will have no independent income in whatever form. All the taxation powers will rest with the regional authorities. To sustain even the very minor task given central government, it will have to go cap in hand to each of the federal components, and will live by their grace.

"What is interesting about the conference is that it did not discuss the substantive issues. In reality it became a planning conference for another one later. There was no adoption of any common positions, even though a large number of participants said they supported federalism.

"I believe the conference was held under the auspices of Constitutional Development Services, which is a government arm. Few people have noticed the impropriety of the NP using state funds to propagate its views. If the NP wanted to do that, it should have paid from its coffers, not the taxpayers'."

On the impact of the conference on negotiations:

"De Klerk and his allies were keen that it should impact on negotiations. Part of the unhappiness amongst the participants was that it was thrust upon them by virtually behind-the-scenes discussions between the government and the IFP. They were just told to jump on the wagon.

"The conference has failed so dismally that if you read any newspaper, besides giving some publicity to the plans that were unfolded by the NP, nothing came out of it. The result has been that its impact on negotiations is going to be zero. If there is any impact, it is between the government and the IFP.

"Lastly, the march on Bisho, on the same day as the conference, effectively ensured that it disappeared into history within 24 hours as a non-event." ♦

THE FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNALISTS

Bringing government

Differences over regional government are going to be a major problem when negotiations resume because the NP wants to entrench federalism even before the Constituent Assembly sits. In this article *MAYIBUYE* looks at the debates within the ANC.

FEDERALISM DEBATE

Bringing government closer to the people: that is the basic principle underlining the ANC's approach to regional and local government.

"The polarisation caused by the debate on federalism and unitarism is a false one," said Thozamile Botha, head of the ANC's Local Government and Housing department.

"The question is what elements of federalism and unitarism can benefit South Africa. Which tier is going to best deliver what function? The allocation of functions is not an arbitrary decision.

Federal government is a form of devolved government with crucial powers residing in the regions, making it difficult for central government to intervene on political and socio-economic matters at a national level.

Botha added: "Those states referred to as examples of federal governments, such as the US, have seen the need for greater involvement of the central government in local affairs. Today there are very few areas in which they have not intervened.

"This has been the case especially with addressing economic disparities. In South Africa's case you could end up entrenching white



*Thozamile Botha,
head of the ANC Local
Government and Housing
Department*

privilege, making it difficult for the central government to intervene.

"I will argue for a regional government which has the power to raise taxes necessary for the carrying out of its devolved functions. Its powers and functions should not be listed in the constitution but arrived at through the legislative process. This will allow for problems to be rectified more quickly than if they were entrenched in the constitution.

"This will be the case especially in the first years of a democratic South Africa when there will be a lot of trial and error."

NO CONSENSUS

The ANC Policy Conference in May 1992 could not arrive at consensus on whether more or less regions would allow for greater democracy and better distribution of resources.

Two of the conference commissions considered the different tiers of government. The Constitutional Commission recommended that the second house, the Senate, will be representative of regions, directly elected and have the power to review, refer and delay legislation.

At the same time according to the ANC Policy Guidelines, parliament is expected to "determine what powers the regions should have, taking into consideration that certain

functions are best performed at a regional level, provided the overriding authority of the central parliament is recognised."

The Local Government commission emerged with a detailed outline of principles and how different tiers would be structured. Local and regional government structures are to be charged with the task of ensuring a fair distribution of resources; proper planning in urban and rural areas; creating employment and providing local and regional facilities and services.

Parliament will be required to make laws about the powers, tasks and duties of local government. According to the ANC, central government decisions should take precedent over those of regional governments.



closer to the people

"The struggle in South Africa is not only about the creation of democratic structures. It is about the redistribution of resources. We feel strongly that the state at central level is more capable of ensuring this than regional government," said Zola Skweyiya, chief of the ANC's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Department.

"Central government must have the power to ensure proper co-ordination between and within regions. Where there is a gap in the legislation, central government must have the power to fill it."

The other problem in South Africa is the lopsided development of various parts of the country as a result of apartheid disparities in the distribution of resources. A system that gives most powers to the regions would perpetuate this, with the richer regions keeping most of the wealth to themselves.

This would not only undermine balanced development but would also be outrageous, given that migratory labour from poorer areas like Northern Natal, Transkei, Northern Transvaal contributed to the development of regions such as PWV.

Regional and local government will be funded by taxes collected at that level. As Thozamile Botha explained: "Each tier must be allowed to raise revenue for the provision of the service allocated to it. So all tiers, including the national, must have a revenue base."

The ANC also envisages the creation of metropolitan governments to bring under one government the various local authorities in huge cities like Johannesburg and Durban.

This will help facilitate the sharing of resources between wealthier and poorer sections of an area and reduce the number of structures. A metro would be able to negotiate the delivery of electricity with Escom on a much larger scale than a small municipality. District Councils, the rural equivalent of metros, are envisaged for rural areas.

NUMBER OF REGIONS

The proposal of 10 regions for South Africa made by the ANC's Department of Constitutional and Legal Affairs is still being debated within the ANC. Some propose 30 regions to avoid submerging rural voices under urban centres.

"I agree we should have fewer regions, maybe 14," said Thozamile Botha. These have to be based on historical evolution, functionality, language, economic viability. There must be a revenue or tax base for the region to sustain it. This will ensure it has some autonomy from central government."

Zola Skweyiya points out that of the 10 regions proposed each has some industrial base. "This is to avoid a situation where the PWV or Southern Natal dominate the entire economy." ♦



Zola Skweyiya, chief of the ANC's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Department



NP's interim strategy on local government

The NP has been pushing for local government weighted in favour of property owners. This can quite easily permeate the entire system. Thozamile Botha explains:

"The government introduced the Interim Measures and Local Government Act on the pretext of creating a legal framework within which the negotiations had to be conducted.

"The Act centralised power in the hands of representatives of the present government who could determine whether the local agreements were democratic enough. The Act has no vision of democratic, non-racial government structures.

"In Kimberley a joint administration has been created which has become the new local authority. This really means the administration of black areas by the white local authority, since the black authorities have collapsed.

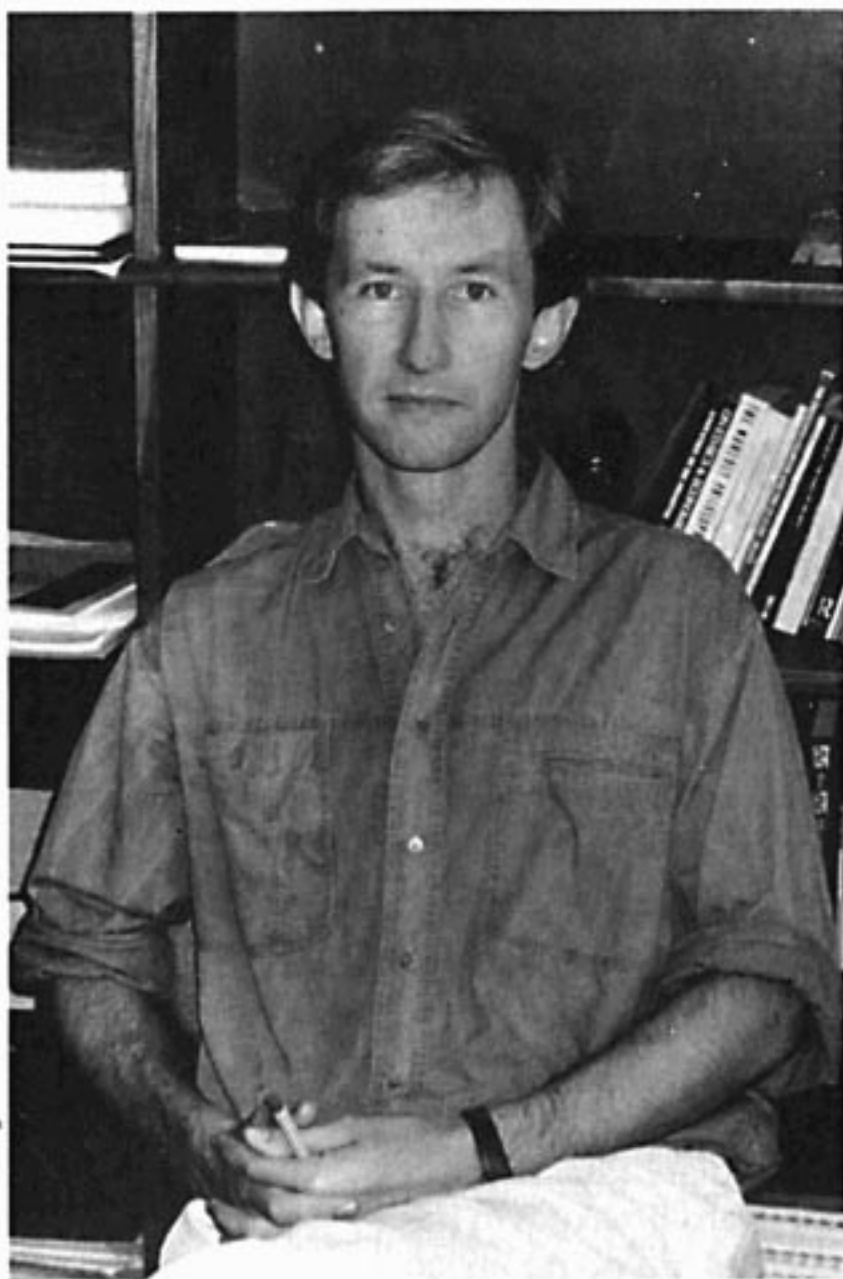
"Kimberley now has 24 wards broken down as follows: 12 from white, seven from African, four from coloured and one from Indian areas. Whites make up far less than half the total population. But the ward breakdown has been justified on the basis of property value. Such practices are going ahead even before national negotiations have reached any finality." ♦

THE INTERIM STRATEGY ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT



Committed to all the people of Africa

Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, must be spinning in his grave. While his widow, Betsie, 92, has moved to Orania, the lily-white settlement founded 16 months ago to be the capital of a future Afrikaner homeland, his grandson Wilhelm has joined the ANC. An AFP correspondent spoke to him.



