

Journal of the African National Congress

MAYIBUYE

November 1992

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MAYIBUYE

Volume 3, No 10 • November 1992

In this issue:

REGULARS

- 3 Editorial
- 4 Readers speak out
- 6 News roundup
- 44 On the bookshelf
- 45 Play Review: *Some of my best friends are cultural workers*

CURRENT SCENE

- 2 Photo page: Away with the racist parliament!
- 8 Sunrise and sunset: negotiations in the new phase
- 18 Welfare and Wham: the Lebowa experience
- 19 Water: a political weapon
- 30 Angola: any chance for democracy?

ANC

- 12 Mass action: towards an integrated strategy
- 14 KwaZulu: repression north of the Tugela
- 16 Vryheid: a patriotic chief besieged

FEATURES

- 21 Asinamali: food for all
- 24 Umkhonto soldiers come out of prison: interviews with Mthethleli Mncube, Robert McBride and Mzondeleli Nondula
- 28 Pension pay-offs: South Africa's answer to Swiss bank accounts
- 33 Democratic economic decision-making

SERIES

- 35 Opinion: Strategy conference needed • Political youth organisations – what future? • De Klerk must apologise for the crimes of apartheid

THE LIGHTER SIDE

- 40 *A letter to my mother* by Baleka Kgositsile
- 43 Those 30 years: tales of the underground, detention, jail and exile
- 46 Xword competition
- 47 New competition: win a trip to East London

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• 8-11 Sunrise and sunset: *negotiations in the new phase*



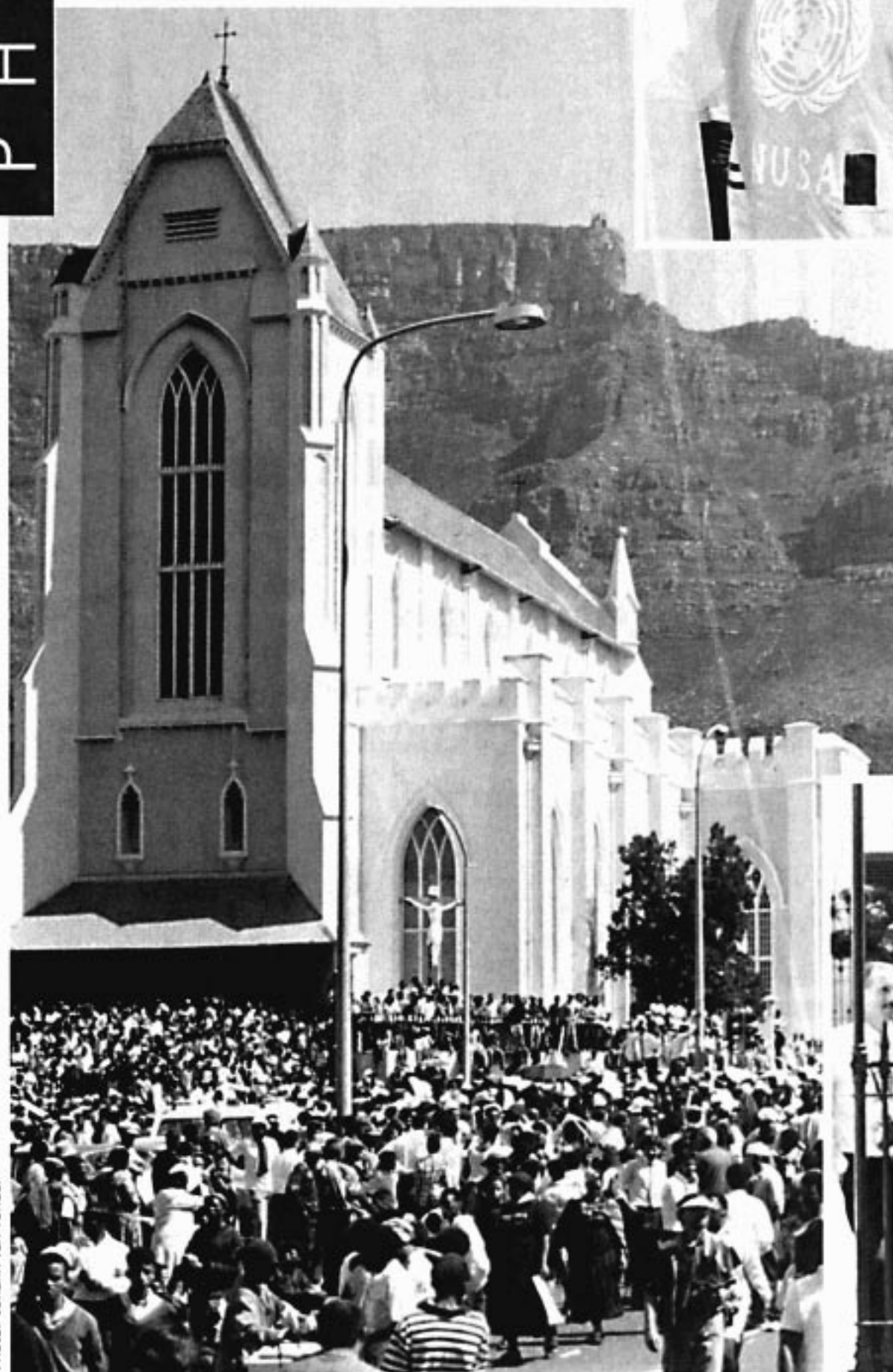
• 30-32 Angola: *any chance for democracy?*

Away with the racist parliament

Below: The people gather to rename *Stalplein* Luthuli Square as part of the anti-parliament demo in Cape Town on 12 October.



Above: UN monitors observing the march on parliament



Below: The SAP on the other side of the fence



Photo: Johann van Tonder

Photo: Johann van Tonder

Dictators cannot be appeased

Angola has reached the edge of a precipice and it is trying to draw back. An all-consuming civil war can be averted.

It all started with a leader whose self-delusion made the bitter pill of electoral defeat hard to swallow. Sulking, he decided to bring into play the only strength he commands: spoiler-power. And the world was left wondering: where is Savimbi, the democrat, only recently feted in some Western capitals and South Africa as the challenge to an MPLA dictatorship that lacked all credibility and support!

There are parallels in South Africa. That is why the Angolan story is so alarming and yet so timeous.

Constitutional negotiations are resuming in earnest.

The implementation of agreements reached at the recent ANC/NP government Summit is critical to the whole process. The significance of this is partly that the agreements are being challenged by parties which are small, but command that dubious quality: spoiler-power.

It is not inconceivable that, despite their churlish noises, they will all be at the table when multilateral negotiations resume. Their challenge to the Record of Understanding is a crucial test for the future. Will their spoiler-power be allowed to hamstring the entire process? If forced to concede at the table, will they grumble, Savimbi-style, after the elections?

The crucial lesson from Angola is that democracy as such cannot be held

hostage by those who, except in words, view it with disdain.

This is a lesson FW de Klerk and his government still have to learn. As in Angola, where Pik Botha tried to drive as hard a bargain as possible for an erstwhile friend, so it is in South Africa.

A tirade against the ANC – to the point of the absurd – is De Klerk's response to the challenge against the Record of Understanding. Blaming the violence on blacks themselves is his argument, when Buthlezi, his employee, sulks. Gqozo is still in office, now more actively assisted by the SADF in massive repression.

The ANC needs to mount pressure on Pretoria to ensure free political activity, the implementation of agreements reached and a speedy transition to a Constituent Assembly and Interim Government.

An integrated strategy is needed – combining popular mobilisation and skilful engagement – to narrow the terrain of manoeuvre of the regime and its allies. Their capacity to wreak havoc must be undermined.

After all, it is powerful forces in government who are encouraging the bantustan dictators to delay the whole process. While portraying the NP as clean and respectable in preparation for elections, they are rest assured of spoilers who will stand them in good stead to drive a hard bargain.

Constitutional negotiations are resuming. But nothing must be taken for granted. The going will be tough. ♦

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Readers speak out

ULUNDI MARCH

Dear comrades

I think that when we march on the KwaZulu homeland we must carry our traditional weapons since we are also Zulus. Our president, Nelson Mandela, has also accepted traditional weapons as part of our culture.

MS, Westonaria

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Dear comrades

One wonders what the government means when it talks of freedom of expression. A few weeks back Addo's Andre de Villiers was murdered. Three MK members were arrested in connection with the murder.

Swiftly, Major General Koos Calitz jumped to the press to announce: "The ANC must explain to the members of the public why a man who supplied them with information (Hammer Unit) should be gunned down by their own MK."

You would have expected this from a politician like Minister Hernus Kriel on TV or in parliament.

The Major General's statement – given his high rank – calls the reputation of the entire South African Police into question. Without restricting the public's right to know, Calitz is guilty of being an accomplice to NP's vilification of the ANC.

XHOSA KINGS

Dear comrades

I would like to know why Contralesa has not been commemorating the Xhosa kings. During the time of the Cape Colony under the British governor (Lord Charles Somerset) in 1834, King Hintsa was killed and his head taken to Britain. This was followed by the death of King Sandile in 1879 and King Sarhili, son of Hintsa, in 1893. This brought to an end the line of succession.



*King Sarhili,
son of Hintsa*

Contralesa should look for the Xhosa to fill the space. Chiefs such as Holomisa and Nelson Aa! Dalibhunga Mandela must check for the revival of our dignity. Contralesa must demand the return of the head of Hintsa.

The reincorporation of our land must be treated as a priority. Butterworth must once again become the royal kraal of our Xhosa nation, as it was during the time of King Hintsa.

Those kings who did not fight against the whites during the Battle of kaNgcayechibi in 1879 have seen their land increase. This land must be given to its rightful owners.

BJK, Cookhouse

A person is not guilty unless found guilty by a court of law, not a police official. Calitz has no alternative but to honour the police profession, not the NP, and resign.

At the same time, MK is not above the law. If an MK cadre trespasses the law the law of justice, not of humiliation, must take its course.

SF, Plettenberg Bay

OPEN LETTER TO DOUGLAS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Your commission, linked to the conservative International Freedom Foundation in Washington, desperately needs information about allegations of "torture and beating" at ANC camps abroad to be made public.

As Duncan Sellars (*Star* 27 August 1992) has said you want to "help the ANC come clean" on its past and "bolster true democrats

within the ANC against hardliners aligned with the SACP".

You want it to appear you are genuine in your commitment to human rights. What purpose will the information serve when you only aim to drag the name of the ANC in mud?

Will you or are you asking those "exiles" (who are providing you with "information") why they fled the country in the first place?

What were their links with the Security Branch? Were they double agents as Craig Williamson or outright traitors such as Odile Harrington, Thwala, and Hlongwane?

The ANC has acknowledged that numerous genuine cadres such as Dr P Jordan were wronged by the ANC.

Why does the Commission not put to better use its resources to fund development projects in this country? ...

Just cross the Rubicon and recognise the real problems camouflaged as intractable.

MNA, Mamelodi West

HLONGWANE

Dear comrades

Why is the ANC and *MAYIBUYE* allowing Pat Hlongwane (*MAYIBUYE* August 1992) to appear in this magazine?

Your report points out that he was involved in killing many comrades. Why does the ANC allow his activities? Does the ANC enjoy having its members killed?

XN, Langa

Ed: Shouldn't we expose Hlongwane for what he is?

WINNIE MANDELA

Dear comrades

Indeed the matter of the PWV Women's League is best left to the disciplinary hearings to pass judgement. However, some distortions in NM's

letter (*MAYIBUYE* October 1992) cannot go without comment.

NM refers to "the sacking of Cde Winnie". Cde Winnie resigned as head of the Department of Social Welfare in the full glare of cameras at a press conference. To say she was sacked is to spread a malicious lie about the ANC leadership.

NM claims that the media attacked Cde Winnie "with the assistance of senior leaders". Details of this vague but dangerous sweeping statement must be made available.

BR, Bez Valley

LIBERAL HYPOCRITES

Dear comrades
I wish to bring to the ANC's attention circulars distributed by the Anglo-American Corporation regarding the stayaway and mass action.

They are clearly aimed at intimidating workers not to support the calls made by the ANC.

Over and above the circulars, there was a management brief where it was clearly stated that all leave applications from Wednesday 5 August onwards will not be approved.

However, I am a black employee in the company and subscribe to the ANC's ideology and policies. As for the mass action, I am prepared to pay the price and will challenge any disciplinary action against me.

I hope this gives you a clearer picture of the liberals you deal with.
AE, Johannesburg



Gay pride march in Johannesburg,

Photo: Vrye Weekblad

GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS

Dear comrades
Mbali Mncadi's definition of homophobia as "discrimination against homosexual men and women" is incorrect and misleading especially in the South African context.

The word "discrimination" immediately equates homosexuality with racial discrimination which has been rejected not only in South Africa but many parts of the world.

Through her shrewdness Mbali manipulates the situation so that people come to support the idea of homosexuality.

The word "homophobia" is derived from "homo" – which is used to refer to homosexual relations – and "phobia". The latter refers to "morbid or pathological fear". In actual fact "phobia" is a disease.

The word "homophobia" is used to instil a sense of guilt and shame, giving way to the acceptance of homosexuality. By using words such as "progressive sexuality" or "non-sexist sexuality" it is hoped that we can buy the idea of homosexuality.

According to Mbali, if homosexuals are given their rights they could actually get "married" – another misuse of words. "Marriage" denotes two aspects which are essential: it means a union of two people and a procreation of another human being.

Instead of describing the rest of us homophobic, why don't you describe homosexuals as "heterophobic"? Is it not true that gays fear that if they penetrate, then their penis would disappear? That lesbians fear that once they are penetrated they will never wake up in the morning?

Should homosexuals be isolated and be discriminated against? No! I believe in and assert the humanity of all homosexuals. In this way, any kind of discrimination is intrinsically evil and it is against humanity. Homosexuals should, instead, be subjected to an extensive psychological counselling either by professional psychologists or by the elders.

BM, Hilton

WHITEWASH

Dear comrades
I want to thank the DP member whose letter appeared in the June issue of *MAYIBUYE*. His suggestion that President Mandela must go to white areas to canvass views is a good idea.

However, most of the white people see Mandela as nothing but a communist because they have

been so whitewashed by the regime's media.

President Mandela should concentrate on speaking to the people in the townships, we have enough power to win.

At the same time I call upon our dear DP member – don't be shy, join the masses and be counted for a better future.

SN, Soweto

Write to:



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N

E

W

S

roundup

Collective responsibility for abuses

The ANC has issued to the public the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Complaints by Former ANC Prisoners and Detainees. The ANC leadership accepts ultimate responsibility for not adequately monitoring and, therefore, eradicating such abuses.

Addressing a press conference, ANC President Nelson Mandela said that despite the alleged and sometimes proven serious crimes – in the service of the apartheid regime – for which various individuals were detained, the ANC believes that the morality of the liberation struggle demanded and still demands of it the highest moral and ethical standards.

He regretted that, due to the speed with which the investigation had to be completed, evidence was not heard from some individuals who could have assisted the commission in arriving at its findings.

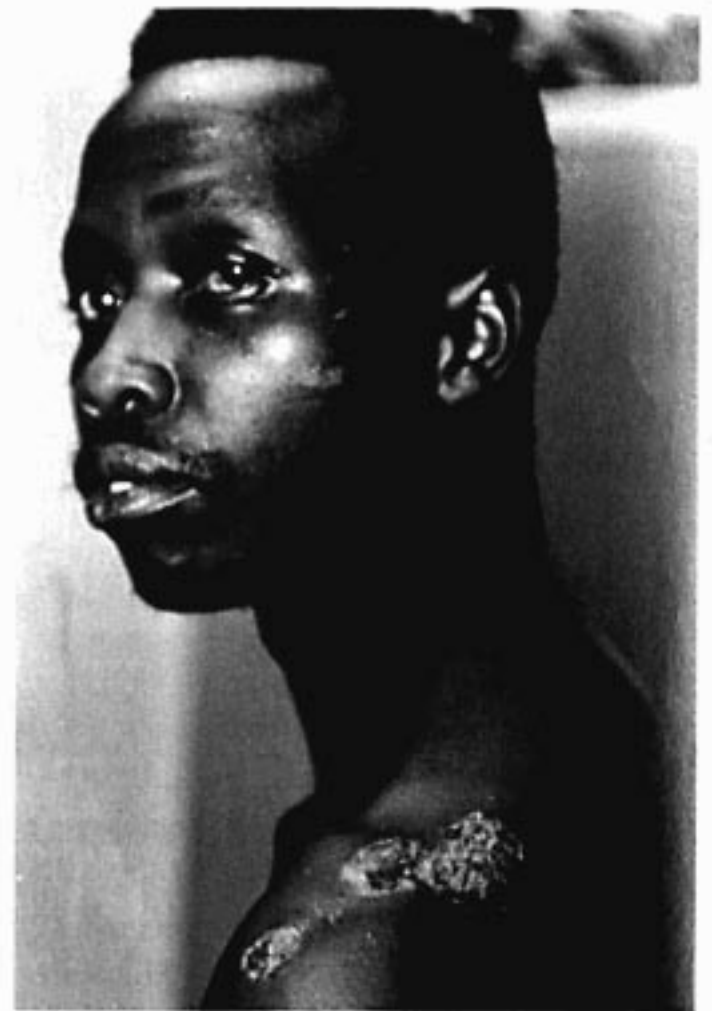
“Such evidence, in the view of the NWC, includes factual information about such issues as:

- the difficult conditions under which all cadres and persons under the care of the ANC lived, given our meagre resources;
- the actual status of, and rules governing, such residential areas as Dakawa in Tanzania;
- the inaccuracies in some of the sources which the commission used as authoritative reference; and
- the time frame within which most of the abuses occurred and the corrective measures undertaken,” said Mandela.

He also said the specific recommendations of the commission will be considered as a matter of urgency. They include:

- Unequivocal and unconditional withdrawal of allegations against those detained without trial;
- Monetary compensation for those who were maltreated;

ANC member Vusi Nzima was beaten by police at his home in Tembisa. He was then taken to the police station where he was beaten again. No charges were laid against him.



Attacks on ANC members increase

Unknown gunmen are on the rampage in Thokoza. On 11 October Themba Xaba who works at MK Headquarters, was shot as he returned to Thokoza from an ANC march in Katilehong. He suffered serious injuries and was taken to Natalspruit hospital.

The next morning he saw his attackers moving around the hospital, apparently searching for him. Fearing for his life, the ANC arranged that he be transferred. On 15 October, Themba's brother was viciously assaulted and shot dead outside a friend's house in Thokoza.

The attacks on the Xaba brothers fit into a broader pattern of intimidation, assaults and murders directed at ANC and MK members throughout the country.

- Medical and psychological assistance;
- Educational assistance;
- Compensation for loss of property; and
- Identification and dealing with those responsible.

Gqozo licensed to kill

One of the most critical consequences of the Bisho Massacre is the licence to kill that has been given to the Ciskei authorities, according to the ANC.

The Ciskei Defence Force has, in open collaboration with the South African Defence Force, conducted extensive raids that have resulted in repression and intimidation becoming the order of the day. A few incidents include:

- The Middledrift home of ANC NEC member Wilton Mkwai was attacked by petrol bombs.
- At about the same time, the home of ANC Border Information Officer, Mcebisi Bata, was attacked with grenades. One person was killed.
- On 15 October Ciskei police detained Lindile Yam, the Border commander of MK. He is held under Section 26 of the National Security Act, which, in essence, is detention without trial. Lawyers have been denied access to him.

According to the ANC, these attacks are becoming a pattern in Ciskei, with similar attacks in Msobomvu, near Alice, where homes of activists and ANC members have also been attacked with

grenades. Members of the Ciskei security police, who were clearly identified by residents, participated in these attacks.

"This escalating violence targeting the whole of the Eastern Cape will have disastrous consequences for the process of transition, and threatens to develop into the type of conflict prevalent in Natal and the PWV," says the ANC.

Shaky peace in Mozambique

Mozambique's peace agreement hangs in the balance after the reported seizure by Renamo guerrillas of three government-held towns.

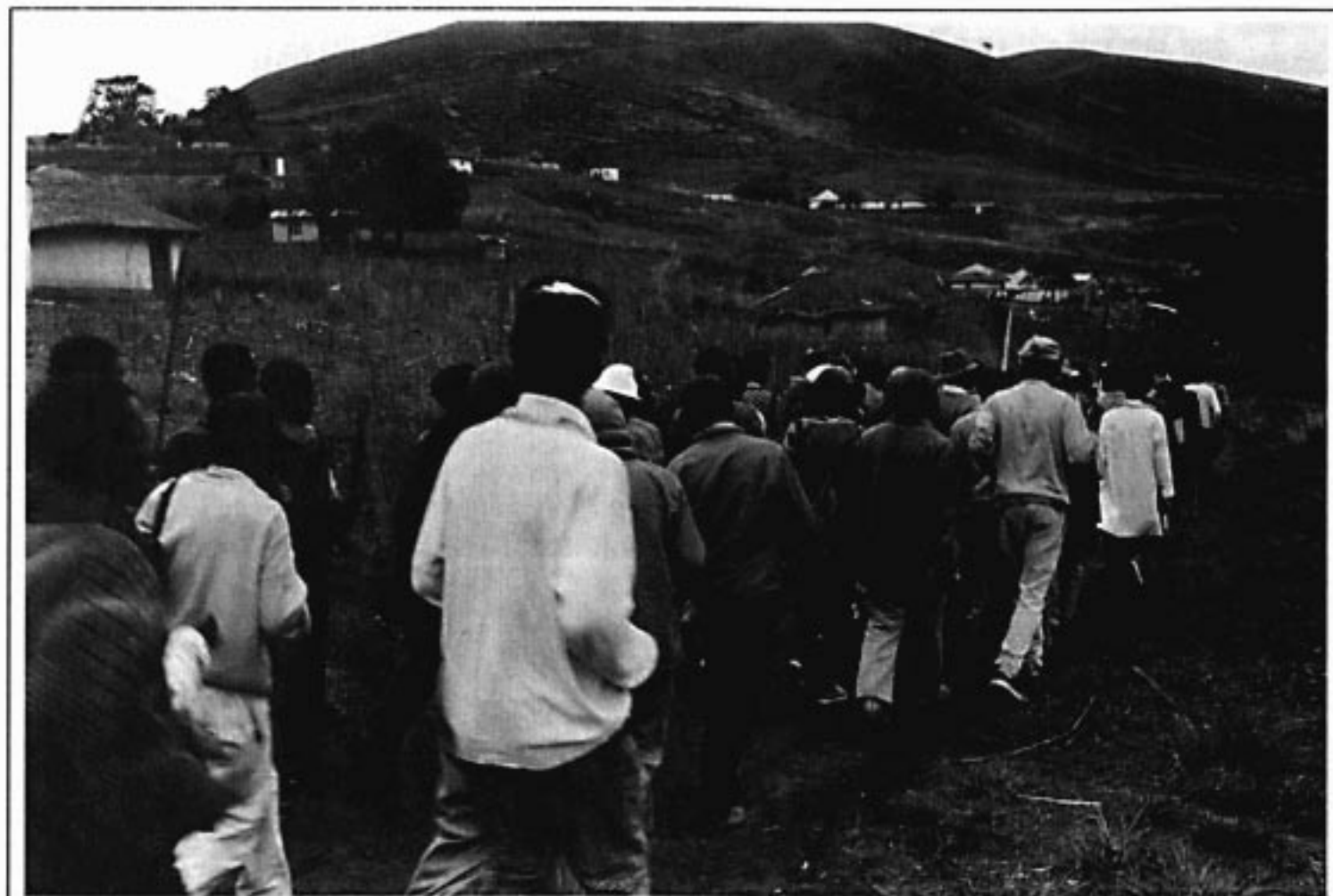
The attacks have jeopardised the peace agreement which Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama signed with President Joaquim Chissano in Rome on 4 October. The 16-year civil war in Mozambique has cost more than 600 000 lives and devastated the economy.

A ceasefire was supposed to have formally taken effect on 15 October and UN military observers are in Mozambique to monitor the pact. Land-grabbing by either side is barred by the agreement, which is supposed to lead to multi-party elections in one year.

Indemnity Bill opposed

The perpetrators of crimes in the name of apartheid should publicly confess their misdeeds and repent if there is to be hope of true reconciliation and peace in a future democratic South Africa, the Western Province Council of Churches said on 19 October.

The message was delivered during a lunch-time meeting at the metropolitan Methodist Church in response to the government's controversial Further Indemnity Bill introduced in Parliament on 16 October. If passed, the legislation will enable a government-appointed council to grant indemnity after



Richmond refugees barred from returning

Richmond is still tense, following the return of refugees who fled violence in the area over the past year.

One person was killed on 17 October in Phatheni, a township near Richmond, when Inkatha supporters at-

tacked refugees returning to the area. Several meetings to secure their safe return have been unsuccessful, with the local chief being the main obstacle.

Phatheni's chief Z Dlamini wants the refugees to return

via him to apologise for "misbehaving" so that he can brief them on customs adhered to in his area. The ANC has rejected these conditions, claiming that the chief is an IFP supporter, and is not a neutral traditional authority.

secret hearings for politically motivated crimes.

The church meeting was followed by a march to Parliament by several church leaders and human rights activists. Participants included Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and WPCC chairman Father Courtney Sampson and a member of the Muslim Judicial Council.

A statement condemning the introduction of the Bill was handed to African National Congress member and independent MP Jannie Momberg who undertook to introduce it during the joint sitting of Parliament on 27 October.

The statement, for the attention of Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee, spelt out how amnesty should be conducted in the transition. WPCC theological officer Shun Govender said the principles were:

- Amnesty must be preceded by full and proper disclosure of

the persons and deeds for which it is being granted. Such confessions are necessary for forgiveness while disclosures are necessary for amnesty.

- The guilty cannot pardon themselves in advance. A decision for amnesty must emanate from a body representative of the whole society, that is both the guilty and the grieving from all sides.
- Amnesty means forgiving, not forgetting. It is a technique of legal amnesia, not an obliteration of memory.

"For these reasons, at least, we reject the Amnesty Bill currently before Parliament as a transparent attempt by an unrepresentative relic of the unjust past to apply for redemption of its evil deeds. Such a step must wait for a fully democratic law-making authority representative of all the people of South Africa," Govender added. ♦

Sunrise and Sunset:

The ANC and the NP government are finalising preparations for a wide-ranging bilateral meeting to discuss the whole negotiations package. In this article, *MAYIBUYE* examines views of ANC leaders on an on-going debate about the new phase.

The ANC is convinced that a comprehensive bilateral meeting with the NP government is crucial before multi-party negotiations resume.

"This is not because we want to strike a cosy deal with the government," explains ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa. "It became very clear in Codesa itself, that if the ANC and the NP government are at loggerheads, nothing moves forward. So the bilateral will facilitate multi-party negotiations."

Ramaphosa would not be drawn on the details of the agenda for what has become popularly known as *lekgotla/bosberaad*.

But judging from Codesa's successes and failures, there is a whole host of issues that need to be settled. Details on the Constituent Assem-



Anti-parliament demo, 12 October



"It became very clear in Codesa that if the ANC and the NP government are at loggerheads, nothing moves forward. So the bilateral will facilitate multi-party negotiations."

Cyril Ramaphosa

Negotiations in the new phase



"It is only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we resorted to arms, while, for the regime, it was the failure of arms that imposed the obligation to concede the need for negotiations."

Thabo Mbeki

bly, constitutional principles, regions during the transition, electoral law, free political activity, amnesty, time frames...name them.

"The aim," says Cyril Ramaphosa, "is to tie up the loose ends so that by the time multi-party negotiations resume, we are able to move forward with speed."

What about dissent from other parties? The grumbling from some black groups and their white extreme right-wing allies after the recent ANC/NP government summit cannot be ignored altogether. For its part, the ANC will continue to consult all Patriotic Front allies, and it intends to have a meeting with the Democratic Party, as part of preparations for the *lekgotla*.

"The regime has got an equal responsibility with regard to its allies," Ramaphosa argues. "But as ANC we will be trying to consult

even with parties which do not agree with us. What is also important is that the regime should stick to agreements it has entered into."

What then are the priorities? "Building on the previous two phases," says Thabo Mbeki, "we must aim to conclude as speedily as possible all the issues that remain outstanding from the agenda of Codesa II, establish all the statutory structures for the period leading up to the Constituent Assembly and prepare for elections for this body."

Does this require any change of tack on the part of the ANC in its approach to negotiations? "Negotiations have always been the first option of the liberation movement and the last option of the racist regime," Mbeki argues. "It is only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we resorted to arms, while, for the regime, it was the failure of arms that imposed the obligation to concede the need for negotiations."

"Consequently, we must contest the notion that negotiations represent a failure for the democratic movement and a victory for the forces of apartheid, and therefore that the more difficult we make the process of negotiations, the more revolutionary we are."

TIME FRAMES

Since Codesa II, some progress has been made on the central question of a Constituent Assembly (CA), the issue which precipitated the deadlock. The recent ANC/NP government agreement declares that the constitution-making body should be sovereign and function democratically as a single chamber. But issues such as time frames and majorities remain rather too general for comfort.

These are crucial questions which, if not settled, will result in yet another deadlock, with terrible consequences for the whole country.

The ANC should stick to its guns on these issues, while not being totally inflexible.

Says Joe Slovo: "To test the acceptability of a negotiated agreement we need to weigh up the package as a whole and not get bogged down in its individual elements." Focusing on detail and making them the basis of the negotiators' mandate detracts from principle and unnecessarily provokes passions.

BALANCE OF FORCES

In working out its approach on all these issues, the ANC should take into account the various phases of the democratic struggle, Thabo Mbeki argues. "Our possibilities relevant to each specific phase should not be pursued in a manner that produces defeats later, because of a failure to recognise the dialectical interconnection between the various phases... At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces and determine the correct path to follow, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed."



"To test the acceptability of a negotiated agreement we need to weigh up the package as a whole and not get bogged down in its individual elements."

Joe Slovo

A new Codesa?

Will the new negotiating body be different from Codesa?