Verwoerd's grandson Wilhelm

Wilhelm, 30, said that he and his wife Melanie were overwhelmed by African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela when he visited Stellenbosch University, the bastion of Afrikanerdom, in May last year. Wilhelm, a theology graduate, is studying for a PhD at the university.

DIRECT LINK

"We were both amazed that he was so free from bitterness," he said. He was warm and friendly, despite what he has gone through and despite meeting someone with a direct link to the person responsible for putting him in prison."

Hendrik Verwoerd, as minister of Native Affairs in the 1950s, mapped out the policy of racial segregation, and as Prime Minister banned the ANC in 1960 and unleashed the police crackdown that would see Mandela in prison for nearly 27 years.

"I never really wanted to belong to any specific political party," Wilhelm said. Once, his "sympathies" were with his grandfather's National Party, he admitted, and they then shifted to the Democratic Party.

GRASSROOTS LEVEL

"I was always involved in church activities, and felt that politics was too dirty. But over the years I've changed my mind about the effectiveness of being involved on a grassroots level. You need to become involved in politics with an organisation where you can actually deal with structures, and not just with specific responses to specific problems. That is why I found it so important to belong to a party. I

think the ANC at this stage is the best party."

BRANCH EXECUTIVE

Melanie, another theology graduate, joined the ANC after Mandela's visit and is on the ANC's branch executive in Stellenbosch. "Recently, Melanie's experiences and exposure to people at grassroots level helped me to make up my mind," said Wilhelm.

"It is important to move out of the borders of the white community, specifically because it is very easy to live a normal life in white South Africa. Especially in Stellenbosch," he added.

"And so just to retain a sense of reality, to be involved with the problems of this country, it is very important to move out of that and become involved in a party like the ANC."

UNHAPPY

Wilhelm admits his father, who is active with the pro-apartheid Conservative Party (CP), was very unhappy about his decision. "He sees my membership of the ANC as joining the enemy. It is very difficult for my parents to make sense of this. They have grown up with the system in the sense that the ANC is the main enemy."

But he hopes they will come to understand. The ANC came the closest to being a non-racial organisation, and better reflected "the true nature of our society", he said.

"To be an Afrikaner, as far as I'm concerned, is to be committed to all the people in Africa. Once you become involved in this wider continent, you will see that this is a place for a lot of respect for Afrikaner culture, language and contributions." ♦

Who is to blame for high food prices?



Control Boards are omnipotent beasts imbued with evil powers they do not seem to have, writes **Pat Sidley**, the *Weekly Mail's* consumer columnist.

In the heyday of South Africa's agricultural control boards – the instruments through which the production, supply and distribution of basic agricultural produce was controlled – prices were controlled at every stage.

Farmers were given a set price for their produce, which was then bought by the board. Wholesalers and manufacturers were in turn al-

lowed a specific margin before a consumer price was set.

At its best, the system was to have ensured that most people were fed at a reasonable price. And everyone along the chain – from farmers to retailers – was rewarded at a reasonable profit.

In practice, a small group of people benefitted from a system they set up. Many belonged to the ruling clique, others to a select bunch in

private enterprise who are still in the game. The ruling clique and the farmers, however, are no longer synonymous, with many farmers now feeling let down. The system did not work properly.

But, ironically, the failures in the control board system are not necessarily the cause of high food prices. Prices appear to have leapt up regardless of what is going on in the control boards. About ten years ago, when control boards were actually powerful, the food inflation rate was double the general inflation rate. Today, when the boards control very little, the food inflation is still double the general rate.

Furthermore, as farmers would be quick to point out, the cost of production has been subject to a much lower rate of inflation than consumer prices, which have increased by 31 percent annually. The real cause of food inflation is probably to be found among the crowd currently heard blaming control



The anti-VAT campaign highlighted the growing urgency of the popular demand for affordable food

boards while skilfully avoiding looking at themselves – the handful of vast commercial enterprises which control the food industry.

The control boards do support buildings and staff in offices in Pretoria, and that may add a little to the cost of food – but not that much. For most of the basic foods like maize, wheat, oil seeds, and meat to some extent, farmers are paid according to either a controlled or minimum price.

DAIRY INDUSTRY

However, in the dairy industry, for instance, the market is totally uncontrolled. The R3,00 a litre many pay for milk in cafés is determined purely by the desire for profit of the dairy farmers, the dairies and the retailers.

The boards were established in terms of the Marketing Act, which sets out in a series of “schemes” how they are to operate. There are

four types of “schemes”, some of which raise ghosts from past pricing policies and may still be seen as the villains of the pricing wars.

The main one is the Single Channel Marketing Scheme, covering basic commodities like maize and wheat. Producers have their prices fixed and have to deliver their produce to the board.

AGENTS

The board is in Pretoria. So “agents” of the board are appointed to act on its behalf and the produce is delivered to them. In practice, many of these are in the private sector. At times they are co-operatives which, in turn, exist in terms of the Co-operative Act. This law ensures that co-operatives can only do business with their own members.

The producer price for maize and wheat is fixed, but little else is. Certainly by the time the millers, bakers and retailers get hold of the products, there are no further controls. Once Premier Milling (which is eventually Anglo American) or Tiger (which is eventually Barlow Rand) get their hands on produce to turn it into mealie meal, bread, flour or whatever, the market is free and they can, and do, charge what they want. By the time it is bought in the OK Bazaars (Anglo American) or the local café, a loaf of bread will have become much too expensive for many.

The second scheme is called the Single Channel Pool Scheme, essentially similar to the first, but the system of rewarding the producers is slightly different. One of the commodities that operates under this system is oil seed – currently having a rough time because of the drought. By the time the private sector gets its hands on oil seed, the free market operates and, at the end of the line, consumers are knocked senseless.

NOTORIOUS

The third scheme is the Floor Price Scheme. The most “notorious” commodity operating under this system is meat. A minimum price for meat is paid to the farmers, but if it is not attained on auction at the abattoir,

then the Meat Board buys back the surplus at the minimum price. The Meat Board levies considerable sums from producers so that it can pay for a “stabilisation fund”.

The problem in the meat industry has filled many hectares of news print and boils down to the monopoly situation with a handful of firms running the industry from the calf on the hoof to the steak on the plate.

The fourth system is where the board acts merely as a promoter of the industry as, for instance, in the potato industry. Through minimal levies, it pays for those advertisements we see regularly on the television. So when Pick 'n Pay, Woolworths, OK Bazaars or the corner café charge astronomical prices for potatoes, the control board cannot be blamed.

Other levies and practices which boards are involved in apply to importing food. Some of the levies are paid so that, in times of a shortfall, the produce can be imported. If it is all so free and fair, what was the row with the Wheat Board, the imported cheap wheat and the R300 million profit the government made?

IMPORTED GRAIN

The government, by custom and not legislation, has assumed the mantle of being the importer of grain, among other commodities.

In years of shortage, such as the most recent year, it imports cheap grain through the Wheat Board (which appeared to have no choice, according to both the Wheat Board and the South African Agricultural Union) and sold it at a huge profit which the government then kept, instead of using it to reduce the very steep price of bread.

There are many foodstuffs which have never fallen under control boards, like the fish, chicken and egg industries and many fresh vegetables. The only controls are in the form of import levies, making it difficult to import cheaper foods from abroad.

Food prices in all these sections of the food industry have, however, risen similarly. ♦

Afrikaans writers: the anti-apartheid tradition

In this second article on Afrikaans, **Hein Willemse**, Associate Professor in Afrikaans at the University of the Western Cape, introduces a number of earlier anti-apartheid Afrikaner writers.

Ahmed Kathrada, on his release from prison, remarked that a poem by Antjie Krog sustained him during his dark days. On another occasion Oliver Tambo recited a well-known Ingrid Jonker poem, *Die Kind*. The references to Afrikaans literature surprised many, for was Afrikaans not regarded as the language of the oppressor?

Afrikaans literature essentially depended on Afrikaner nationalism for its early development. The early culture brokers were not only domineers or politicians, but also prominent writers and literary critics. Publication in Afrikaans and Afrikaans literature served to bolster an emergent nationalism. Crucial in the pursuit of Afrikaner nationalism were most Afrikaans publishing houses and Afrikaans language newspapers.

EXTRACT FROM *DIE KIND* BY INGRID JONKER

Die kind is die skaduwee van die soldate
op wag met gewere sarasene en knuppels
die kind is teenwoordig by all vergaderings en wetgewings
die kind loer deur die vensters van huise en in die harte van moeders
die kind wat net wou speel in die son by Nyanga is orals
die kind wat 'n man geword het trek deur die ganse Afrika
die kind wat 'n reus geword het reis deur die hele wêreld
Sonder 'n pas

[The child is the shadow of the soldiers
sentries with guns saracens and batons
the child is present at every meeting and in all legislation
the child peeks through the windows of houses and in the hearts of mothers
the child who only wanted to play in the sun in Nyanga is everywhere
the child who became a man wanders through the entire Africa
the child who became a giant travels through all the world
Without a pass]

In turn, Afrikaans literature benefited from state patronage and the formation of high circumscribed educational, publishing and cultural infrastructures. Afrikaans literature developed into, arguably, the most sophisticated South African literature, propped up by an intricate literary system. It is therefore not surprising that most published writers in South Africa happened to write in Afrikaans.

DEFIANCE

From early on this symbiotic relationship between Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaans literature and Christian National Education gave rise to tacit limitations for Afrikaans authors. Over the years most Afrikaner writers remained, in varying degrees, within the confines defined by the government and the cultural establishment. Defiance often meant literary and social ostracism. Before it became fashionable, a small percent-

age of Afrikaans writers chose defiance. This article introduces a number of the earlier trailblazers.

Among these were Uys Krige and Jan Rabie. With the unconstitutional machinations to disenfranchise coloured voters in 1956, they publicly gave vent to their opposition. Krige, by joining public marches, making speeches and translating the Freedom Charter into Afrikaans; Rabie, by writing a novel, *Ons, die afgod* (We, the idol, 1958). The novel made the headlines for its unequivocal attack on apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism. In a moment of confrontation the main character impassionedly declares: "By thinking of ourselves only, we are making an idol of *Afrikanerskap* ... in the name of Afrikaans we are acting, even if unwittingly, in a dishonest and selfish manner towards others in the country" and "I believe I am an Afrikaner who wants to be a South



André Brink (left), persistently challenges the morality of the state and highlights the miscarriage of justice in South Africa.

Elsa Joubert (right) author of *The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena*



African." For a number of literary, but certainly also political reasons, the book, the first in which an Afrikaner novelist candidly distanced himself from NP policies, has largely been forgotten.

HISTORY

In his later *Bolandia* series, Rabie explores Dutch settler history. These novels deliberately subvert a central myth of Afrikaner civil religion, namely Afrikaners' unblemished whiteness. Rabie suggests that "white" and "brown" Afrikaners essentially share the same history, culture and language. Apartheid, therefore, Rabie argues, is a denial of history and the "National Party is an adversary to Afrikaans".

Rabie's abiding concern is the relationship between what he calls "brown" and "white" Afrikaners. This fixation restricts his exploration of a wider South Africa. His treatment of African characters in his novels remains surprisingly ambivalent and sketchy.

MORALITY

It is André Brink, the most prominent Afrikaans novelist, who would explore, in successive novels, a more comprehensive view of the South African social and physical landscape. Brink persistently challenges the morality of the state and highlights the miscarriage of justice in South Africa.

Besides his central concern with the function of the writer in a repres-

sive society, Brink concentrates on the invasion of privacy by apartheid structures and the devastation these cause in human relationships.

In *Rumours of Rain*, for instance, the central relationship is between big business, represented by an Afrikaner industrialist, and a politically committed Afrikaner, a Bram Fischer of sorts. The industrialist, although horrified by the outcome of apartheid practices, cannot bring himself to break with Afrikanerdom. In *A Dry White Season* an ordinary Afrikaner teacher is eventually killed by the security police for daring to confront the authoritarian values of submission to authority and acceptance of social division.

MILITANT

The critical, thinking Afrikaner comes full circle in Brink's latest novel, *An Act of Terror*. Influenced by his friendship with dynamic, militant blacks, Thomas Landman joins the military wing of a revolutionary movement. This novel marks Brink's closest identification with black liberation.

Afrikaans novels, no matter how committed the authors, seem to suffer the same fate: grappling to define the Other. African characters are often romanticised and presented as cardboard figures. They may be stereotypically gregarious, volatile, murderous, mythical, exotic or intellectual guides into the unknown world of matchbox houses, overfurnished lounges and noisy shebeens.

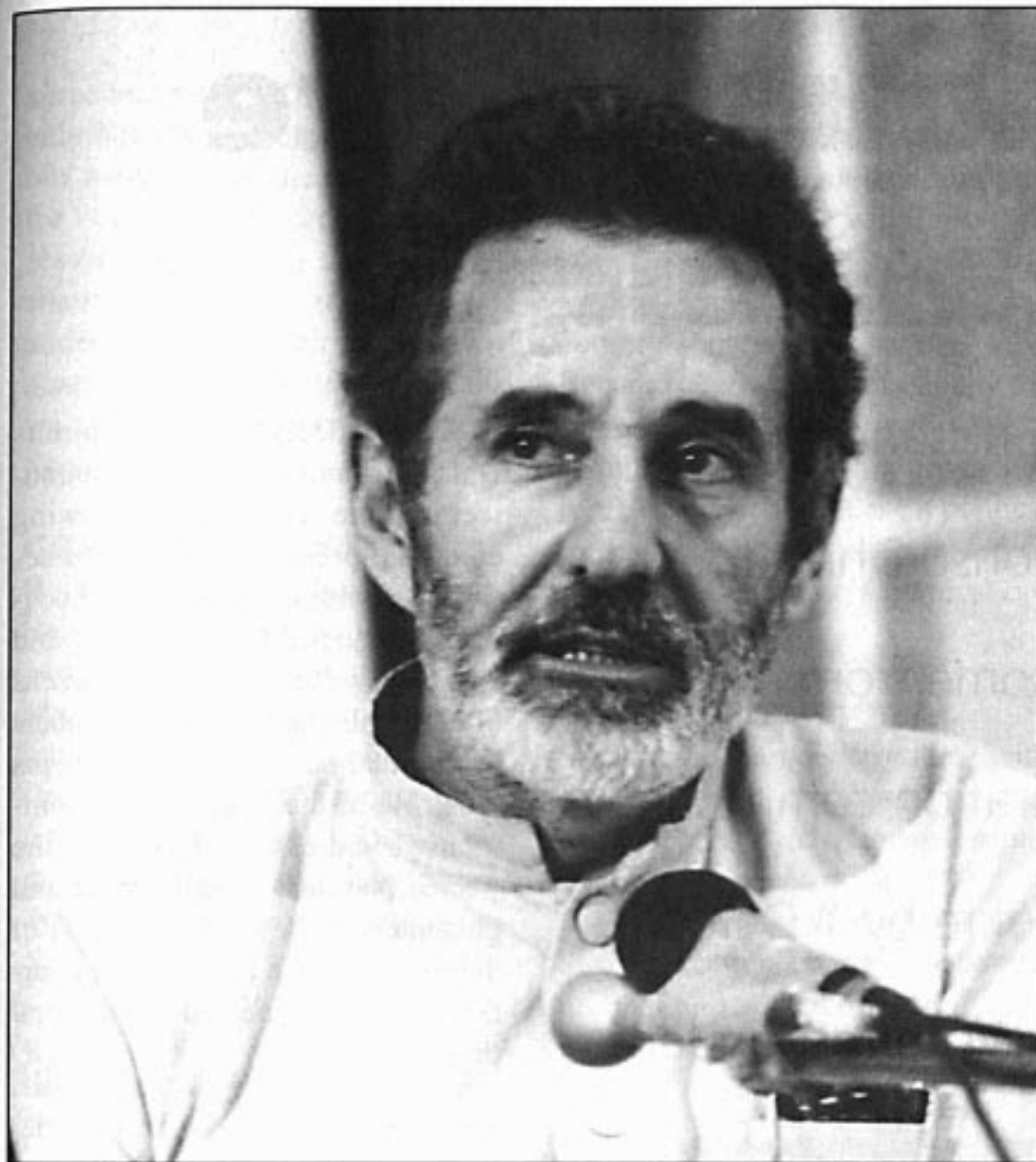
In two significant cases, however, the relationship between Afrikaner and African results in remarkable writing: Elsa Joubert's *The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena* and John Miles' *Chronicle rescued from the extinguisher*.

Poppie Nongena is the moving story of a mother's struggle against the pass laws. The novel gives an account of the ruthless treatment of urban black people by Bantu Affairs bureaucrats. It gave rise to a bitter polemic among Afrikaner intellectuals, in which the NP was directly accused of committing structural violence against black people. It is one of the most memorable undertakings where a privileged author breaks the silence forced on marginalised people, particularly black women.

John Miles' *Chronicle* is based on the case file of a policeman stationed at Hammanskraal who is viciously attacked by a senior officer. He lays a complaint of assault against his superior. In the ensuing investigation, he gets bogged down in a quagmire of deceit, bureaucratic cul-de-sacs, police chicanery, intolerance and cover-ups. Eventually he and his wife die in a salvo of bullets from unknown assassins.