Indications are that new forces will enter the terrain: the PAC, Azapo and the CP break-away (AVU). And the alliance of white and black right-wing extremists might in fact mean that erstwhile Codesa exiles are piggy-backing into negotiations. A joint delegation from their Conference for Concerned South Africans is to meet the government and the CP is making confused but positive noises. Remember the PAC's passion for the Patriotic Front before preparatory talks for Codesa I?

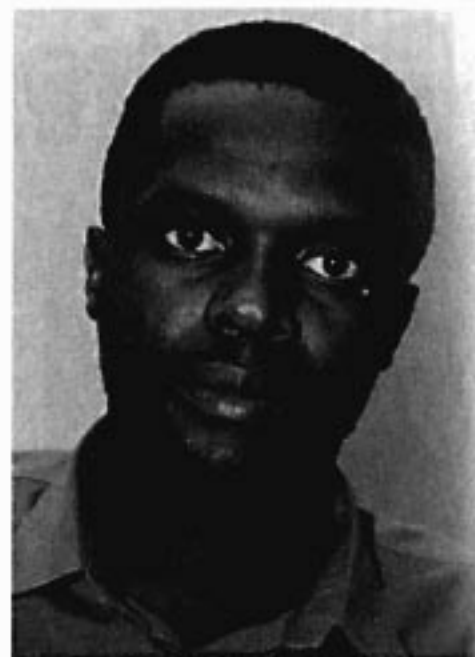
The new converts will certainly complicate things further from both extremes. But as South Africans we have to live with it. The regionalists/federalists/conferederalists (whatever that means) will be greatly strengthened. But so will their opponents.

What will be difficult to achieve is that novel Codesa invention: "sufficient consensus". Perhaps Inkatha should elaborate its concept of a multi-party review body - without the assistance of Treurnicht.

Codesa took too tortuous a path before arriving at decisions. It has to be streamlined. But agreements reached thus far cannot be re-opened: the Declaration of Intent, pre-election executive structures, etc. Besides, it would take months to negotiate a new negotiating body, its rules, venues (including Timbuktu), etc.

So, there might be an interesting menu when multi-party negotiations resume - what one observer clumsily projects as koeksusters for tea-time and mala-mogodu for lunch.

But no one is going back to square one.



"There is a very real danger that a detour to achieve certain goals can ... result in a situation in which you are not there altogether when those objectives have to be realised."

**Thabang Makwetla
ANC Youth League**

According to Mbeki, these phases are:

- the period leading up to Constituent Assembly elections;
- the period of the drafting and adoption of the new constitution;
- the period of phasing in the new constitution; and
- the period of the consolidation of the process of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

Has the ANC all along had a clear strategic thrust, properly canvassed with its constituency? "Some of our responses have been too ad hoc and have sometimes been influenced by a passing mood and a passion generated by an event or a particularly outrageous enemy pronouncement," Slovo observes.

In proposing elements of strategy, Slovo proceeds from the following premises:

- The immediate outcome of negotiations will be less than perfect, entailing a measure of compromise.
- Measures will be needed to ad-

dress the danger of counter-revolution after the adoption of a new constitution.

- Compromises agreed to should not permanently block future movement towards full-blooded democracy.

Slovo then outlines a number of possible compromises which could form part of an acceptable settlement package.

"SUNSET" CLAUSE

Firstly, a "sunset" clause in the new constitution providing for compulsory power-sharing for an agreed period after the adoption a new constitution. Secondly, a bilateral understanding between the ANC and the NP government on regional powers to be defended by both parties in the CA. Thirdly, a bilateral agreement on details of a general amnesty to be pursued by the Interim Government. Lastly, an "approach to the restructuring of the civil service (including the SAP and SADF) which takes into account existing contracts

and/or provides for retirement compensation."

Within the ANC and the democratic movement, possibilities of compromise are accepted. But the major concern is that such compromises could, in fact, undermine the very long-term objectives of the liberation struggle.

"While I am not opposed to the contemplated compromises in principle," argues Thabang Makwetla of the ANC Youth League National Working Committee, "there is a very real danger that a detour to achieve certain goals can be debilitating, while offering opposition forces the opportunity to gather strength, resulting in a situation in which you are not there altogether when those objectives have to be realised."

Slovo identifies issues of principle from which there should not be deviation. These include the sovereignty of a democratically elected CA subject to negotiated general constitutional principles; ef-

fective structures to supervise elections; acceptable time frames; deadlock breaking mechanisms; and dissolution of the apartheid parliament and executive after elections.

Mac Maharaj takes the point further: "It is essential that the manner in which we strive to ensure success through negotiations should be influenced by a conscious effort to build into these solutions a capacity to ensure economic empowerment and stability and to thwart forces which will seek to undermine democracy.

"If the objectives are approached in a compartmentalised way, we could find ourselves agreeing to measures which realise one of the objectives but undermine the realisation of the other objectives.

"In addressing, for instance, security forces," Maharaj argues, "an analysis of external and internal threats to the security of the state in the coming period should be conducted.

"Further, these institutions currently do not represent the entire population; the police cannot, as presently composed, relate properly to the population; and affirmative action will be required. The same applies to the bloated and essentially partisan civil service."

"SUNRISE" CLAUSES

In other words, stability cannot be achieved if "sunset clauses" for the minority do not go hand-in-hand with "sunrise clauses" for the majority. "The balance can be found within the framework of national unity which should be our watchword to secure democracy," says Maharaj.

There is also debate, though belated, as to whether it is correct in the first place to make public possible compromises that the ANC has in mind!

This undermines the ANC's position in negotiations, argues a Western Cape member of the Regional Negotiations Commission in a letter to national office.

"The argument that we should keep the enemy in the dark, especially when it comes to possible compromises, has a valid place in



Photo: Johann van Tonder

The people demand a real sunset!

the art of negotiations," Joe Slovo responds. "But it becomes both harmful and counter-productive when it also keeps our support base in the dark in really vital areas. It will eventually attract charges of 'sell-out' and departures from accountability.

"As a bonus, these concessions would situate us indisputably in the moral high-ground and weaken the capacity of the more extreme hardliners within the regime's camp to

block an early agreement," Slovo adds.

Accusations of a "cosy deal" will be difficult to brush off if negotiations proceed as both the ANC and NP envisage. Are there in fact common interests between the two?

Says Thabo Mbeki: "The balance of forces has forced onto the South African political situation a relationship between these two leading players characterised by contradictory elements of co-operation in pursuit of common goals and competition in pursuit of divergent objectives. How to manage this contradiction, which arises from the fact that neither side has been defeated, is one of our challenges of leadership."

These issues are still being canvassed in ANC constitutional structures. What these structures have to resolve in discussion is whether the proposed approach is in line with the current balance of forces; whether this balance should be seen as static and whether there are any possibilities of shifting it fundamentally in the foreseeable future.

In this regard, the issue of the relationship between negotiations and mass action and the demobilising effect of some compromises will also be under scrutiny.

And, is the NP government capable of objectively assessing the current balance and choosing the least costly route to a settlement? The success of the current negotiations phase might indeed hinge on this simple question. ♦



"The police cannot, as presently composed, relate properly to the population; and affirmative action will be required. The same applies to the bloated and essentially partisan civil service."

Mac Maharaj

Mass action: towards an integrated strategy

The on-going review of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy continues to bring out valuable lessons. Among the questions that have arisen is how to ensure organisational growth and an integrated approach to each campaign. A correspondent reports.

Mass action must be part of our response to the problems we face: this has been one of the lessons emerging from the review of the Peace and Democracy Campaign.

The actions of the past five months have brought definite gains to the democratic process as a whole. The regime has been forced to concede demands such as the release of political prisoners, a sovereign Constituent Assembly,

hostel security and banning dangerous weapons.

These are real achievements that should be claimed and properly celebrated. But a serious liberation movement needs to examine broader questions about organisational gains from a given battle and how to take the whole struggle forward.

Organisers from all parts of the country report greater cohesiveness and renewed enthusiasm in the branches. But is this confined to activists or does it permeate the com-

munities within which they work? Are there concrete advances in terms of membership and links with the masses?

"In my branch," says Walter Sisulu, member of the Orlando West branch and Deputy President of the ANC, "when there are no marches there is no enthusiasm to do anything else, like house-to-house recruitment and voter education. Many marches have taken place but the branch does not seem to grow. It does not show any qualitative development."

How should the actual qualitative development of an organisation manifest itself?

The starting point is the nerve-centre, the branch. Is it growing in terms of membership? Is it having meetings and how are they conducted? Is it developing new cadres, etc? But beyond that, the real life of the branch should manifest itself in the ability to lead the community, expressing its aspirations and being accepted as the leader of a wide spectrum of forces in the locality. In the current situation, a crucial factor becomes constant links with the people in preparation for the coming Constituent Assembly elections.

Mass action cannot be seen as wholly successful if it does not help to develop local structures to meet these requirements.

BANTUSTAN DESPOTISM

There is also the danger that campaigns can be distorted by the glorification of one form of action. For instance, the campaign for free political activity stands at risk of being fetishised into a series of marches on the centres of bantustan despotism.

Marches on these capitals are certainly a necessary feature of this campaign and need to be properly prepared for. But like all other campaigns, the demand for free political activity should be approached in an integrated way.

In planning any campaign, the following steps should be considered:

- identifying the issue or grievance around which the campaign revolves;

- determining the variety of actions necessary to achieve the demands;
- working out the balance and inter-relation among the various forms of action.

There has been a welcome attempt to follow this approach in so far as free political activity in Bophuthatswana is concerned. But much more still needs to be done. It is partly the reason why the march to Mmabatho had to be postponed to December.

The demands for free political activity are clear: the right of the ANC and other organisations to operate in the territory; freedom of expression and association; repeal of repressive legislation and signing of the National Peace Accord by the administration; also Bop should accept Codesa decisions, including the principle of re-incorporation and the consequences it entails.

MMABATHO

The march to Mmabatho is seen as the culmination of a variety of activities. Firstly, exposing the facts about repression throughout South Africa and internationally. Secondly, local initiatives by branches and exposure of any repression that ensues.

Thirdly, bringing the pressure of National Peace Committee structures and international monitors to bear on the administration. Lastly, all possible efforts to engage the administration and avoid any loss of life when actions are undertaken.

On 20 October an attempt was made to meet the Mmabatho administration. The meeting did not take place because the despots rejected the participation of the regional structures.

Attempts are still being made to get them to accept the reality that local and regional problems cannot be addressed without the participation of structures affected. Besides, they cannot be allowed to dictate to the ANC how its delegation should be constituted.

The lesson arising from this is that much more pressure is needed to bring the despots to their senses.



Photo: Southlight

NEC members Kader Asmal and Ronnie Kasrils flank Robert McBride during the march on parliament, 12 October

Structures in Rustenburg in the Western Transvaal and Thaba Nchu in the OFS were planning to have local marches as part of this pressure. A campaign against institutions which bankroll these administrations is also in the pipeline.

But what is also clear is that energies cannot be expended by dealing with these administrations only. After all, Pretoria is where real power lies. De Klerk must be made to feel the cost of allowing his employees to behave in this way.

ASINAMALI CAMPAIGN

The unfolding Asinamali Campaign is also based on this approach. The campaign will be among the key activities of the Tripartite Alliance before Christmas. South Africans are facing increasing hardships brought about by retrenchments, high prices especially of food, discriminatory pensions, the drought and so on.

Organisers involved have identified the following activities as part of the campaign:

- Protest Actions: marches, pickets and occupations aimed at super-

markets, control board offices, rent offices, pension offices etc.

- Mass education: workshops and other activities to explain the reasons behind the hardships.
- Negotiations at various levels: with government departments around issues of VAT, drought and poverty relief; through the various forums set up such as on housing, electrification and drought; with exploitative traders, local rent officials, pension officials; with the private sector food industry at national level to make their structures democratic.
- Building of structures: organisers are being encouraged to build structures which go beyond that of the Tripartite Alliance; and, in drought stricken communities, to establish relief structures to access funding.

The ANC and its allies need to guard jealously their right to mass action. They should, however, also ensure that this valuable weapon is used strategically and to maximum effect. It should form part of broader initiatives to achieve the demands put forward. ♦

KwaZulu: repression north of the Tugela

MAYIBUYE spoke to the ANC Northern

Natal Regional Chairperson, **Aaron**

Ndlovu (AN) and Secretary, **Senzo**

Mchunu (SM) about how the ANC is

challenging Inkatha's suppression of free

political activity in the area.

MAYIBUYE: How is violence being used by Inkatha to prevent free political activity in Northern Natal?

AN: The leadership of Inkatha said the ANC will never operate this side of the Tugela river which constitutes the boundary between Natal and Zululand.

To their surprise, the ANC did manage, under those very repressive conditions, to launch a region



Inkatha supporters at the ANC/Inkatha meeting in January 1991. Is Buthelezi's belligerent stance in line with grassroots sentiment?

in the area. Their reaction to that was to engage in violence.

Our people were attacked. Comrade Mdletshe, an ex-Robben Islander, was murdered. Homes of people suspected of having ANC sympathies were attacked and some people got killed in the process.

To solve the problem, the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord was signed. There were a number of participants: the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, Inkatha and the Zululand Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Inkatha's signatory was KwaZulu government Minister Sithebe. We thought that level of involvement would ensure that peace prevailed. But the accord did not bring about free political activity in this area.

We have never prevented Inkatha from holding its meetings. Yet they have never given us space to hold our meetings. They deny us all the venues that fall under the KwaZulu administration.

MAYIBUYE: What is the aim of the ANC's planned march on Ulundi?

AN: The march to Ulundi is directed at the KwaZulu authorities because they deny us free political activity in the areas under their jurisdiction. The region sees it as essential.

MAYIBUYE: How does the ANC mobilise and organise in the area?

SM: The ANC finds it difficult to mobilise and organise. The KwaZulu government, through chiefs in rural areas and township councils, continually refuses the ANC access to public facilities.

But the ANC has found a way of organising. In some townships, small house meetings are held. Recently, one of our big branches in Mandini had to go to Eshawe, 40km away, to hold their AGM.

In rural areas, meetings have to take place at night in secret. Given these conditions, our structures are relatively strong.

MAYIBUYE: What is the role of the KwaZulu Police (KZP) and the SAP in the violence?

SM: The KZP is an extension of the KwaZulu government, which itself is an extension of the apartheid government. It functions like an armed wing of the IFP. Brig Mathe, the highest ranking police officer in the KZP after the Commissioner, is in charge of security matters in the IFP. That makes it impossible for him to be unbiased or impartial.

When the secretariat of the tripartite alliance visited Esikhawini on 5 August after the 26 July massacre there, Brig Mzimela of the Esikhawini police station admitted publicly on TV that the community of Esikhawini has completely lost confidence in the KZP.

The SAP act in a very partisan way. They seem to pursue more cases where an ANC member is involved than when an IFP member is involved.

MAYIBUYE: How does Inkatha use its control of the administration of KwaZulu to undermine free political activity?

AN: Local authorities in KwaZulu are not independent, but are directed by the KwaZulu government. The town managers receive their instructions from the Ministry of Interior.

Magistrates try to hear both sides before deciding on whether or not to grant permits for marches, rallies and so on. But there are times when they have banned meetings without giving the ANC a chance to present its case.