SOCIAL PROCESSES

Unlike other committed anti-apartheid writers, Miles' work is unromanticised. Black people, the Other for white writers, are portrayed in his work as ordinary people, without the peculiar South



Breyten Breytenbach, through his writing, has been the most eloquent anti-apartheid campaigner in Afrikaans literature

African novelistic need for fictionalised blacks to be immensely courageous, prodigiously virile, uncontrollably militant or dismally enslaved. The book underscores the fact that critical writers can make an impact on social processes. It is rumoured that the original case on which Miles based his novel will be re-opened for investigation.

Breyten Breytenbach, through his writing, public image and long spell of imprisonment, has been the most eloquent anti-apartheid campaigner in Afrikaans literature. In poetic Afrikaans, he unremittingly chastised his fellow writers, the government and the literary establishment for decades. A poet of formidable talent, his work is characterised by the most exquisite lyrical verse, a painter's visual associations, strident politics and often obscure Eastern philosophical references.

The moral direction Breytenbach represents made it easier for the pres-

ent generation of Afrikaans writers to distance themselves from official Afrikanerdom. These young writers include Jeanette Ferreira, Antjie Krog, Victor Munnik, Welma Odendal, Fanie Olivier, Hans Pienaar, Koos Prinsloo, Etienne van Heerden, Marlene van Niekerk, Johan van Wyk and Lettie Viljoen.

In July 1989 a delegation of mainly younger Afrikaans writers met members of the ANC at Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. The meeting was a clear indication of the willingness, of especially younger Afrikaans writers, to cross into a broader, encompassing South Africa.

CULTURAL IDENTITY

In a joint communique they dedicated themselves to participate in "democratic cultural organisations committed to the destruction of apartheid ... [and] the dream of realising a truly representative South African literature". This national literature is seen as "the em-

bodiment of a shared South African cultural identity, unique in the richness of its sources, expression and diversity of language".

MARGINAL STATUS

Black authors writing in Afrikaans have always found themselves at odds with the state. The writings of SV Petersen, PJ Philander, Adam Small, Patrick Petersen, Peter Snyders, Clinton du Plessis, Modikwe Dikobe, Dikobe Martins, Farouk Asvat, Frank Antony, Sandile Dikeni and others are characterised by their vigorous opposition to apartheid. These writers are conscious of their marginal status in Afrikaans literature and several deliberately embrace a clear social awareness and militant political commitment.

Adam Small is probably the best-known black Afrikaans writer. His *Kanna hy kô hystoe* is still regarded as one of the more accomplished pieces of Afrikaans drama literature. The story is an archetypal narrative of oppressed South African communities: those who made it educationally and then turned their backs on family and friends for a better future elsewhere. The story of those left behind is told in heart-rending tones and Small's central female character, Makiet, has become the quintessential *Mutter Courage* of South African literature.

IMPORTANT CONDITIONS

For a greater South African literature to emerge, a number of important conditions have to be present: the encouragement of writing in all South African languages; the development of an educational system which fosters the use of multilingualism; the establishment of a more accessible publishing infrastructure; an adequate distribution system; the creation of a readers' market; and most important of all, the development of literary translation.

It is through such a changed cultural environment that Afrikaans, freed of its racist connotations, will find its place in this greater South African literature, as envisaged in the declaration of the Victoria Falls conference. ♦

Precarious peace in Mozambique

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo Commander-in-Chief Afonso Dhlakama met face to face for the first time in Rome from 4-7 August. They signed a joint declaration committing the two sides to achieving a ceasefire by 1 October, writes a Mozambique News Agency correspondent.



*Mozambican President
Joaquim Chissano*



*Renamo Commander-in-Chief,
Afonso Dhlakama*

The declaration fell a long way short of expectations in Maputo, where it had been hoped that an immediate ceasefire, or at least a truce, would be signed. At a meeting with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in Gaborone on 4 July, Dhlakama promised an "immediate ceasefire" if he was given guarantees of personal security for himself and his followers, and free political

activity. But in Rome he simply threw out Chissano's offer of an immediate truce.

In the joint declaration, Chissano and Dhlakama "mandate and instruct our respective negotiating delegations in the Rome peace process to complete, by 1 October, the approval of the remaining protocols as foreseen in the agreed agenda, therefore allowing the signing of the general peace agreement by that date."

The declaration commits Dhlakama and Chissano to guaranteeing "the conditions allowing complete political freedom, in accordance with internationally recognised democratic principles", and "personal security to all the citizens of Mozambique and to all members of political parties". It also accepts "the role of the international community, and especially that of the United Nations, in monitoring and guaranteeing the implementation of the general peace agreement, in particular the ceasefire and the electoral process."

CEASEFIRE

Much of the document merely reiterates what had already been agreed between the two sides in the various protocols signed in the two years of peace talks in Rome. It stresses the mutual pledges on basic political principles in Protocol 1, signed on 18 October 1991.

These are that the government will "not act in any way that is contrary to the terms of the protocols established, nor adopt laws or measures or apply existing laws that may eventually be contrary to these protocols".

In return, Renamo undertook "not to combat by force of arms after the entry into force of a ceasefire, but to conduct its political struggle observing current laws, within the framework of the existing state institutions".

Chissano pledged that the government would submit to parliament "the adoption of the legal instruments incorporating the protocols and the guarantees, as well as the general peace agreement, into Mozambican law".

Addressing the signing ceremony, Chissano did not hide his disappointment at Renamo's refusal to

agree to a truce. "It would undoubtedly have been more honourable if our meeting had meant the end of the war today," he said. "There is no reason why the guns should not fall silent." On the brighter side, he added that "although the war will continue a little longer, the fact that we know it will end by 1 October is a consolation."

GRABBING TERRITORY

Both Chissano and Mugabe warned Renamo not to use the intervening period to try to grab more territory. Mugabe said that neither the government nor Renamo should try to strengthen their negotiating position by further offensives. "That would mean more war, and more people dying. The next two months are crucial," he said.

Dhlakama made an off-the-cuff speech, with a distinctly triumphalist ring, including grandiose claims about Renamo "resisting the forces of the government, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and also Russians and North Koreans" - neither of the latter two countries ever sent combat troops to Mozambique.

In an interview with MediaFax, a Maputo news-sheet, he threatened that Renamo would keep full control over the areas it currently occupies, even after a ceasefire is signed. He boasted that his forces control "85 percent" of Mozambique (a figure that has remained unchanged in Renamo propaganda for several years), and that, in the transition between a ceasefire and general elections, Renamo would not allow the central government to operate there.

Thus Dhlakama effectively announced that there would be two Mozambican states, a flagrant violation of Renamo's promise, in Protocol One, to work "in observance of the laws in force, and in the framework of the existing state institutions".

Dhlakama admitted receiving support, first from Ian Smith's Rhodesia, and later from South Africa, but made the routine, and entirely false, claim that South African support ended with the 1984 Nkomati Accord.

As of this writing, there is no sign that the Mozambican government and Renamo delegations still negotiating in Rome will finish their agenda by 1 October. The main stumbling block is the future of the country's intelligence service, Sise. Renamo claims this is essentially the same as the now-defunct Snasp (People's National Security Service), and describes it as "a political espionage police force created to fight against Frelimo's political opponents".

UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Snasp was a paramilitary force with power to detain, and those it arrested were deprived of *habeas corpus* rights.

With the new 1990 constitution, Snasp procedures became unconstitutional and was abolished in July 1991.

Sise is restricted to intelligence and counter-intelligence work. It has no police powers and cannot detain anyone. Unlike Snasp, it does not run prisons.

Renamo's position on the security service is unacceptable to the government. Chissano has described the proposal to eliminate the intelligence service as "unthinkable". He has pointed out that, once a ceasefire is signed, Renamo members can also be trained as Sise agents.

Meanwhile, Renamo attacks continue unabated. On 9 September the bandits attacked Chibuto, a town in southern Gaza province, killing 18 and wounding 16 civilians. They burnt down eight homes and looted other property. In subsequent attacks, Renamo killed 10 people and kidnapped 200 in central Zambezia province. ♦

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Mobilising a wider constituency

An ANC and civic activist in Southern Natal assesses the week of mass action in August.

Mass action has been an integral part of the ANC strategy for transformation. Its relative importance in the ANC's strategy was reduced whilst the negotiations process was on course.

Resolutions taken at the 1990 Consultative Conference, the July 1991 National Conference, the May 1992 Policy Conference and various ANC position papers attest to the organisation's position that the masses shall be the authors of their destiny.

The deadlock at Codesa sent a clear message to democrats all over the country: the regime will not voluntarily relinquish power by sheer weight of arguments. Only a protracted struggle, with the targets being the centres of apartheid power, would force the regime to change course and make a democratic solution possible.

Mass action was aimed at mobilising the broadest constituency around various political issues. Extensive participation across gender, class and race lines was expected. Organs of civil society and trade unions were also to be part of the general activity.

Instead we saw the old groupings which had been mobilised during the UDF period coming to the fore once again, albeit with renewed vigour. Mass action did not attract any new constituency. It served to consolidate the existing support of the ANC in political action. This had been long overdue, since the ANC's traditional base had fallen into a state of despondency.

However, with a better organising programme, a wider set of forces could have been drawn more actively into the mass action. The programme should have catered for the active expression of the middle ground, not merely by staying away or closing businesses and shops.

ACHIEVEMENTS

To the ANC's credit, mass action succeeded in projecting the ANC as serious about backing its negotiations position with political mobilisation. The correlation between negotiations and mass action, which MAY-IBUYE has espoused in issue after issue, was in evi-



dence. The regime, anxiously waiting for poor attendances, was disappointed.