Certain chiefs and indunas will only support applications for pensions if the applicants are members of Inkatha. The KwaZulu Education Act was amended so that teachers can be subjected to disciplinary procedures if perceived to be criticising the KwaZulu government.

The KZP screens applicants for jobs in the civil service. Support for Inkatha is expected. When people take up employment, they have to sign a pledge of loyalty to the government and to the Chief Minister. This has created a big outcry.

MAYIBUYE: Does the King represent all the people or is he party political?

AN: The King is being used to propagate the views of Inkatha. He has been extremely critical of the ANC and the SACP in this area. He is made to read speeches, which we suspect are prepared by the leadership of Inkatha, castigating the ANC.

The King is the symbol of the unity of the Zulu people. We don't expect him to choose among the subjects of the monarchy. He should remain above politics.

MAYIBUYE: How is the IFP organised at local level?

SM: In rural areas chiefs, indunas and KwaZulu MPs are responsible for organising the IFP. Mayors and councillors constitute some kind of local IFP structures. There are no branches with grassroots members or elected officials.

Vigilante groups are run by known leaders of Inkatha and firearms are issued to indunas and chiefs.

MAYIBUYE: What evidence is there of Renamo involvement in the violence?

AN: Renamo's presence has been confirmed by an independent investigation by the *Weekly Mail* and by members of the SAP co-operating with Judge Richard Goldstone.

Some of them were moved down to Lindelani when the Shaka Day celebrations were held in Kwa-Mashu. We also have evidence that a separate group of about eight are stationed in Enseleni near Empangeni.



Nelson Mandela (wearing cap) and NEC member Saki Macozoma (left) inspecting the home of an ANC member devastated in an Inkatha attack in Enseleni, Northern Natal, April 1992

MAYIBUYE: What is your assessment of Inkatha's alliance with Ciskei, Bop and white right-wing groupings?

SM: This is an alliance of obviously desperate people. Buthelezi has realised that the ANC is right in Zululand. He fears the ANC because of its democratic practices. It is surprising that he is now linking up with Gqozo and, especially, Mangope, whom he fiercely criticised for taking so-called independence.

MAYIBUYE: What is the significance of Buthelezi's demand for MK to be disbanded before he will take part in negotiations?

SM: This is pure farce. Buthelezi knows very well that MK was formed to defend black people against what was seen as apartheid war. In his desperation to win support, he repeatedly accuses MK of attacking Inkatha people without any evidence.

He is trying to create the impression that all the attacks involving AK-47s are carried out by MK. The experience in the area is that AKs are carried by criminals, members of Inkatha and others. And the Trust Feed case has shown that the SAP/SADF do kill Inkatha supporters to deepen friction between Inkatha and the ANC.

MAYIBUYE: Comment on Inkatha's claim that it represents Zulu culture and tradition while the ANC is "anti-Zulu".

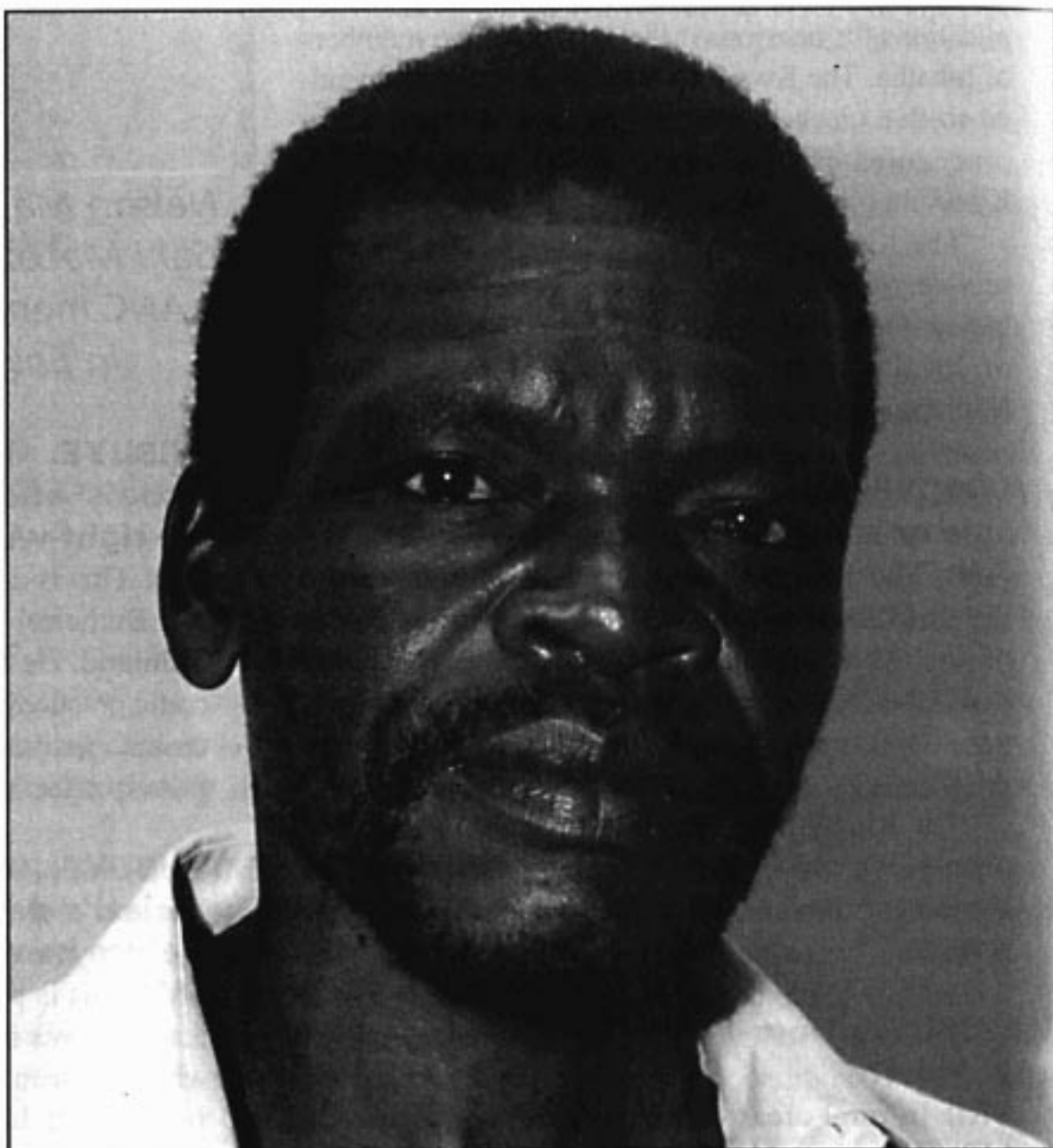
AN: This cannot be justified in terms of history or of actual practice. There are Zulus who support Inkatha, the ANC and other political organisations. To claim that Zulus supporting Inkatha reflects the richness of the culture of the Zulus is a lot of nonsense. Ethnic culture and traditions belong to the people as a whole, not any particular party. ♦

Vryheid:

A patriotic chief besieged

Chief Jabulani Mdlalose

has been an outspoken critic of the schemes of the NP and Inkatha in Vryheid. Their response has been to unleash violence. *MAYIBUYE* spoke to him.



Chief Jabulani Mdlalose traces the origins of his community to Besterspruit (better known as KwaBhanya) near Vryheid. The community was forcefully removed to what is today known as Mondlo A section. They were resettled under the chieftaincy of Hali Mdlalose, his grandfather.

But the powers-that-be issued an instruction that they should be subordinated to Mfelafuthi Mdlalose of the Nquthu region, a favourite of the government.

"Today Mondlo is aflame with conflicts," says Chief Mdlalose. "The authorities in Pretoria and KwaZulu don't want to accept the honest fact that Mondlo belongs to us under Vryheid. They want to place it under the KwaZulu government."

Chief Mdlalose tried to challenge this. "But a few weeks ago I received a memorandum from Pretoria stating that Mondlo now falls under the KwaZulu govern-

ment. I am strongly opposed to this. Because this move will create further tensions, conflicts and violence."

Another area of misunderstanding between him and the government concerns the farms that his community bought in 1987 but are being denied them. In July this year, Chief Mdlalose had a meeting with a Dr Kies and Van der Merwe from Pretoria and a Mr Dam from Pietermaritzburg. "I persuaded them to give us our farms", he says.

RIDICULOUS

But in September he was told that Dr Kies wanted him "... to submit the strength of my followers and also write a letter to Pretoria to explain the exact location of the farms. That was the most ridiculous response because I had shown documentary evidence and we had already agreed on everything ..."

KwaZulu and Pretoria see those who demand their land and oppose incorporation into homelands as enemies. Mdlalose himself has been a target. When he went back to Mondlo in early October, he found his house burnt down.

Fear has stalked him since 1990 when he challenged attempts to import violence at the Hlobane coal mines to Vryheid. However, he has stood by his principles, protecting those attacked and challenging the police to take action against individuals who promote violence and intolerance. "I am labelled as a notorious ANC supporter to be killed," Chief Mdlalose says.

The situation has worsened with Inkatha's developing links with the far-right. "Mr Sithebe, the KwaZulu Minister of Interior, has called for a return to the so-called historical relationship between KwaZulu people and the boers which he says existed during the time of King Dingane. He is very keen to build good relations with the same farmers who ill-treat blacks.

REMOVED

"Sithebe does not care about the thousands of people removed from the farms," Chief Mdlalose complains. Many of them have been dumped in disused coal-mines in area such as Nkongolwane.

Families have been packed into halls: parents, their married children and grandchildren piled in a single compartment. Some of the farmers confiscate people's livestock before chasing them away.

In this situation, people are bound to be resentful of Inkatha. "They are suffering and their demands are similar to those of the ANC," Chief Mdlalose explains. Inkatha's propaganda that the ANC is not a KwaZulu organisation is seen for what it is. The ANC is growing in the area.

Inkatha has become desperate. Young patriots such as Themba Goqo have been killed simply because they support the ANC. And the local community has received information about plans of an Inkatha group led by a Mr Gabela to clean Mondlo of ANC supporters. Men from Msinga are being used to make Qwashas (home-made guns).

"There are great possibilities that widespread killings like in Empangeni and Richmond will come to Vryheid," Chief Mdlalose observes.

But is there a way out? If certain things are done, says the chief.

KZP A PRIVATE ARMY

"I believe the ANC can assist by approaching the National Peace Committee for reliable people to monitor the situation. The irresponsible KwaZulu Police must be removed from the area," he says. "They are members of Inkatha and their head, Chief Buthelezi, is the president of Inkatha. How can it be possible that the KZP can defend members of an organisation that Buthelezi is fighting against?"

Chief Mdlalose should know. Many cases of harassment and assault that he referred to the KZP have not been attended to. No wonder people in the area feel that before this private army of the IFP is reined in, there shall not be free political activity in KwaZulu. Life will continue to be treated cheaply. ♦



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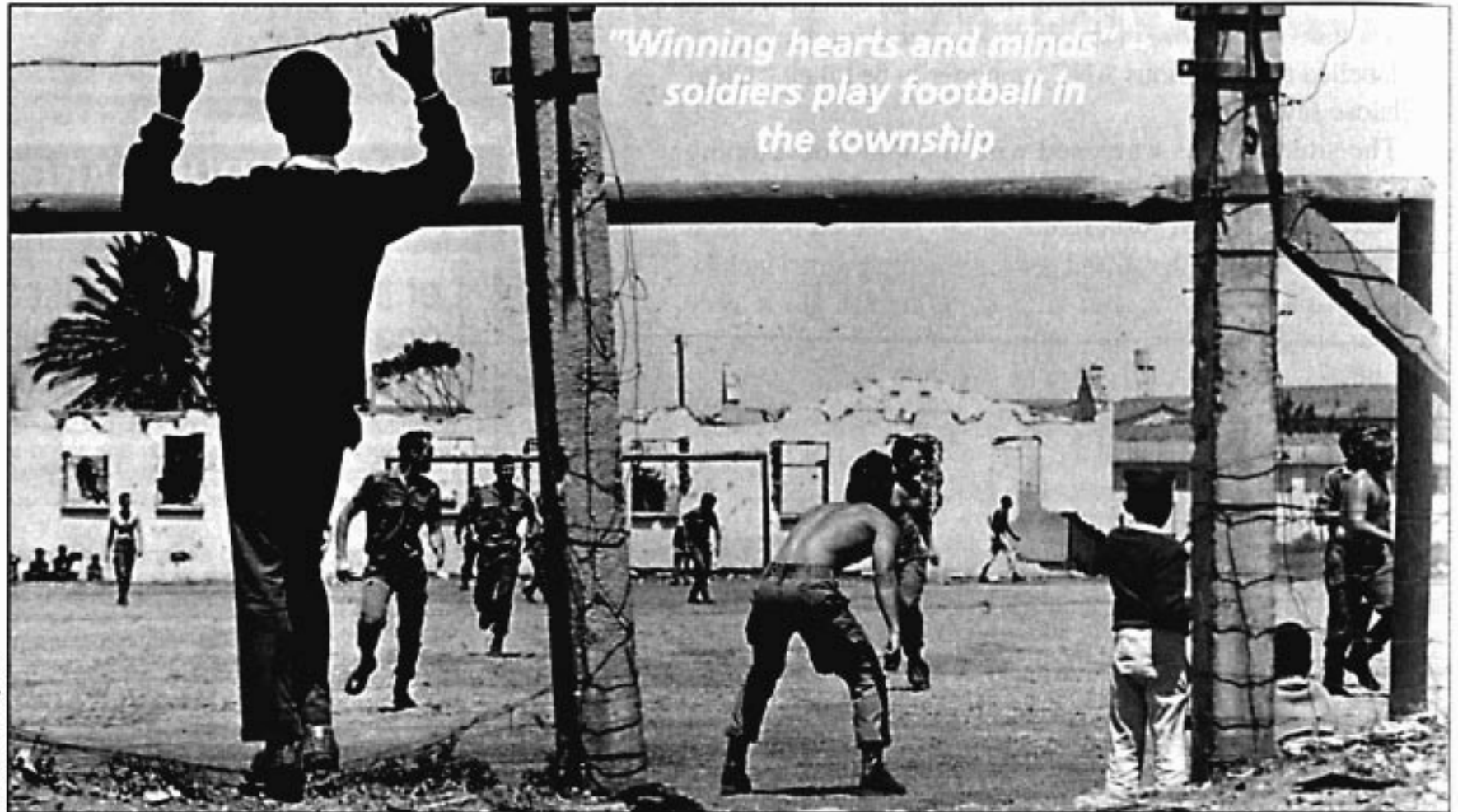
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Welfare and Wham: *the Lebowa experience*



Lebowa has been the laboratory for developing De Klerk's counter-revolutionary strategy, writes **Rocky Williams**, co-ordinator of the Military Research Group, an independent group of researchers, policy analysts and academics.

De Klerk's strategy is not simply an extension of PW Botha's "Total Strategy", although it has some similarities. His control over the security establishment is not as absolute as some would like to suggest.

The activities of the National Coordinating Mechanism (NCM) show a

higher level of sophistication than those of the Botha state's National Security Management System.