In working out any future strategy we must bear in mind the following:

- The campaign failed to broaden the ANC's base. It was, nevertheless, a success in terms of the number of workers who struck and the level of participation in mass action.
- People may have participated in mass action because of the issues involved, not because they support the ANC.
- The ANC must clarify whether this is the way mass action and negotiations will relate in future. Is mass action only to be used as a demonstration of the ANC's credibility amongst the oppressed people? In other words are we going to see more of the "tap", where people's power is resorted to when the regime does not recognise the ANC's power?
- Democrats can no longer entertain notions of the Leipzig option. The ANC must unequivocally commit itself to negotiations with struggle. ♦

Combatting racism: an ongoing task

Opinion

Franz Auerbach, of Jews for Social Justice, writes about stereotypes and racism.

The little effort South Africans make to counter prejudice, and race prejudice in particular, should concern us all.

Many of us are easily prejudiced against people who belong to groups we know little about. We have stereotypes or "fixed" images which suggest that all members of the group are the same. These images are usually unflattering and untrue of all members of a group.

You are unlikely to call all black people stupid if you are black, or all Indians or Jews greedy if you are Indian or Jewish. These labels are expressions of ethnic prejudices.

Often such unfavourable stereotypes are confirmed because people are looking for certain traits in the people they meet. When they don't, people are inclined to make excuses. In Germany, for example, it was a stock phrase to say: "I don't like Jews, but you Mr Levy, are quite different from most of them."

Contact doesn't normally change the group stereotype. A Beyers Naude and Van Zyl Slabbert ought to make South Africans who are prejudiced against Afrikaners say: "Well next time I meet one I'll wait and see if perhaps they are like Oom Bey – fighting against apartheid." It's more likely they will assume the next one they meet is pro-apartheid – because that's the stereotype in the head. This will get the relationship off to a bad start.

Of course the same happens with white judgements of blacks. If someone thinks "most blacks are

stupid" they will say Professor Ramphele or Dr Motlana or Nelson Mandela are exceptions.

This stereotype is powerfully strengthened in South Africa because most whites still have far more contact with illiterate or semi-literate black people in unskilled jobs and domestic service than with better educated people.

CUSTOMS

This kind of prejudging is not only caused by what we've picked up from our parents and friends. It is also due to a widespread belief that people inherit more than physical traits – that character is also inherited biologically.

We may have habits, customs and attitudes which are similar to

those of our parents, friends or local community. After all we grow up in our parents' homes and they teach us how to behave. But we don't inherit our characters biologically.

Racism – treating some races as superior and others as inferior – feeds on stereotyping. But these problems will not disappear even when a representative government is in power.

TOLERANCE

We need special efforts to change attitudes. This should include getting people to meet and begin understanding one another.

Otherwise ugly incidents, offensive behaviour and name-calling will continue to spoil the landscape of the new South Africa. Racists push their views with vigour. The new society needs to be even more energetic and dedicated to teaching sensible views and tolerance, both by personal example and widespread and continuing publicity. ♦



“The new society needs to be even more energetic and dedicated to teaching sensible views and tolerance, both by personal example and widespread and continuing publicity.”

Time to invest in youth

The Young Entrepreneur Foundation's executive director, **Oscar Mamba**, argues that township youth already have many characteristics of the successful entrepreneur.



The Young Entrepreneur Foundation (YEF) was founded in 1991 to empower disadvantaged youth – particularly victims of racial discrimination – through entrepreneurial and business literacy.

The Foundation is convinced that the most serious domestic problem in South Africa is the accelerating deterioration of township youth. The problem is not unique. However, black youth would have been better off economically and educationally had they been treated equally and afforded the same head-start enjoyed by the majority of their white counterparts.

Violence, crime, drug abuse and teenage pregnancies have all increased. At the same time there is a steady decrease in high school graduation rates. There are tens of thousands of township youth aged between 15 and 26 who are high school dropouts and unemployed, with highly destructive lifestyles.



East Rand pupils on an educational tour of the Northern Transvaal Technikon organised by the YEF.

They are known as "the lost generation" or marginalised youth. Another disturbing trend in communities is the growing number of arrests of young people engaged in crime. This must be halted immediately.

It is time to invest in youth. No one needs empowerment more than the disadvantaged youth in townships. The goal of the YEF is to end the vicious cycle of dependency, poverty and crime that afflicts most townships and suburbs throughout South Africa.

SKILLS

Business literacy and mathematical ability are valuable assets. For many young blacks, these skills can become vital tools with which they can build a better quality of life.

The YEF provides youth with a sound alternative to an actual or potential life of crime or welfare dependency. One of our most significant, thought-provoking and exciting discoveries is that township youth in particular already possess many of the basic characteristics of successful entrepreneurs, namely:

- They confront risk daily;
- They are resilient, intuitive and observant;
- They are creative; and
- They must take great initiative, within a stifling, frustrating environment, just to survive.

But without the proper educational fundamentals, these young people lack good judgment when making choices for themselves. This often leads to crime, drug abuse, unem-

ployment, early pregnancy and total disregard for private and community property.

Through YEF's programmes and activities, young people learn – by starting, financing and managing their own small enterprises and ventures – that entrepreneurship can help them to become self-sufficient.

With our guidance, they can acquire the business skills necessary to become economically independent and hence real participants in society, rather than merely hostile observers or a formidable army of angry, volatile and potentially destructive youth.

The YEF is establishing itself as a national force to ensure that the youth and the communities in which they live obtain the knowledge they need to become successful.

CAPITAL

Whilst compassionate feelings towards the disadvantaged youth are both good and necessary as a sign of concern, they are simply not enough. Feelings must be followed by positive action if real change is to occur.

For change to be substantial and permanent, it is wise to build on the inherent abilities of those one seeks to help. This is the essence of the YEF's approach and the reason, we believe, for its success thus far.

The YEF remains convinced that a rainbow of massive capital injection by the private sector into programmes aimed at inculcating a new culture of entrepreneurship amongst youth in South Africa is urgent. ♦



Press conference before the 18 July fight

Rev Walter Fautroy and Cora Masters leading the way into the Mirage, Las Vegas



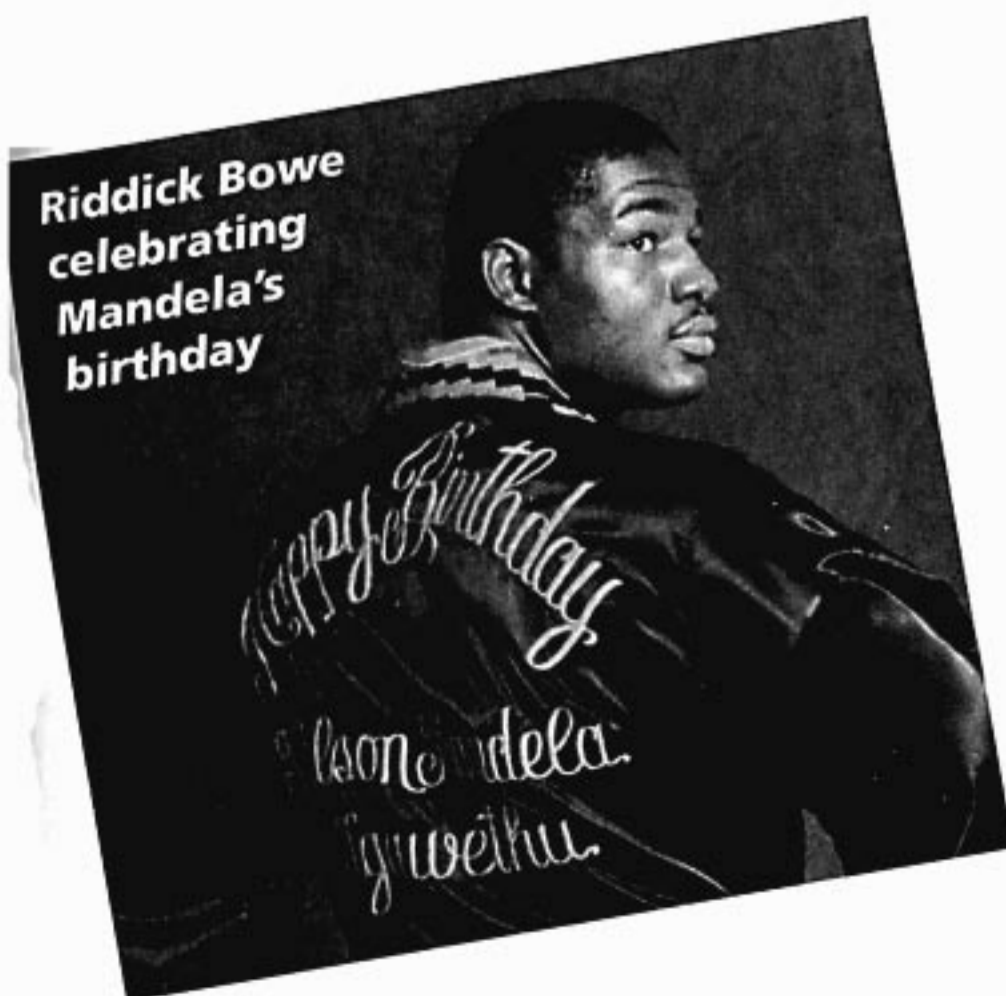
A birthday gift to the people of South Africa!