The Lebowa experience is an example of the strategy De Klerk has been developing to deal with the democratic forces.

During 1985 the State Security Council (SSC) received reports of an unacceptably high level of "radical" activity in Lebowa. PW Botha gave instructions, via the SSC, for the establishment of an SADF group, known as the Lebowa Group.

PACIFICATION

From 26 May 1986 the SADF proceeded to implement a series of "pacification" actions known as *nieskiet oorlogaksies* (NOA) [non-shooting warfare actions].

The concept had been pioneered in both Namibia and South Africa by the present chief of the South African Army, Lt General George Meiring.

The essence of NOA was that only through a combination of civic action programmes and counter-mo-

bilisation could the state successfully defeat a popular insurgency.

NOA failed mainly because of the sterling resistance of the people of Lebowa as well as the rejection of the largely white SADF units.

In the context of the De Klerk reforms of 1989-90, the strategy underwent a clear shift at all levels.

De Klerk was particularly concerned that the South African state was seen to be dominated by soldiers and policemen.

This led to the creation of the National Coordinating Mechanism and the adoption of a counter-revolutionary strategy with the following features:

- Primary emphasis on the role of welfare actions within the various communities;
- The provision of tangible services to the community;
- The political participation of the community;
- The security forces must be seen as protectors and providers of services – not the enforcers of coercive state policies.

Water: a political weapon

A drought conference in the Northern Transvaal found that drought relief is being used by the government and its allies to further their political goals at the expense of the needs of the people.

The organisers of the Northern Transvaal Development Forum (NTDF) must have wished they could have summoned Jesus to multiply pieces of bread and fish to provide lunch to the unexpectedly large numbers of people who turned up at the region's first drought conference. It was a stark indication of the severity of the drought in the area that 500 people arrived at a conference meant to be no bigger than 150.

The common thread that ran through reports from all parts of the region, including the bantustan areas of Gazankulu, Venda, Lebowa and KwaNdebele was: "Water is being used as a political weapon."

"During the 1982 drought, the Lebowa government provided boreholes. Now these boreholes are being hijacked by the tribal authorities and people have to pay for the water," said one delegate. However, he reported that just that week they had persuaded the authorities to stop charging for water.

A delegate from another part of Lebowa complained that there is a dam in the area but people are not able to collect water from it. Only white farmers have access to it.

In most areas of the region, units of the SADF deliver water. They use this contact with villagers to try and discredit the ANC and civics, while promoting the image of the NP government and its local allies.

The style of work and attitudes of bantustan functionaries is not helpful at all, delegates reported. "Money that should come to the communities to combat drought stays with the Venda government," said a delegate from the Far North.

In some areas people are trying to dig boreholes themselves. But without expertise, this can be a fruitless exercise. In other areas, the authorities have refused to allow people to even try this.

One community, tired of writing letters to the authorities about the lack of water, decided to march. They got arrested and are still harassed by the police for organising such an action.

The meeting realised that a united and co-ordinated response was needed to ensure that communities get water and other drought assistance like food, especially for children, and seed for the next season.

In September 1989 the Lebowa Group was re-named Group 45 and Lebowa became the first area to experiment with the *Steunpunt Streekverdedigingstelsel* [Support Point Area System]. It differed from PW Botha's Area Defence System in two ways:

- Its main efforts were focused on the political and military mobilisation of the black – not white – population;
- It concentrated on the multi-faceted provision of services to communities through the use of black SADF personnel.

"STOPPING INTIMIDATION"

The new black SADF 117 Battalion was established in Soekmekaar, Northern Transvaal. It was responsible for a part of Lebowa which contained 70 tribal chiefs. According to the SADF, it was "aimed at stopping intimidation, ensuring the traditional leaders stay in place and assisting the Lebowa police."

The unit's operations were invariably conducted from "support points" (*steunpunte*) in the veld where soldiers maintained a self-sufficient presence. Battalion patrols, accompanied by Lebowa police, lasted about three days.

As 117's responsibilities increased, 118 Battalion was set up in the south of Lebowa. Personnel for both units was to be drawn from a specific ethnic group – presumably trusted by the local population – to handle welfare projects within the region.

The SADF sees the following as key pillars in this local strategy: the local population, local government, traditional leaders, and the armed forces themselves.

The activities of the Point Support System are co-ordinated by the Military Intelligence propaganda section – Communication Operations – located at both Group 45 HQ and the far Northern Transvaal Command HQ in Pietersburg.

The tasks of the units include liaising with local chiefs, conducting cultural and sporting events amongst schoolchildren and providing services such as health, education, traffic assistance, construction and engineering tasks, pensions and sporting events.

NATION-WIDE STRATEGY

The key proponents of the strategy recently handed a report of its application to Lt General Meiring, stressing that it could provide the basis for a nation-wide strategy at a later stage.

The state is intent on pursuing a strategy which incorporates national negotiations, Winning Hearts and Mind tactics on the ground, slush funding and the deployment of specialist units against select opponents of the state.

Of particular concern is that the structures of the NCM are still operating in a clandestine manner and are protected by the Official Secrets Act. Either the system must be disbanded in its entirety or transparency and participation in its structures be introduced. ♦

After breaking up into commissions, three resolutions emerged:

To build structures:

After consultation with communities, sub-regional/zonal or local development forums should be set up or strengthened where they exist. These should involve all organisations, including local political parties, civics and NGOs.

The forums should look at solutions to the drought, such as:

- Arranging for intensive training so that water pumps can be maintained. In many areas there are boreholes but the pumps are broken and the government does not repair them.
- Setting up projects for job creation. All the bantustan administrations and organisations like the Independent Development Trust have money to fund job creation projects like brick-making or preventing soil erosion.
- Ensure that the local and bantustan administrations provide their communities with assistance such as boreholes, water trucks, food for children, fodder, compensation for loss of cattle loss, etc.

To set up a regional consultative forum on drought:

Despite the enormous lack of trust in the ability of the bantustan administrations to give drought aid to the people, the conference resolved that a forum involving all the players in the area, including the Regional Development Forum, the government, bantustan administrations, business, the churches, liberation movements and others needs to be set up.

The conference mandated this forum to adopt a programme of action with identified targets to alleviate the drought crisis.

This forum could become an important vehicle not only for co-ordination but also for ensuring that resources are released and bottlenecks which may occur at local or sub-regional level sorted out.

To democratise government structures:

When VAT was introduced, the government promised to introduce poverty relief programmes to assist the very poor overcome its effects. These schemes have been a complete fiasco. No money has reached the most needy.

After a lot of pressure, the government has decided to "regionalise the fund" and have regional and district committees set up to discuss how the money should be allocated.

The conference agreed that the money allocated for poverty relief belongs to the people and communities should have a say in how it is spent.



Even toddlers have to contribute to the heavy work of fetching water

It was therefore decided that local and zonal development forums should not allow the government to set up these structures by themselves. Otherwise they will consist of government officials and their allies and promote the government's political goals.

Rather, the development forums should participate in these structures to democratise them so that the most needy can get access to the money.

Stepping stone

If the decisions of this drought conference are carried out, it could impact on the lives of hundreds of thousands of people in the region. It could also be a stepping stone to greater participation of local communities in the long-term development of the region. ♦

Asinamali

Food for all



Graphic: Mzwakhe Nhlabatsi

Food prices have been increasing drastically. The latest government figures say that food prices are 30 percent higher than a year ago.

Vegetables cost 88 percent more. A *MAYIBUYE* correspondent looks at the reasons for this.

When VAT was introduced last September, the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT (VCC), which included organisations like Cosatu and the ANC, predicted that VAT would raise the cost of food and lead to increased poverty and hunger.

They were proved 100 percent correct. A fact which even the food manufacturers and retailers now acknowledge. A study presented to the recently formed Food Logistics Forum, revealed that VAT has led to an increase of six percent in the price of food.

The VCC also predicted that business would hide behind VAT to increase prices. The Labour Research Centre in Cape Town recently conducted a survey of companies and found that two meat companies (ICS and Kanhym) and one sugar company (CG Smith

Sugar) have increased their profits since the introduction of VAT.

But VAT is not the only reason for rising food prices. Other reasons relate to the nature of the economy and the way our society is run.

Farmers, who provided the votes to keep the white minority regime in power, have been showered with subsidies and special provisions over the years. They have not been encouraged to farm in a cost-saving way.

Many people argue that food prices are high because of the drought. This is only partly true. South Africa is a drought prone country. If farmers were urged to make better use of the land, the effects of drought would not be so serious. For example, maize is often planted in areas better suited to beans.

TECHNOLOGY

Food manufacturers have not kept up with modern technology and their inefficiency also contributes to rising food prices. There is a high degree of economic concentration in South Africa. Most food companies are owned by CG Smith, Premier Milling and Fedfood which are owned by the three conglomerates SA Mutual, Anglo American and Sanlam.

Programme of Action against High Food Prices

The main demands of organisations fighting against high food prices are:

- No VAT on basic foods
- Lower food prices
- Milk and bread at fixed, affordable prices
- Democratise the control boards
- Stop unilateral restructuring – especially of abattoirs

During the Asinamali [We don't have money] campaign, marches, pickets and occupations of supermarkets and control board offices are planned – together with negotiations with government around VAT and the food industry on lower food prices. There will also be local negotiations with exploitative traders around bringing their prices down. ♦

The monopolies are so strong that one company can own shares in, for example, the farm, the cattle, the abattoir, the meat processing factory and the shop that sells meat.

Monopolies are able to raise prices without worrying about competition, allowing them to make extra large profits. They know that people will still need to buy food.

FIRST WORLD

The manufacturing sector is oriented to producing food for a "first world market" – for rich, mainly white, people. Enormous amounts are wasted on expensive packaging and advertising.

In most developing countries, the government tries to ensure that food prices are low so that everybody can have access to food. Not the South African government.

There are many laws and regulations which protect the profits of commercial agriculture and large companies and prevent small farmers and businesses from selling food more cheaply. For example, cattle can only be slaughtered in abattoirs which are owned and controlled by the big meat companies.

CONTROL BOARDS

The government set up control or marketing boards to regulate the amount of food being produced, advise farmers on improvements and assist them during years of bad harvests and drought.

Over the years the boards have become controlled by a minority of wealthy farmers and large food producers. Small farmers (especially black) and consumer organisations only have a small say or no voice at all on the boards.

The government has now started to restructure these boards unilaterally. A recent government investiga-



Hunger is afflicting children

tion suggested that they should be done away with. The problem, however, is not with the concept of marketing boards, but with the way that big business has been able to dominate these structures. Doing away with the boards will not affect their domination.

SUBSIDIES

The government used to subsidise the price of foodstuffs eaten by the poor, like mealie meal and bread. These subsidies have been reduced in recent years and were stopped in 1991. Prices have also climbed since deregulation began in the mid-eighties. For example, when deregulation was introduced for bread, the profit margin for traders shot up from three to 40 cents a loaf.

The government also receives large amounts of money from import duties on food such as wheat and maize. Because of the drought and the large amounts of wheat and maize that had to be imported, it is estimated that the government will receive R150 million from maize and R250 million from wheat this year.



in urban and rural areas

Instead of this money going towards subsidising food for the poor, it goes straight into the government's coffers.

It is often argued that subsidies benefit the rich more than the poor and that providing efficient "safety nets" for the poor is more cost effective. This was the reason behind the government's poverty relief programmes which were set up at the time of the introduction of VAT.

DISMAL FAILURE

However, they have been a dismal failure. Of the R220 million allocated during last year's budget, only R110 million was spent, with no guarantees of it going to the most needy.

In fact, the first few million were embezzled. Despite the urgent need for poverty relief, because of the drought, only a small amount of the R440 million allocated in this year's budget has been spent.

A poverty relief programme can never be properly implemented by a government with no credibility and no links to communities except through illegitimate local officials.

Coupled with the problem of widespread unemployment and poverty, the government has no option but to use other methods such as subsidies and taking VAT off basics. ♦

What they say about food prices:

Cosatu

Cosatu is demanding that the government immediately enter into negotiations to address the crisis in spiralling food prices and other problems caused by the introduction of VAT. We remain convinced that to address these problems, food, medicines, medical services, electricity and water must be zero rated; an adequate poverty and drought relief programme must be negotiated and the problems of small business must be addressed.

Labour Research Service

A survey of economists and parties concerned with the food industry brought to light the following causes of excessive food inflation: the absence of competition, profiteering by retailers, the excessively high cost structure of retailers, the introduction of VAT and the market power of food companies, control boards and manufacturers' associations.

Food Logistics Forum

The key issues that need to be addressed are: zero rating on foodstuffs; clarification of Central Statistical Service food inflation figures; profit and duty on imported foods must be used to lower food prices; there should be recommended prices on basic food – particularly bread; the economic concentration in the manufacturing and retailing sectors; health regulations which push up prices; the efficiency of government poverty relief programmes; and the function of the marketing boards.

Peter Wrighton

(Premier)

Unless we act in a responsible manner, with due acknowledgement of the roles played by the various participants in our industry, particularly the farmer, we face the prospect of empty retail shelves – the fate which many of our northern neighbours now suffer. We also face the instability and violence which accompanies an impoverished society.

Treurnicht du Toit

(Head of the Central Statistical Service)

VAT accounts for about 6 percent of the 28,5 percent food price rises in the year to the end of August 1992. ♦

Umkhonto soldiers

Mthetheleli Mncube, Robert McBride, Mzondeleli Nondula and more than 14
the end of September. The three talk to *MAYIBUYE* abo

Mthetheleli Mncube

*I did what any soldier
would have done*

MK combatant **Mthetheleli Mncube** relates the spellbinding story of how he overcame his captors and evaded a massive security dragnet in the northern Transvaal for more than a week.

I was part of a group of five MK cadres who infiltrated the country on 24 December 1986. We based on a farm in the Northern Transvaal. I was on guard next morning and heard the sound of a Landrover. I warned the others. We saw that it was a civilian car. In it were five children and an old farmer.

We decided that we would not shoot if they saw us, because there were civilians and children. The farmer spotted us when we retreated and started firing. But we withdrew without returning fire. He radioed the army. But we managed to evade them for the whole day.

At night we dug holes and placed some rocks in them to create the impression that we were planting mines. This forced the soldiers to wait until morning.

We thought that by dawn we would be over the border. But around five it was light. We couldn't go any further without being spotted. Around eight we were fired on by a helicopter and the ground force.

The commander of the unit, Agrippa, and two others fell. Peter (his MK name) and I decided to withdraw. I said to Peter that he should go north and I would go west towards Botswana. At least one of us should survive to report to our commanders.



The helicopter chased me the whole day. Around six in the evening I was surrounded by members of the SADF. Their strength was about 150 to 200. They shouted at me: "Terrorist, surrender, you are surrounded." That's how I was caught.

The military treated me as a prisoner of war. They handled me according to the rules. Then they handed me to the security police who immediately assaulted me brutally.

BLINDFOLDED

They took me to identify the three bodies of my comrades. Then they said they were going to shoot me. They used the shoe-laces from my boots to tie my hands behind my back.