18 July, the Mirage, Las Vegas. Riddick Bowe facing Pierre Coetzer in the ring. The winner is to qualify to fight the current world heavyweight boxing champion, Evander Holyfield, on 13 November.

Bowe wins with a TKO in the seventh round. The ANC flag is hoisted in the ring and seen on TV screens across the USA. The Bowe team says: "This is our gift to the people of South Africa on Nelson Mandela's birthday!"

18 July is also the birthday of Riddick Bowe Junior, the fighter's son. The entire Bowe team decked themselves out in ANC colours and turned the occasion into a celebration of the ANC's cause.

At a press conference before the fight, Bowe's manager, Rock Newman, said that politics cannot be separated from sport when a South African is involved. Coetzer is a product of apartheid, he added, and the Boipatong massacre highlights the need to "repudiate the regime" (the slogan on the Bowe team T-shirts). ♦



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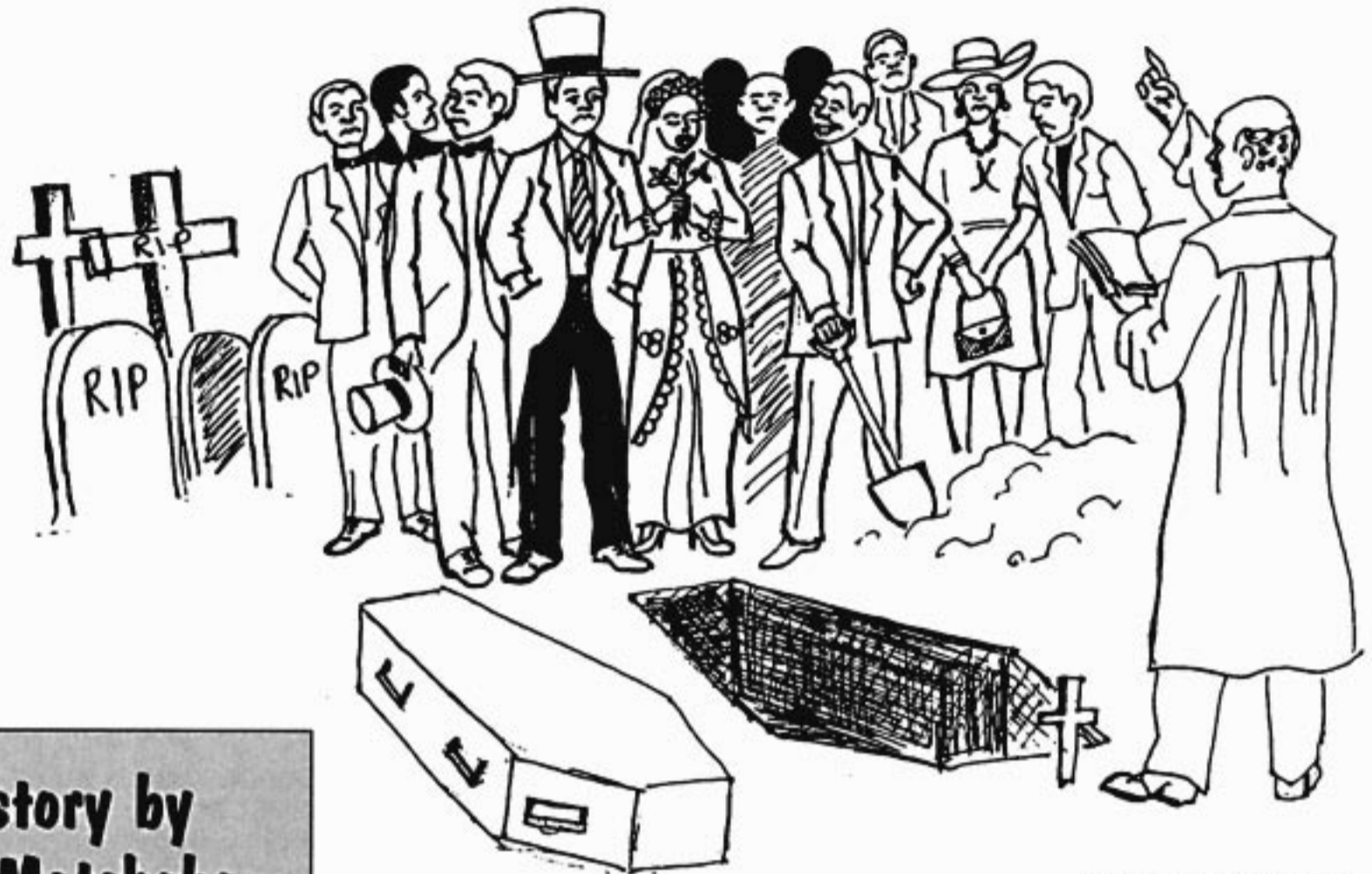
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Up the wrong street



Graphic: Mtutuzeli Matshoba

A short story by Mtutuzeli Matshoba

It is the year 1985 and the people are sick and tired of being pushed around by the boers. So they decide to be simply ungovernable. They are also sick and tired of people who are interested only in themselves. So they have decided to teach them some manners.

Zone Six, Diepkloof. An old man is dead. The people want to bury him with dignity. He had been poor in his lifetime and his people have got nothing to bury him with.

To solve this problem the people go around the neighbourhood collecting donations and some of the shopkeepers offer some food for the burial. At least the poor old man's sympathisers will eat, as custom demands.

Saturday, funeral day. The people start gathering at the bereaved's house as early as nine in the morning, the women wearing black and sad faces. Ntate Leboko had been a kindly old man, they say. Ntate Leboko had never missed a funeral or neighbourhood meeting. When you passed his four-room, where he used to sit outside in the sun, he would call you and interrogate you about what was happening in the world, seeing he had no TV and could not read. The people liked and respected him in

spite of his destitution.

In the street behind his, Mapula is getting married to a liquor rep. They have hired a big tent and slaughtered a cow and four sheep. While the people were singing funeral dirges for the old man at the wake, they had been playing the O'Jays at full blast, which was somewhat irritating.

In response, Vusi wanted the youth to go and help him stop the noise. "*Hayi, suka maan, bayadelela labantu!* Let's go an' discipline them," says he.

"Of course they are arrogant. But let's not interfere. Let them have their fun. After all, marriage signals the beginning of life. Someone is bound to be born as the old man was bound to pass away," replies a voice of reason among the mourners.

Another one says, "Let's not mar the old man's last journey with violence."

So they are left alone to their merrymaking.

"*Maar, one day...!*" swears Vusi. "One day...!"

One day is at ten the next morning. The hearse arrives to take the old man on his last trip, to Avalon.

The people are too many for the available vehicles. But Pitso and Bizza have devised a solu-

tion. Just as the funeral service ends and the mourners rush out to secure space in the cars, vans and combies, Pitso and Bizza arrive driving two Putco busses. They have hijacked them for this one good cause.

Then the wedding people show that they really don't care. Hooters are heard blaring the way they did when John Tate beat Gerrie Coetzee in a world heavyweight title bout some time back or the way they do at Orlando East when Pirates wins a soccer trophy from Kaizer Chiefs. To add insult to injury the motorcade drives down the same sad street, led by a red convertible, with the bride and bridegroom perched on the back seat, grinning from ear to ear and waving handkerchiefs. Following them are a green Mercedes Benz and about three BMWs with the bridesmaids and the groom's company also waving at the world with white gloves and handkerchiefs.

"Sies!" some of the mourners start hissing their disgust at the lack of decency of the entourage. "How can they?"

"Hey *nina*. Stop that racket and turn back," shouts one youth among Vusi's group.

"Maybe they want to join us ..." another suggests.

"Ya. Great idea! Let them come with!"

"Ya! Ya! That'll teach them some respect for the dead," some of the mourners concur and begin to bar the way of the wedding motorcade, forcing the leading car to come to a halt and the others to follow suit.

The driver of the red convertible alights and raises both arms, pleading, "Wait, my people. We didn't realise ..."

His plea is drowned in a barrage of swearing from the irate crowd, "*Voetsek!* You got no manners! You need a lesson you'll never forget! Burn the cars ..."

"Naw, give them a choice. Either we burn the cars or they accompany us to Avalon," suggests Bizza.

The groom joins in the pleading: "Please, my people ..."

"*Voetsek!* Don' waste our time. You heard the choice. Your cars or your company. After all we haven't got enough transport," say the people, already squeezing into the vehicles.

The hearse starts wailing and leading the funeral procession out of the dirt street at a snail's pace, accelerating only when it reaches Old Potchefstroom Road at the main entrance of Baragwanath Hospital opposite the bus rank.

On the way to Avalon nobody utters a single word for some time. So, Sis' Maria decides to sing a *sefela*. Everybody joins in, including the wedding group, bride and all, probably for fear of further of-

fending the mourners. They say if you can't beat them, you join them. The people along the road stop to gape and point.

It is only when the mourners alight from the vehicles at Avalon cemetery that the presiding minister manages to express his embarrassment.

"But why should you spoil these poor people's wedding with such behaviour?" he complains.