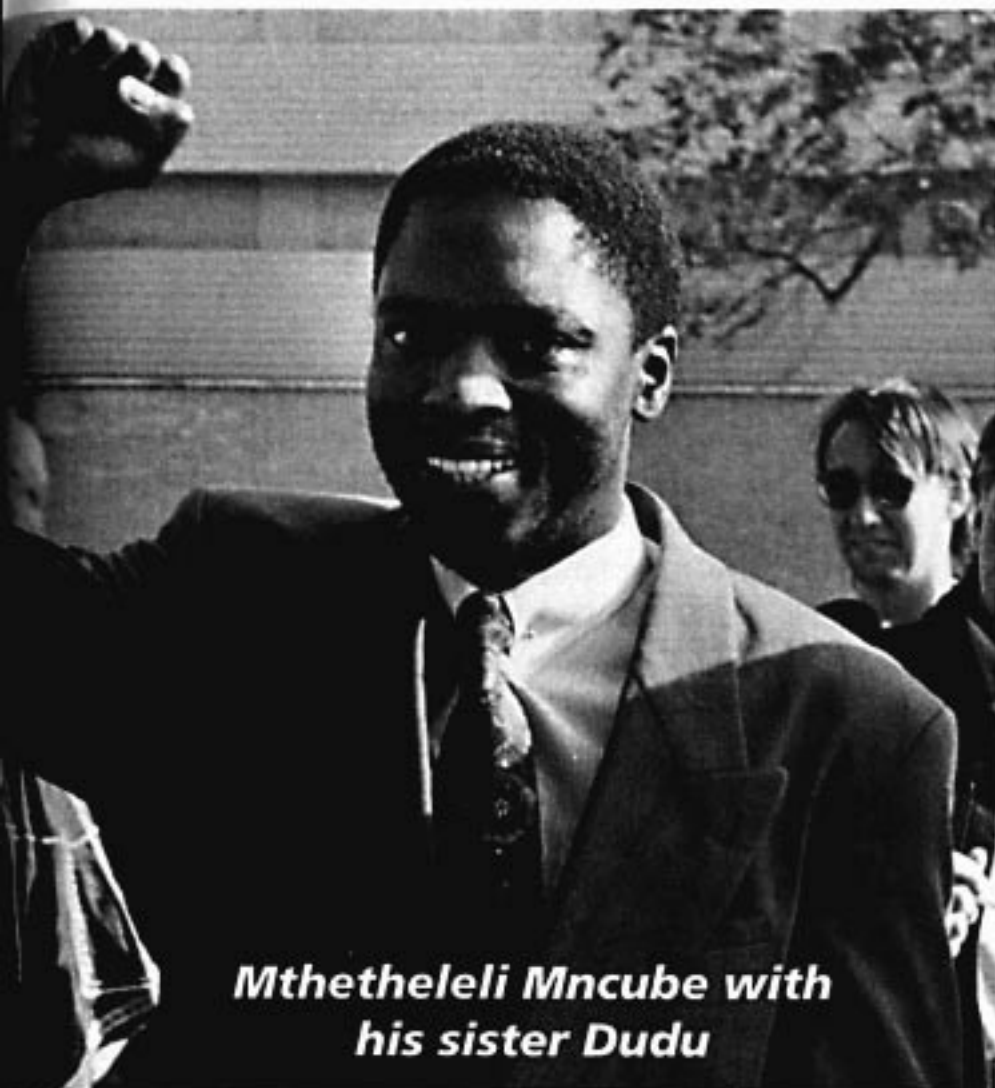
They took my boots and the overall I was wearing, leaving me in my underwear. They threw me in a van, and threw the corpses of the comrades on top of me. I was blindfolded.

They told me again they were going to shoot me. We drove for a long time. Then they moved me to another van. They assaulted me again. They said they had better find a suitable place to shoot this terrorist.

On the way I could hear that there were two vehicles moving in the same direction. The other car passed ours. I

come out of prison

political prisoners were released towards their experiences.



Mthetheleli Mncube with his sister Dudu

Photo: Cecil Sols, Dynamic Images

wanted to find out if there was someone guarding me. I asked for water but nobody answered me. I was rolling this side and that side but nobody kicked me.

I decided to take my chance. I managed to free myself and remove the blindfold. There was an AK in front of me.

I removed the magazine. There were bullets inside. I inserted the magazine again. Then I searched and saw there was no other AK-47 there. There was no car following behind. There was a van far in front of us and it disappeared. We were alone.

I was desperate because these people had said they were going to kill me. I did not want to be slaughtered like a lamb. So I did what any other soldier would have done under those circumstances. I shot these two security policemen.

I shot the passenger first. The van was travelling at high speed. I knew that if I shot the passenger the driver would get scared and apply the brakes. Indeed he did that. The car went off the road and hit the fence.

I ran down the road for a long time. I was half naked, with no shoes. Eventually I dashed into the bush. I had no water or food. I became increasingly weak. After six or seven days I realised that I was going in the wrong direction.

I found a blanket and some shoes in some deserted farm labourers' houses. I decided I could not carry the AK any more because I was so weak. I found a place to hide it.

I met a young girl and asked her for water in Tswana. I decided that if she brought it, I would ask her for directions, a short cut to the border. But she did not. I realised after five minutes that there was trouble and moved on.

But already the police were on my trail. They stopped me and asked who I was. I told them I was from Botswana and had come here to look for work. They took me to Messina police station and booked me in. Someone removed the blanket I was wearing. Then they saw that I had only underwear on. They called many soldiers to identify me.

I have never been as badly assaulted in my life. I passed out three times. The first time I thought I was dying. I was revived by someone they said was a doctor, just to be assaulted again. There were about 12 of them.

CAUCUS

Then all the white security police went and caucused, leaving the black ones to guard me. One of the black security guys took them tea. He came back and said to me: "Man, you are very lucky. While I was making tea, they were talking about shooting you because they say this case is bad for them. But you are lucky. Someone has intervened because you were booked in at the police station. So they aren't sure who knows you were there."

They gave me no water or food. They had arrested me around ten in the morning and took me back to the cells around midnight. In the cell I was relieved to see there was

a tap and thought that at last I would be able to drink water. But they chained my hands and feet to the grill so that I could not reach the tap.

The next day they assaulted me again. They drove me to Louis Trichardt to make a statement to a magistrate. On the way they assaulted me again. They told me not to say anything about the assaults.

The magistrate asked me if I had been assaulted. I said no. Anyone could see I had been. The green prisoner's clothing I was wearing was covered in blood. But the magistrate did not ask where I got all those bruises from. The security police stood at the door while I was making my statement.

During interrogation, I saw an old *Sowetan* used by a black security cop to wrap food in. In it I read that Peter had been shot the day after I was captured. He was about four kilometres from the border. He nearly survived ... ♦

Robert McBride

The last mile to liberation



My political life started in matric. It was 1980. We were calling for parity in education systems. In 1983, with the advent of the UDF, my awareness of the need for the system to be changed as quickly as possible became more acute.

"It took about two to three minutes – when Gordon Webster came to formally recruit me for Umkhonto we Sizwe – to agree."

The youth in the township were already responding to the call of forming their own combat units. We had a combat unit which was hopelessly amateurish. It took about two to three minutes – when Gordon Webster came to formally recruit me for Umkhonto we Sizwe – to agree. After that I received training in creating DLBs and smuggling weapons

into the country. I knew the techniques of camouflaging false compartments because I could weld, I could do panel beating.

I subsequently went on combat missions – sabotage, attacking substations, pylons and police vehicles. Then I was involved in recruiting and arming people to carry out attacks – mostly with handgrenades – on those collaborating with the government and security forces.

One of the guys who I had recruited spoke – against the policy of secrecy – to another youngster. As a result I was forced to recruit him. He was only 16 and was arrested during the state of emergency. The pressures of detention made him volunteer information.

The day I was to leave the country, my uncle persuaded me to sleep the night at his place. We decided to phone home. The line was tapped. Six o'clock the next morning the cops arrived. They shot out the lock of the door. As I came out I saw a row of barrels pointing at me from across the wall. From then on it was detention, interrogation and frequent assaults. Eventually that led to my trial and being sentenced to death.

DEATH ROW

During my time on death row, the ANC became unbanned and my sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Throughout my incarceration, I had to continuously fight against the government's attempt to make me a common law criminal.

Whenever the government killed children or women or unarmed ANC members, they referred to them as ANC collaborators. They never referred to them as innocent civilians.

After the Gaborone massacre, General Constand Viljoen announced loudly and proudly that

they had killed 10 ANC executives. The strange thing is that one of those "executives" was a six-year-old boy, Peter Mofoko.

Whilst the press vilifies me today, saying that I killed civilians, the very same press was applauding the SADF for killing ANC members, women and children, armed or unarmed. The decision to target the Why Not Bar next to Magoos was not taken against white civilians because they were white. The intended target was not civilians at all, but military personnel who were off-duty.

WORST TIME

The year after my organisation had gone ahead with negotiations without me being released was the worst time of my life. It seemed as if my organisation had turned against me. I understand now the reasoning behind the compromise.

The ANC leaders wanted the country to move as fast as possible into an Interim Government (IG) because they saw the present NP government as the main obstacle to negotiations.

They thought the government would act in good faith to move towards an IG. They realise now that they were wrong. I must applaud them for the stand they took in regard to the release of political prisoners that culminated in my release.

I think negotiations will gather momentum now but I see a lot of pitfalls. The government's Frankensteins, leaders of the homelands, have gone out of control.

AMNESTY

We can only decide about an amnesty when a democratically elected government comes into power. It is foolish of the government to link amnesty with the release of freedom fighters. It is like equating the actions of French resistance fighters with those of the Nazi occupiers in France during the Second World War.

The best thing about being out of prison is that I can now actively contribute to the last mile of the liberation struggle. ♦

Mzondeleli Nondula

De Klerk did not deserve that from me



Photo: Mike Knott

Mzondeleli Nondula's release from prison was tinged with sorrow because his mother, Nosidina, was not there to welcome him.

In 1990 when he was on death row, Nelson Mandela visited him and other political prisoners to brief them on the Groote Schuur Minute. Nondula wanted to write to his mother to express his elation at finally meeting this man who symbolised to him not only perseverance but freedom itself. It was only then that the authorities told him that his mother had died four days earlier. This was the most testing moment of his life.

TORTURE

Nondula became politically active in 1976. His brother, Bongani, was an activist. After every detention, Bongani would come home with scars, bruises and cigarette burns all

over his body. He is now deaf as a result of torture. The execution of Solomon Mahlangu was a turning point for Nondula.

UNDERGROUND

He worked in the ANC underground until leaving the country. He spent 1982 in Lesotho and survived the SADF attack on Maseru that year. "The regime claimed victory saying they had killed ANC terrorists when all I saw were corpses of innocent women, men and children, some ANC members and others Lesotho nationals, gunned down in their sleep. The ugly ghost I had left behind was with me again, even more vicious than before."

He was part of an MK unit which laid landmines in the highly militarised northern Transvaal in 1985. He was captured in January 1987 at a roadblock near the Botswana border. He was severely tortured. On 5 May 1988 Nondula

and co-accused Mthetheleli Mncube were sentenced to death.

In Pretoria Central Prison they had to fight to be recognised as political prisoners. In 1991 they were given leave to appeal. But only three of Mncube's four death sentences and one of Nondula's seven were commuted. They were then advised to petition the State President for clemency.

"De Klerk has said that the release of political prisoners was the most difficult decision in his career. The most difficult decision I have ever made in my life was to petition him for clemency. He did not deserve that from me."

"De Klerk has said that the release of political prisoners was the most difficult decision in his career. The most difficult decision I have ever made in my life was to petition him for clemency. He did not deserve that from me. The leadership persuaded me to do so," says Nondula with a chuckle. In March this year their death sentences were commuted.

Nondula rejects the government's ploy to link the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty.

He says: "Not all government misconduct has been revealed. They must be brave enough to say: 'This is our past.' They are a bunch of cowards who want to pardon themselves. How can that happen?"

Nondula remains a disciplined member of MK. He plans to write matric next year, believing that education is vital to ensure competence in the exercise of power. ♦

Pension pay-offs: South Africa's answer to Swiss bank accounts

For most dictators and corrupt rulers the world over, secret Swiss bank accounts provide the giant nest egg for the day when they will be out of power. Not so with the South African ruling elite. Huge and early pensions is the name of the game.

There is no longer any doubt that the apartheid system has all along provided a free-for-all to plunder the state coffers. Scandal after scandal involving financial misappropriation has emerged.

The government is apparently unable to do anything to bring those accused to book. A case in point is the multi-billion rand scandal of the former Department of Development Aid which was run by Gerrit Viljoen, until recently De Klerk's right hand man in negotiations.

Now that revelations have been made about the size and conditions set for state pensions, it is partly

clear why the government has been reluctant to act. The plunder is taking many forms. One is through parliamentary legislation. The Parliamentarians Pension Act provides that the State President, his cabinet, and many long-serving parliamentarians – National and Conservative Party alike – will have huge pensions waiting for them when they are ousted from power. The senior police and army personnel can also count on very comfortable pensions.

FOREIGN LOANS

ANC economists say this can only be described as plain plunder of the country's riches while the sun still

shines for the racists. And, what is more disturbing for those who will inherit the economy after this massive dip into the kitty is that not only are existing state funds being plundered, but these corrupt pay-outs are being financed by borrowing on a massive scale from foreign financiers.

This will ensure that long after the former dictators are pensioned off, the taxpayers will still feel the pinch and blame it on the new government.

REWARDING THE POLICE

When De Klerk announced a major restructuring of the police force a few months ago, it turned out to be nothing but another occasion to publicly offer a golden handshake to loyal servants of apartheid. Some officers were retired prematurely on full pensions while others were promoted to more senior jobs with bigger pensions.

In other areas of the public service the practice has been to pension off employees and then re-employ them. This has been most blatant in the teaching profession and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Teachers unhappy with working in non-segregated schools have been given generous golden handshakes. A number of lecturers at the Johannesburg College of Education have received fat retrenchment packages, only to be immediately re-employed in other capacities. They have been heard to boast that their pensions are guaranteed by the



Graphic: Mzwakhe Nhlabatsi

World Bank and are not in danger from any change of government.

In the SABC, early retirement has been offered to some senior staffers who are now engaged as "consultants" on full pay.

Blacks who have loyally served apartheid have not been forgotten, probably because their services will still be required. It has been reported that former black mayors can expect pay-offs of R100 000 and councillors of R50 000. This comes on top of the benefits that have accrued to them all along, including housing, transport and education.

In Venda it was revealed that the bantustan administration was preparing grounds to privatise its pension scheme to benefit the top echelons. This may be repeated in other bantustans.

Of course, it is a well-known fact that many of the bantustan leaders need not go the Ramushwana way because they have already spirited a lot of money away. The plans have now been put on hold according to the Venda government. It is still doubtful if others have ended such schemes because they are in

the bantustan business only for the money they can get out of it.

The question economists and politicians are asking is whether it would be morally right to allow these people, once there is a new government, to continue to draw these large pensions.

In the case of De Klerk (and PW Botha) the issue is compounded further by the fact that, as State President, the money he will receive will be tax free for life, just like the British monarch. To add insult to injury, he will not have contributed a cent. The public will be paying.