"*Bayadelela labantu, maan, mfundisi*. They should be thanking their ancestors that they have not accompanied the old man all the way to heaven," comes an indignant reply from the crowd.

"But it is just not right."

"Was it right what they did? You just perform your divine duty or go home, *mfundisi*," someone else retorts and, realising that his protest is futile, the man of God shakes his head in dismay at what the world has come to, opens his Bible and leads the pallbearers to the open grave.

The band of uncompromising youth orders the terrified nuptial troupe to follow immediately after the pallbearers. As they do so, some of the mourners whisper, "Sha-a-me, the poor bride. What a bad omen for the marriage."

"One can't be faint-hearted about custom," others say. "They should have known better than parade happily down that sad street. This is a lesson they'll never forget."

Mourners from other funerals noticed that there was something curious about this funeral. Some of them started by pointing and then went nearer to make sure that they were seeing right and had to catch their lower jaws before they dropped to the ground.

They doubt their own sanity and perhaps also that of the wedding entourage when they see the groom and his company starting to fill the grave with soil.

When the mourners return to Ntate Leboko's for the customary washing of the hands and a light meal before dispersing, the hotheads decide that, since the wedding party had accompanied the old man on his last trip, they are also bound to wash their hands and eat before they can resume their own ceremony.

Seeing that the food is not enough for all the mourners anyway, the youth jump fences to the other street and return with some of the three-legged pots from the wedding feast to supplement the funeral food. Word of the bizarre incident has been spreading throughout Diepkloof and people have come to see for themselves.

In times of social turbulence, life assumes the most inexplicable twists and turns. What could have been tears of joy for the bride turned out to be tears of sorrow. Either way, it leaves a sour taste in the mouth. ♦

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Fare ye well, Generals

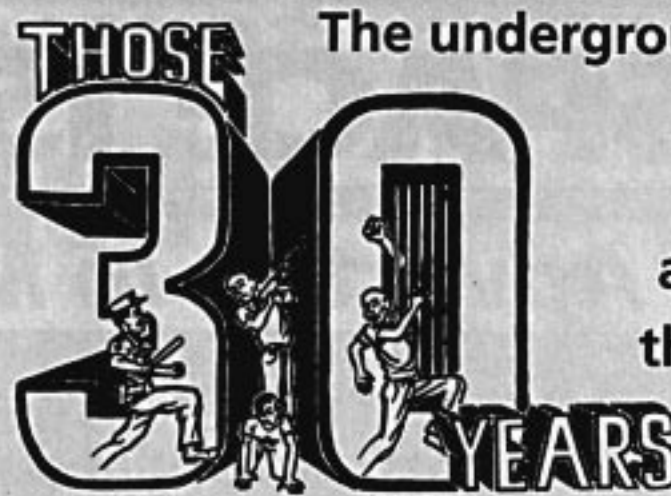
I've had some personal experiences with three of the generals who have just been retired. The first one I know is General Coetzee. He was one of those who tortured me when I was first detained in June 1975 and they wanted names of various people.

It's clear from his physical appearance that he had been on the rough side of life. Half his ear has been bitten off by some criminal. I remember what happened after getting electric shocks. Although they were on my testicles, they seem to have transmitted to my arm as well and my elbow was swollen up to about twice its size. It was very sore and this General Coetzee grabbed me by that arm and squeezed it.

General Erasmus is the man I had a lot to do with in recent times and I want to say: "Goodbye General Erasmus, goodbye." Our careers had been interlocked at a certain time. I was detained in 1986, on the day they declared the second state of emergency. As we were leaving the airport I heard a radio conversation and Erasmus was apparently the person on the other side, saying: "Gaan jy hom 'n ding of twee wys?" So I prepared myself for the possibility of torture again.

They took me to search my office at Wits where I was a lecturer. As I was leaving I indicated to the staff that I'd heard this radio conversation and I wanted them to bring an interdict preventing them from torturing me. They whisked me away as quickly as possible and when we got into the car a Major Oosthuisen said: "Now we are meeting the real Raymond Suttner", as if I had broken some sacred bond between myself and the police which entitled them to do what they like with my body.

I was lying in a cell in John Vorster Square a few days later when I got an undertaking through the courts that the police wouldn't torture me. This is where I had met Erasmus for the first time. In the course of an exchange he said to me: "What



The underground, detention, jail, exile. Abnormal experiences from abnormal times. For those 30 years when the ANC was banned, its

activists often avoided capture, torture or death only by luck or quick wits. *MAYIBUYE* recounts some of the amazing tales. Contributions are welcome.

job are you going to get when the blacks take over?" I said: "I don't know what job I'm going to get but I know what job I want. That's a prosecutor, so that I could put some of you people in jail for the crimes you've committed." It's the sort of remark which I came to feel I should have modified to some extent: I was in jail for 27 months and my lawyer told me that Erasmus still remembered my "threat" to put him in jail.

It obviously affected Erasmus' attitude towards me. At one point he told my lawyer that I was going to stay in jail as long as he was in Johannesburg. I looked at *Die Beeld* appointment columns, hoping that General Erasmus would get a transfer. Eventually he was transferred to Pretoria. I don't know how long it took after that for me to be released. But in a sense our careers were tied together, and his promotion was part of the process of my getting out of detention.

In prison we used to feel that many of those who ill-treated us eventually got moved as a result of our complaints, and then got promoted. I think this was the case with Erasmus after a sterling performance in making a misery of the lives of a lot of detainees. Erasmus was made a general, and maybe I was part of that process.

I don't know General Gloy very well. I was just interrogated by him when I was convicted in 1975.

I'm not a prosecutor yet, and Erasmus has retired with a fat pension. I hope my story – in this De Klerk's new South Africa – will not lead to some attention being paid to me. I hope they will retire completely and quietly await their colleagues who continue to "serve and protect" apartheid. ♦

Raymond Suttner

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The long journey of Clement Zulu

Video Film Review • Directed by Liz Fish

(To obtain a copy, contact Clare van Zyl, 2 Vredehoek Ave, Oranjezicht, 8001, Phone: 021-461-9509)

This is a film of enormous importance to all South Africans. Yet it was made with foreign funding for the BBC and has been seen by only a handful of South Africans. The SABC must be forced to screen films of this nature.

The film captures the experience of three men released from Robben Island after the unbanning of the ANC - MK combatant, James Mange, ANC NEC member, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) organiser, Clement Zulu. All three stories provide profound insight into the very special people who have gone to jail for fighting apartheid. But the focus is far broader than political activism. The film's richness comes from showing the whole person in his political and social context, best illustrated by the story of Clement Zulu.

Clement Zulu is from Nongoma in KwaZulu. He planned to marry a woman called Thelma, but to survive he had to work on a mine near Witbank. He became active in the NUM. He was detained several times during the 1986 state of emergency. Eventually he was brought to trial and sent to Robben Island for seven years because, the state claimed, he was a "terrorist", a member of the then banned ANC.

DANGEROUS

Clement Zulu met ANC cadres for the first time when he arrived on Robben Island. He was actually afraid of them at first because he had always heard the government say these people were dangerous

and should be killed. The ANC organised political education programmes on the Island. Clement Zulu said these discussions made him feel proud because they confirmed that he had been telling the workers the truth.

After serving five years of his sentence, Clement Zulu was released. He had no idea how he was going to survive. He went first to Witbank where the community welcomed him in an all-night festival of black, green and gold. Then he made his way to Nongoma.

He was not sure how to approach his family. Should he tell them that he was back because of the mercy of God? Or should he talk politics? Thelma did not come to meet him and his mother was terrified that his presence would unleash the vengeance of the KwaZulu Police on the family.

AT RISK

He could not stay in Nongoma because his life was at risk from Inkatha. He tried to get his job back on the mine at Witbank. Not only was he turned down, but mine security escorted him off the premises. Commenting on the experience, he said that if you change laws on paper, but not in people's minds, you haven't changed anything at all.

Eventually he began working as an NUM organiser in Newcastle. He and Thelma began to rebuild a life together. Clement says he understands how frightening things have been for her.