GOBBLING UP STATE FUNDS

It is to be expected that while the Nats and the righteous right-wing Conservative Party are gobbling up state funds, they will demand that a future government be required to reduce pensions payable to politicians and civil servants. On the other hand they will seek a guarantee that their pension benefits be left as they are.

In the wake of the 1978 Info Scandal, it was alleged that millions of rands had been stashed away in

Swiss banks in anticipation of the leaders having to run away from the country. The Soweto Uprisings had already signalled the end of apartheid rule and contingency plans had to be made. The scheme backfired and John Vorster was replaced by PW Botha. It was during PW's rule that the plan of "taking care of old buddies" began to flourish.

The realisation that it would be impossible not to begin negotiating with the ANC and face the reality that the present rulers will be out of power one day meant that plans had to be hatched to ensure that the apartheid leaders and their loyal servants would live like millionaires in their retirement.

It has also been suggested that the plush pensions and early retirement for many senior police and army personnel is buying their silence. There is no knowing what a struggling retired policeman, who believes that negotiations betrayed him, will do to get money.

This whole system has to be reviewed both for the economy of the country and to establish a democratic approach to pension schemes. ♦

MPLA supporters in Luanda during the election campaign



Angola

any chance for democracy?

MAYIBUYE's **Brian Hoga** was part of a five-person South African study group, sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), which observed the Angolan elections.

In the jungle, where Unita chief Jonas Savimbi spent 30 years of his adult life, only the fittest survive. His main concern is survival. His instincts tell him that, to survive in normal society, he must be the president. He is also a highly ambitious man.

It seems that Savimbi agreed to elections on the unwritten condition that he wins. When figures released from 90 percent of polling stations showed Dos Santos leading with 50,8 to Savimbi's 39,4 percent, and the MPLA with 55 to Unita's 33,4 percent in the race for the 223 parliamentary seats, Savimbi cried fraud.

Tension mounted in Angola. Unita forced the electoral authorities to delay announcing the official results. Savimbi withdrew his men from the unified army. A bomb blast at Luena provincial airport killed four government soldiers. Another bomb exploded under a car parked outside a Unita-occupied hotel in Luanda, sparking off gun battles which left five dead. Intense diplomatic efforts were also underway to persuade Savimbi to accept the outcome.

Whatever the findings of the investigations into Unita's fraud allegations, international observers who monitored the process were unanimous that it was, overall, free and fair. I share that view.

VOTE COUNTING

The NDI/CDS study group met a wide range of parties contesting the elections, observed the casting of votes at a number of polling stations (only in Luanda), and even witnessed the tedious counting of votes. Besides minor flaws like the late arrival of the electoral kit at some stations, the long queues, and electoral officers having to go without water or food for long periods, my impressions were by and large positive. I personally witnessed only one incident of violence when a car carrying MPLA supporters was stoned behind Unita offices in Ingombota, a Luanda suburb.

All parties had the right to send an observer to the polling stations. At the counting stage, literally every ballot was shown to them. We noted that, where queries arose, electoral officers would consult the observers and decisions were taken unanimously. All were issued with official forms to fill in their observations. From everything we saw, the transition seemed smooth. It didn't matter who was going to win. This was going to be victory for all Angolans. But that was only at the election stage.

The 16-year war in Angola came to an end in May 1991 with the signing of the Peace Accords by the MPLA and Unita. Among other things, both parties accepted the ex-

Intimidation of a different type

The Angolan elections had one important lesson for South Africa: Spare neither effort nor resources in the voter and civic education programmes.

"I saw intimidation of a different type – the complicated ballot form," says Randi Erentzen, Director of the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape, and head of the study group.

Seventeen parties and one coalition of five parties contested the elections in Angola. All 18 were squeezed onto one ballot paper, with four small blocks for the party's name, acronym, symbol and the square for the voter's mark. The same applied for the 12 presidential candidates.

This undoubtedly caused confusion in a country with high levels of illiteracy. More than 15 percent of the votes cast were either spoilt or blank. *SouthScan* also observed that the position of parties and presidential candidates on the ballot paper seems to have influenced the outcome.

"Jonas Savimbi was on the bottom of the presidential ballot, and illiterate supporters were told to put the finger print in the bottom right hand corner.

"The order of the parties was different in the parliamentary race, and the unknown PLD party, which was on the bottom of the list received more than two percent of the vote – ten times that won by its presidential candidate; its vote was greatest in Unita areas and was surely from illiterate voters who thought they were again voting for Savimbi.

"Similarly, the only other two presidential candidates to receive significant votes (two percent each) were unknowns who came before and after Dos Santos on the list.

"On the parliamentary list, Unita and MPLA were separated by one other party, which unexpectedly won two percent of the vote, again probably misplaced major party votes, but which will give the PRS two seats in parliament," observed *SouthScan*.

Judging from the results, Angolan voting behaviour could be seen as strangely inconsistent. Dos Santos takes 49,57 against Savimbi's 40,07 percent in the presidential race, while the MPLA wins 53,74 against Unita's 34,10 in the parliamentary contest. Does that mean there are people who voted for the MPLA as a party and for Savimbi as president? And vice versa? Maybe.

I am still wondering how those thousands of illiterate masses in the far-flung villages that can be reached only by foot and air, who have no electricity and therefore no TVs, and, no doubt, have never seen Dos Santos, Savimbi or any of the ten other presidential candidates (except maybe on posters), were expected to identify their fingertip-size pictures on a ballot form. ♦

tension of government authority to all areas. But up to the time of the elections, Unita still controlled 52 villages, including Jamba. It was not only the MPLA that was not allowed to set foot in those areas, but all the other parties. This sounds familiar in a country with places like Ulundi, Bisho and Mmabatho. At the same time Unita complains that thousands of its supporters in those areas were not registered to vote.

The provisions of the accords relating to the armed forces were also not complied with fully. The process of integrating the two armies was to be completed by the date of the elec-

tions, with all who do not become members of the new army duly demobilised. But both parties still controlled their armies by 29 September. The military seemed prepared for any eventuality. Heavy hardware was not under joint control. Savimbi is said to have been reluctant to send the best of his army into the new "unified" army.

ANTI-RIOT POLICE

Another contentious issue was the newly-formed Spanish-trained anti-riot police force. Unita claims that the Angolan government, instead of demobilising the required quota,



Voter enthusiasm – the long queues were no deterrent

created this police force from its best soldiers. It also accuses the government of violating the accords, which forbid receipt of lethal material from outside, and Spain for training and equipping the new special police. The government, on the other hand, claims to have created the special police purely in response to the escalating level of crime.

NAMIBIANS

Unita also complained of Namibians migrating to Southern Angola to increase the MPLA vote, but acknowledged that the figures were too insignificant to affect the outcome of the elections decisively. There were many such accusations and counter-accusations, but all parties agreed to give democracy a chance and proceed with the elections. Perhaps only because Savimbi was confident he was going to win.

But after the announcement of about 90 percent of the results showed Savimbi and his party trailing behind Dos Santos and the MPLA, he denounced the elections and started withdrawing his forces from the "unified" army. In addition to the investigation of fraud allega-

tions, Unita also demanded a recount based on the polling station record sheets, the checking of the computer and an account of all unused ballot papers.

A probe into Unita's allegations showed no substantial irregularities, and the final results were eventually released on 16 September. The MPLA won the parliamentary race by 53,74 against Unita's 34,10 percent. The presidential race will be going for the second round as none scored the required 50 percent plus one vote. Dos Santos won 49,57 percent, and Jonas Savimbi 40,07.

THREATS

Were threats to go back to war real? Many analysts dismissed them, citing vocal American and South African support for the peace process in Angola. But it may be useful to recall that the security establishments in both countries, particularly in South Africa, are a law unto themselves.

Already, according to *South-Scan*, there are unconfirmed reports of increased fighter and cargo aircraft activity over south-eastern Angola.

But even if support from these two main allies was to be limited or curtailed completely, Unita has the capacity to destabilise Angola for many years. The amount of weaponry in the country defies imagination. It is said to be as high as five items of weaponry per person. There are also about 40 000 trained and armed men who cannot be accounted for, ie who demobilised themselves when the peace process began. A big potential for banditry.

SAVIMBI'S FEARS

But are Savimbi's fears founded? Not if the government's public pronouncements are anything to go by. The biggest threat to his safety may be his conscience. Kundi Payhama, a senior MPLA official and governor of Luanda, was asked if his government had any programmes for the reintegration of Unita into Angolan society. He answered: "Yes. They are Angolans. They will be reintegrated and, above all, protected. We are humans and politically responsible. Absolutely nothing is going to happen to them."

"On the other hand we also need them. We (Angolans) are few in number, and it will be a crime to reject any Angolan who would like to participate in the process just because he belongs to another party. Even if we know that a particular person has killed, we should know how to pardon."

NATIONAL UNITY

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro Van-Dunem has also invited Unita to join a government of national unity, as long as it accepts the electoral defeat. He promised Unita government representation proportional to the votes it won in the election.

Meanwhile the world and particularly the Angolan people – who primarily voted for peace – are following the events in that war-torn country with bated breath. The people's verdict was beautifully expressed in one of the banners waving in Luanda during the electoral campaign: "*MPLA o Meu Voto – Ainda o Melhor* [MPLA is my vote – It's still the best]." But will Savimbi accept this? ♦

Democratic economic decision-making

Cosatu insists on the urgent need for a macro-economic forum in which the major players in the economy are central to determining the framework of socio-economic development. **Pete Richer** of the Bilateralism Project at Wits University looks at some of the issues involved.

What possible forums ... ?

1. Growth/Development separation

A distinction between economic growth and development is made. A central labour market institution (a Labour Market Council) comprising the two major power parties – labour and capital – would be concerned with the development of an active labour market policy geared to economic growth. A second institution concerned with socio-economic development and comprising a range of stakeholders would run parallel with the first.

2. Functional differentiation

Building primarily on the principle of participatory democracy, this scenario sees the development of a series of peak level institutions formed around specific policy issues – labour market policy, housing policy, etc – which would comprise in each case major stakeholders (particularly capital and labour) and representatives of disadvantaged groups. All of these institutions would feed into a macro-economic forum, similarly constituted.

3. Multi-tiered institution

This scenario sees the development of a bipartite core of labour and capital within an institution of other stakeholders. Matters would initially be dealt with by the core and where consensus was reached would go to the broader body as a check against narrow corporatism. This body would deal with all matters of socio-economic policy.

Why is a macro-economic forum needed? A variety of reasons have been put forward:

- It will lead to a growth path capable of removing the causes of social tension such as unemployment, excessive wealth inequalities and homelessness.
- It will create a joint commitment of the “stakeholders” and their constituencies to the policies adopted, which will have a greater chance of success.
- It is necessary to resolve fundamental differences between major social actors in order to derive policies conducive to both economic growth and socio-economic upliftment of the population as a whole.
- It will help devolve state power, create a participatory democratic form and act as a “check” on the executive arm of government.

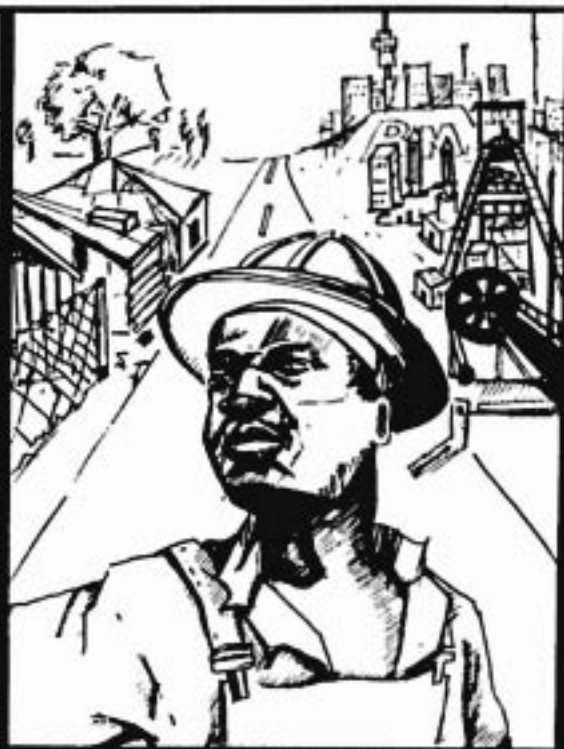
Who should be party to a macro-economic forum?

The debate around who should participate in labour market institutions is a useful starting point. Obviously there are three main contenders – employers, workers and the state.

For both employers and workers the effective contenders are the organised collectives – employers’ organisations and trade unions. The state is less definable – a particular government department, a cabinet Minister or Parliament?

The bulk of South Africa’s population have been marginalised from the formal economy and would not be adequately represented by employers, workers and the state. The alternative is institutions which go beyond the three players and bring other relevant groups affected by labour market policy.

**POVERTY, FORCED REMOVALS,
HOMELESSNESS AND VIOLENCE.**



**THE MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM
AND URBANISATION.**

The people who have been impoverished by apartheid should have a say in the economic and development policies of a democratic South Africa

PROTECTING THE "OUT GROUP"

What protection is there for those who are left out of the institution? In South Africa, where almost half the population is outside of the formal employment sector, the danger of "narrow corporatism" or of labour market elitism is very real.

This raises the question of how those outside of the formal labour market (eg the unemployed, rural subsistence farmers, marginalised youth, and consumers in general) will be protected. Parliament, if truly democratic, should provide a degree of protection for those excluded from the formal market.

The simplest solution is to include other relevant groupings. Two problems arise: firstly, these groups are not generally sufficiently organised to provide representation to these institutions and, secondly, if these bodies are to be forums of negotiations, the multiplicity and variety of participants may not be conducive to negotiating agreements of any standing.

SWEDISH EXAMPLE

Sweden provides a useful comparison. It has the highest employment/population ratio in the world. Unemployment fluctuates around 5 percent and it has a trade union density around 80-90 percent. Employers are organised into a strong central organisation.

Thus in Sweden the organisations of labour and capital do actually represent the majority of their potential constituencies and their potential constituencies comprise the bulk of the population.

In South Africa various estimates put between 40 and 60 percent of the economically active population outside of formal sector employment. Union density is variously estimated at between 22 and 40 percent.

Although national employers' bodies exist, these tend to be under-supported. Conglomerate capital in particular appears to be more committed to supporting lobby groups such as the Consultative Business Movement, rather than constituency-based employers' bodies such as Sacob or Saccola. Thus the organisations of labour and capital do not appear to represent the majority of their potential constituencies and their potential constituencies do not comprise the bulk of the population.

Does a macro-economic forum really mean that labour, capital and the state (or some combination of two of these) jointly determine how the economy is run or what labour market policies should be implemented?

The extent of joint determination may be loosely classified into three types:

- The **consultative approach** sees government enter into a dialogue with other parties, often within the framework of permanent institutions, with a view to eliciting their views prior to policy formulation by government.

- **Concertation** similarly seeks parties' views, but in a situation where the parties reach consensus on the views forwarded to government for consideration.

- The **co-deterministic approach** seeks shared responsibility for decisions and normally seeks to formalise these decisions into an agreement, usually spelling out a number of specific "trade offs" between the parties. The co-deterministic approach may also involve the devolution of certain executive powers to the parties.