She says that when Clement was sentenced, the only thing she knew about people going to



James Mange and Clement Zulu (front left and centre) arriving by boat

Clement Zulu "much more helpful" to Thelma since his release



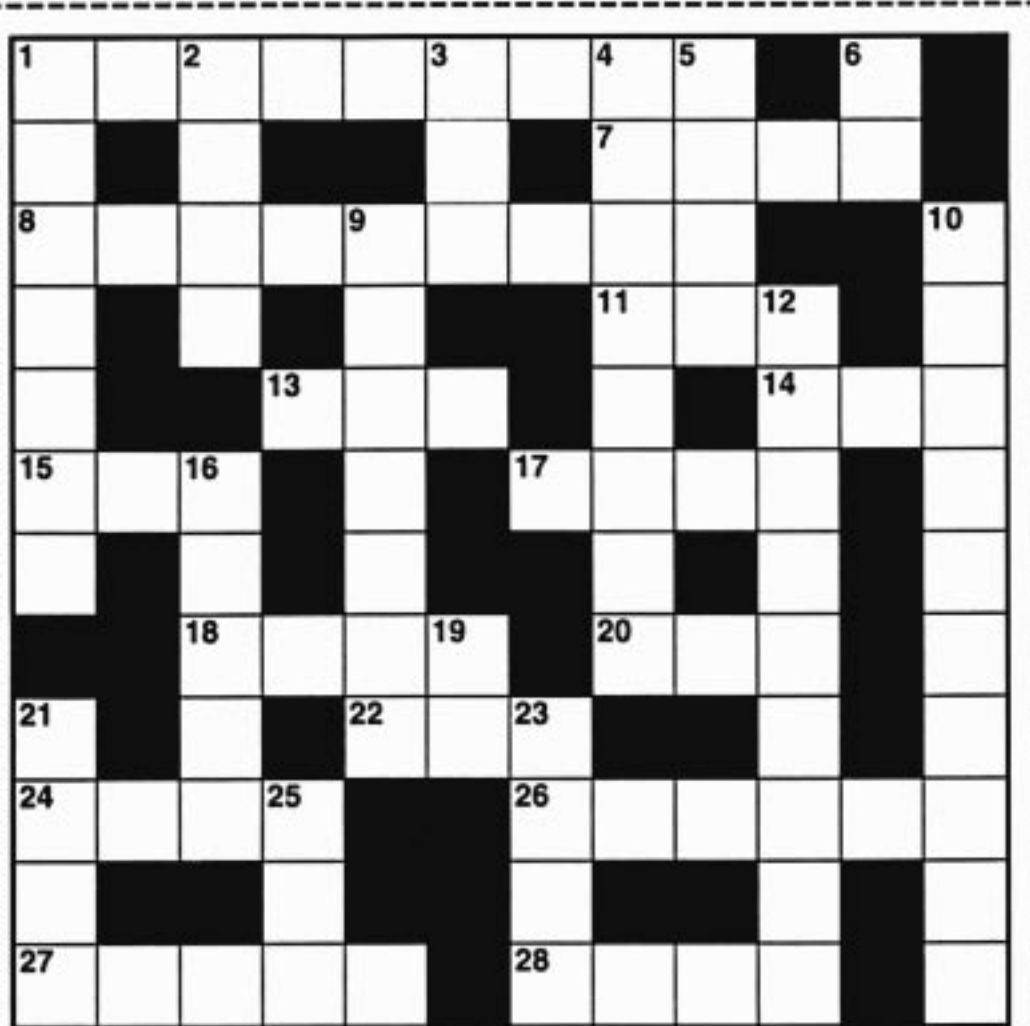
Making a new life in Newcastle



Robben Island was that you would never see them again. Now she is beginning to understand a little about how Clement ended up there. She has noticed that since his return, he is much more helpful to her, particularly with household work. She thinks that they have a promising future if "they don't kill him". That is the only thing she is afraid of ... ♦

- LD

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 14



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KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT THE ANC**

Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 12



Across

1. Sworn statement.
7. "The ... " is the mouthpiece of the ANC Women's League.
8. Trial of Nazi war criminals.
11. Formal acknowledgment of debt.
13. Refuses to negotiate till the government addresses its demands.
14. Lives in convent.
15. Dismissed striking hospital workers.
17. MK cadre hanged (with Xulu) in 1986?
18. "Walking the last ... to freedom."
20. Day before event.
22. Law/decree.
24. Rod connecting pair of wheels of vehicle.
26. Northernmost state of United States.
27. Choose by vote.
28. Chancellor of Germany.

Down

1. The regime wants it for government and security forces' members who committed serious apartheid crimes.
2. De Villiers is a former member of the "Hammer" unit who was murdered on his ... in Addo.
3. Right-wing group granted permission by the SAP to run military camps.
4. Supply land with water.
5. Country in West Africa.
6. Joe Slovo was once its Chief-of-Staff.
9. One of the founders of ANC Youth League.
10. Formed to divide South Africans tribally.
12. ... suffrage means a vote for all adults.
16. Kader ... is a member of the ANC's NEC.
19. Douglas Hurd recently led an "... troika" on a fact-finding mission to SA.
21. Income tax.
23. Armoured vehicle moving on Caterpillar tracks.
25. Campaigns for ending conscription.



WINNER!

The winner of
MAYIBUYE XWORD No 12
is Paul Mashiane
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CONGRATULATIONS!



RULES

1. The first correct entry drawn wins.
2. Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
3. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
4. **MAYIBUYE**, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
5. Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE XWORD No 14**, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
6. Closing date: 15 November 1992.
7. See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, December 1992.

WIN A TRIP FOR TWO TO PE !

Because **MAYIBUYE** did not have a triangle on the front cover of the August issue, readers have another chance to enter the **MAYIBUYE Airscape Competition No 2**. The draw date has now been extended to **15 October 1992**. The winner will be announced in the November issue of **MAYIBUYE**.

Fly to PE and stay two nights (bed and breakfast) at a hotel

QUESTIONS

1. When was **MAYIBUYE** first published in South Africa?
a. 1912 b. 1976 c. 1990
2. Where is **MAYIBUYE** published?
a. Cape Town b. Durban
c. Johannesburg
3. Where do you buy your monthly copy of **MAYIBUYE**?
a. CNA b. Street corner news stands
c. Cafe d. House to house sellers
e. Place of employment f. Subscription
4. Name three articles which appeared in the issue of **MAYIBUYE** in which you found this competition.

RULES

No 2

1. Only one entry per person.
2. Send your entry to **MAYIBUYE Airscape Competition No 2**, PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
 - Print your full name, address, phone number (if any) and answers on a separate sheet of paper.
 - Cut out from the cover the triangle containing the words "Win a trip to PE" and send it with your entry.
3. Closing date 15 October 1992
4. The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
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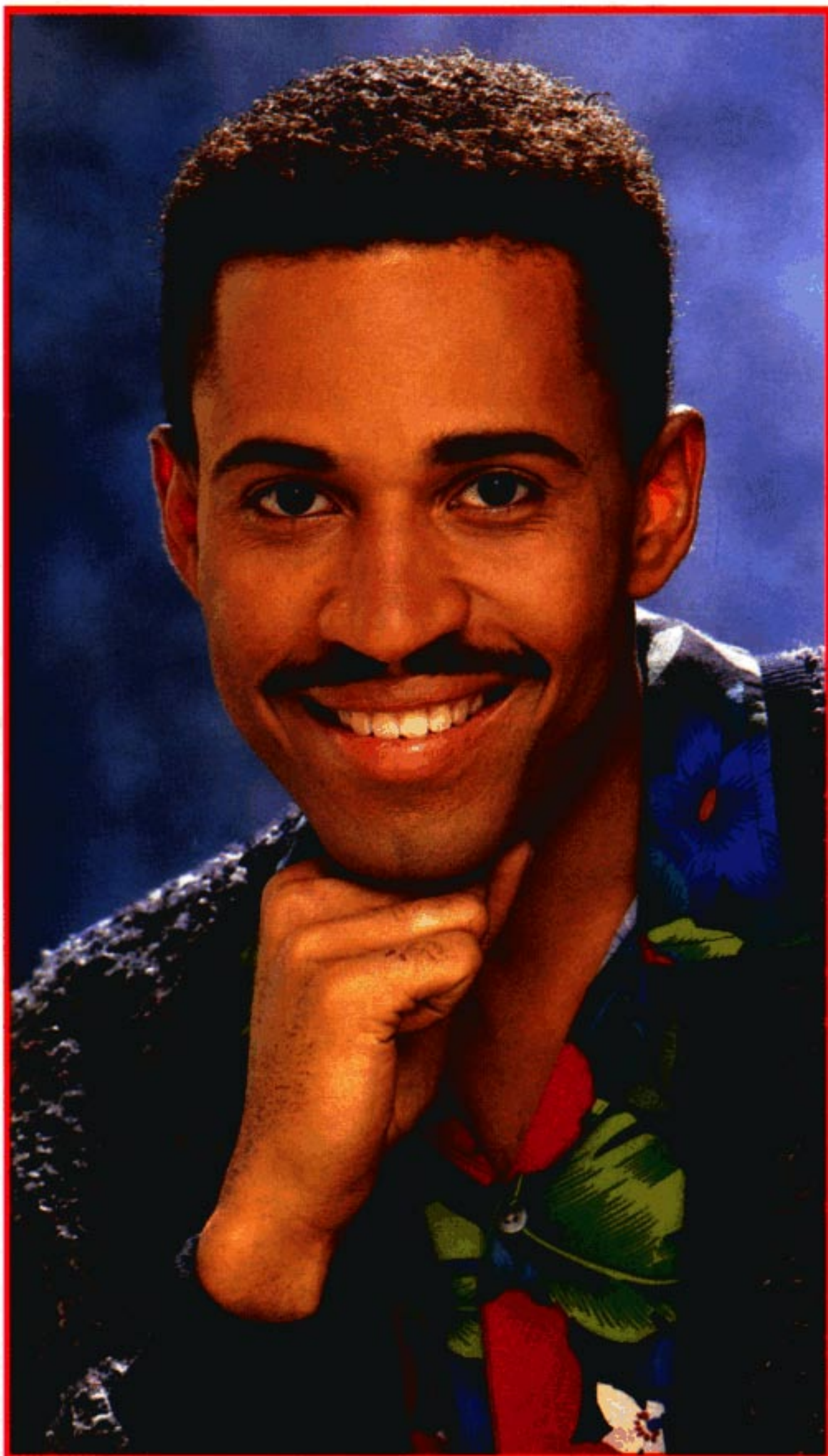
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