ANC POLICY

The ANC, in its policies for the future, would appear to be opting for bodies which are effectively participatory, but at the end of the day still advisory – although advisory to parliament. This is reflected in the following policy statement:

"We propose the establishment of a National Labour Commission, which will be composed of representatives from government, trade unions, employer organisations and other relevant organs of civil society. It would act as a central co-ordinating body in relation to all labour matters and would make recommendations, including draft legislation, to parliament." (ANC Policy Guidelines, 1992)

Cosatu's policy position stresses effective participation, but does not say how this would be structured: "The National Manpower Commission must be restructured so that workers can effectively participate in decisions about laws which affect them." (Cosatu Economic Policy Conference resolution, 1992)

A macro-economic forum needs to correctly balance the need for the major players to bargain effectively with the need for proper representation of all sectors of society. The powers and functions of the forum will also affect its composition. ♦

Strategy conference needed

Richard Rangiah of the Hillbrow/Berea ANC branch argues that a common strategic approach to mass action and negotiations needs to be hammered out in a national conference with mandated input from branches and regions.

Militants and supporters of the ANC engaged in the recent wave of mass action for different reasons. For some, mass action was a means of putting pressure on the apartheid regime to strengthen our side at Codesa. If sustained, this would weaken the De Klerk regime and lead to its collapse.

Others see the mass action as preparation for an insurrection. Then there were those who abstained from mass action, believing that it would only harm the Codesa negotiating process.

What we need as a matter of urgency is a conference of the ANC to address the burning issue of our strategies and tactics following the breakdown of Codesa and the preparedness of the masses to take on the apartheid regime. To guide our choice of strategies, we need to consider the following:

- **Problems with Codesa-style negotiations**

Despite all the lip-service we have paid to negotiations being another site of struggle, our practice showed little or nothing of this perspective. Locked behind closed doors, our leadership was isolated from its mass base. Our democratic tradition of proper mandating, report-backs and accountability was not adequately executed.

Mass action, which was to have been combined with talks, in practice ground to a halt. Those actions that we engaged in were primarily symbolic. The gulf that was developing between leadership and base, together with the absence of a well-defined programme of mass action to match the talks at Codesa, left militants demobilised and ANC branches dying. The conference, in addressing these problems, must enable branches to plan their local activities from a common perspective.

- **Political violence**

The source of political violence is self-evident. The apartheid state is, through its armed forces, hit squads and training and arming of Inkatha and other right-wing groupings, engaged in systematic acts of violence against the people.

We suspended the armed struggle and participated in the Peace Accord. Yet the violence not only continued, but intensified.

The conference must review our participation in peace accords, the role of MK and commit the ANC to building and training self-defence units.

- **Declining economic and social conditions**

In the name of economic growth, the bosses have re-trenched hundreds of thousands of workers. They use the courts to smash strikes. They refuse to increase wages despite soaring food prices. While education, housing, health and other basic services deteriorate daily, the government departments squander and steal money that belongs to the people.

We do not have formulated positions on the many economic and social issues confronting us. In the ANC there is a significant tendency which believes that questions of political power and economic and social issues should be kept separate. This approach would lead the ANC to abandon its crucial leadership role in struggles around socio-economic questions.

The conference must address the question of how to interconnect the struggles to transfer power to the people and solve the immediate economic and social problems.

To ensure accountability, delegates must carry mandates from branches and regions to the national conference and be required to report back. ♦



*ANC National Conference, July 1991.
Is another national conference needed to hammer out strategy and tactics?*

Political youth organisations – what future?

Derek Masoek, ANC Youth League National Campaigns Officer, argues that political youth organisations, including the ANC Youth League, need to develop broad youth-based programmes taking up issues affecting all youth, regardless of political affiliation.



Today only about 20 out of about 60 youth organisations are overtly political. Yet nearly all the members subscribe to a clear political ideology. There is an ongoing struggle in the “non-political” organisations to maintain a precarious balance between exclusive and accommodative policies, between neutral and supportive positions. It is not the biggest and most powerful youth organisation that will survive and perhaps develop, but the most skilful and clear in terms of perspective.

Unlike other youth organisations, overtly political youth organisations have the following daunting challenges to tackle:

- being a breeding ground for the parent political organisation;
- maintaining their “independent” profile as a youth organisation;
- justifying their existence among other youth organisations in the country.

With peace and reconciliation likely to be the dominant theme after the first democratic elections, the chances of survival for overtly political

organisations is likely to be through some neutral, all-encompassing youth organisation.

This body will constitute itself as the major organisation among youth in the country. It will bring together in a coalition both the youth wings of political parties and the “non-political” youth organisations to seriously tackle youth problems, most of which are non-partisan.

WESTERN PROJECT

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), the Joint Enrichment Project (JEP) and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMD) may be new in South Africa, but certainly not in world politics. These projects have the following common characteristics:

- they emerge at the beginning of the transition process;
- they are funded by foreign agencies;
- they are normally headed and staffed by people (mostly retired) of some political and social standing in local communities;

- they claim and normally give the impression of neutrality in the political process; and
- youth organisations normally feature as their key target group.

With the Idasa/JEP/IMD initiative, South Africa is likely to be the first successful project by Western agencies in Africa to influence the development of future policies through youth groups. This poses a challenge to be taken seriously by all youth organisations: to themselves start working towards a national, all-encompassing youth organisation, initiated and led by the youth.

What then is the fate of youth wings of political organisations?

It is quite likely that the ANC Youth League will be immensely advantaged when the ANC is in government. However, this is only possible if the League begins to play a much more accommodative game than it has done so far. In other words, whilst maintaining its profile as an influential entity in ANC policy-making, it also has to develop independent, broad, youth-based programmes.

REORIENTATION

It must continually strive to be the unquestionable voice of all youth, both inside and outside parliament. The League must immediately initiate a programme to fundamentally

reorient the nature, composition and profile of the organisation. It should encourage allied organisations to adopt a similar but suitable programme in their own areas of work.

Opposition party youth wings can only survive and develop if they succeed in discarding the image of the past. If their parties lose elections, they are likely to lose their support and their organisational coherence.

PROFILE

They need to display their allegiance to the new democratic system without necessarily abandoning their positions on the protection of minorities, sectoral and regional interests. Youth wings of political parties should attempt to have profiles independent of their parent parties.

Once issues like Interim Government, Constituent Assembly, the constitution and elections have been dealt with, youth wings of political parties will find an even more pressing need to attend to a number of issues affecting youth in general. For example:

- peace, reconciliation and security;
- unemployment;
- empowerment or affirmative action;
- recreation and development of national sports, arts and culture;
- education and illiteracy.

This is likely to encourage a broad-based youth initiative as opposed to narrow organisational interests.

The first democratic government would wish for a relatively stable political climate and would therefore avoid a radical transformation of social and political institutions.

ECONOMY

It would also avoid altering radically the main economic power houses, with particular consideration for the economy. A multi-party democracy presupposes a less financially supportive relationship between the ruling party and its youth wing.

The ANC Youth League's future is therefore not necessarily guaranteed by an ANC government, nor is its advantage over other youth organisations. If it fails to lead during the first five-year period of an ANC government, it is likely to lose prestige and the opportunity to survive as a useful youth organisation. It could even degenerate into a docile supporter of everything the new government does.

CRITICAL MOMENT

South African youth organisations are fast approaching a critical moment in the history of their development. The process could be likened to building a bridge between two busy cities. If the bridge is not properly planned and constructed to accommodate varying traffic loads, it is bound to collapse.

Maintaining the necessary balance is not simply a requirement of skill but experience as well. In our situation, we have both, but only for the period behind us.

The future requires that we plan and construct ideas afresh, both for the youth and for our future as a people. ♦



Photo: Cecil Sols, Dynamic Images

Bringing youth with diverse political beliefs together is a tough challenge. The recent National Youth Conference was not able to launch a youth coalition.

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De Klerk must apologise for the crimes of apartheid



The massacre of the people at Bisho once again shows how insulated and insensitive white South Africans are to the suffering and pain of their black compatriots. While relatives and friends were mourning the death of their loved ones, whites in South Africa, the NP, the Democratic Party and the media said that the demonstrators got what they wanted. All were quick to put the blame on the victims and the well-worn communist plot emerged.

HEROES

When people in places like Eastern Europe or China rise up against the powers that be, they are lauded as heroes and martyrs. The apartheid regime never hesitated to support Unita and Renamo. These two organisations have been involved in some of the most horrific massacres.

At home FW de Klerk's allies are tinpot despots in the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu. In all these areas free political activity is non-existent and public funds are used to suppress opposition.

Even as the Bisho massacre was happening, FW and his allies were meeting in Pretoria in the so-called summit on federalism, aimed at realising Pik Botha's arithmetic on future elections.

The government failed to condemn the CDF for opening fire without any normal procedures of crowd control. Then all of a sudden we are being told that the hands of De Klerk and his government are clean.

What we should recall immediately is that Gqozo issued a statement in February last year saying that an agreement had been reached which allowed the South African government to appoint key ministers of the Ciskei government as well as senior officers in the army and police.

The fact that the men around Gqozo are almost entirely from Pretoria, with strong CCB and Military Intelligence connections, has been well-documented. To name a few:

- **Anton Nieuwoudt**, head of International Research, a CCB arm, which effectively runs Ciskei securi-

Vumile Ngculu, an MK officer, criticises the insensitivity of white South Africa to the suffering and pain of their black compatriots. The NP, DP and the media were all quick to blame the victims rather than the perpetrators of the Bisho massacre.

ty. Nieuwoudt is an SADF colonel who was linked to the secret SADF Hippo camp in northern Namibia where Inkatha fighters were trained.

- **General Johan Viktor**, Ciskei Commissioner of Police, is seconded from the SAP. He is a former commander of the notorious Askari training base, Vlakplaas.

- **Brig Marius "Mo" Oelschig**, head of the Ciskei Defence Force, is one of the founders of the infamous Koevoet counter-insurgency unit which committed numerous atrocities in Namibia.

- **Col Horst Schubesberger**, CDF Chief of Staff (Operations), was in direct command during the Bisho massacre. An Austrian mercenary, he joined the Rhodesian army in 1978. He gave the order to shoot at Bisho. He was seen on the Friday before surveying the place where the shooting occurred together with **Col Jack Roussouw**, a former Rhodesian Selous Scout.

We need to be convinced then how the apartheid government cannot be held responsible for the massacre. Instead of De Klerk putting his party political interests first, he should own up to the mayhem and apologise. In fact FW de Klerk owes South Africa a public apology for the crimes of apartheid. ♦

A letter to my mother

by Baleka Kgositsile

Dear Ma

I started writing this letter more than 12 years ago in Dar es Salaam. The first of its lines have probably faded along with the crisp flimsy paper they sprawl on in some cockroach-infested box full of abandoned books. Over the years our Tanzanian sister, Rahima, faithfully looked after them. As we moved from country to country, house to house, year in year out, she aired the files, papers, old Radio Freedom scripts, ANC News Briefings and books.

Occasionally we bumped into her at airports or mutual friends' houses in Nairobi, Harare, Gaborone. She always updated us on the state of the boxes and their contents. We – in the mean time – amassed more papers, articles, files and books. Each time we had to leave a country – not really out of choice – some of the boxes never made their way out of there for one reason or another.

The last time I saw Rahima in Lusaka she did not talk about the boxes. I secretly still hope to get them one day in some better future time. But maybe the salty humid air of East Africa has resolved the matter in its own way. I don't know.

I was telling you how long ago I started writing this letter. I have a feeling I'll go on writing it for a few years more actually. But I did see you twice in Botswana during those desert years whose oasis were the moments that overspilled into paper, freedom songs and stories about home.

I remember us receiving a message about a red alert on the eve of your departure back home. How when we were all leaving to take refuge elsewhere for the night, you asked what was going to happen to the furniture and clothing. We said that human lives mattered more.

Being here without you is worse than exile. Sipho was four when the SADF killed very close uncles and aunties like Lindi, George and Thami. Watching me cut a chicken into pieces, he asked: "Mama is that what they did to boUncle?" That day he also asked me how it would be the day we return home.

I often have to put a hand deep inside myself. I often have to step back from myself and try to discern some answers and reach

some clarity about this life. I wish you could share with me from your own experience whether life is to be enjoyed, endured or tamed. If it is anyone's mission to change life for the better, does it have to be at the expense of loved ones?

Ma, the kids and their father are trying to settle down in South Africa. Sipho tells me he has fought white boys at school this year more than he ever fought in his 14 years. He still sucks his thumb now and again.

Remember MaZondi whom you met in Mafikeng on your first visit to Botswana? You wouldn't forget the pretty granddaughter who was joining the father, MaZondi's son, Bheki, in exile. By then he was married to a Zambian woman and they had a little boy. I saw them at the flea market on Saturday. The boy has grown tall and handsome. The father was killed mysteriously in Gaborone. The mother went back to her people.

MaZondi looks fine. The person who got me worried was the girl. A hard coldness has crept into her once sparkling big eyes. The once innocent-looking lovely face now carries a subtle but definite cynical stamp. She trained militarily in Angola and was lucky to come back into the country immediately on completion.

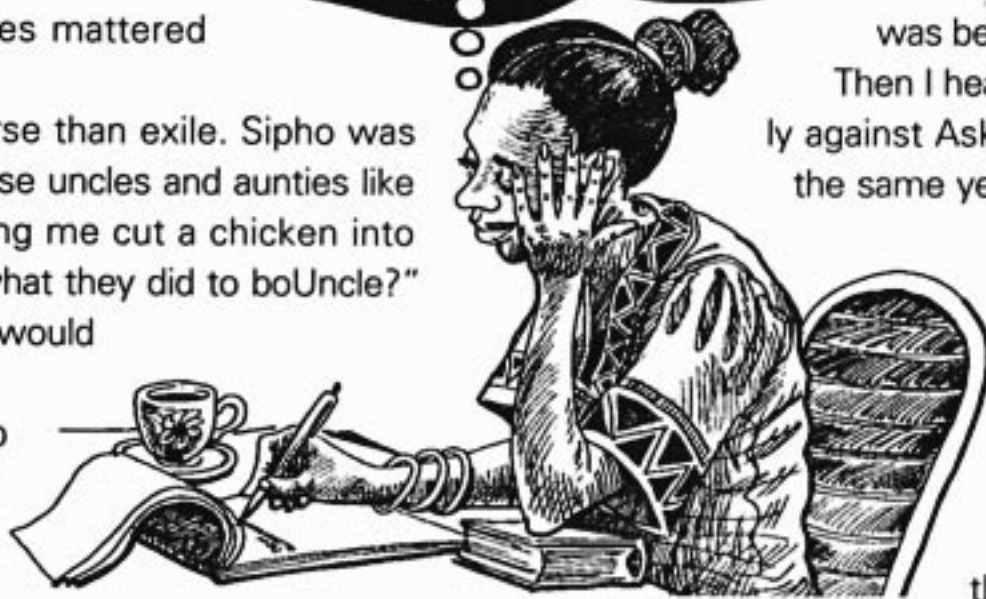
I saw her shortly after my arrival in 1990. Still underground, she and others in the same category were a bit uncertain about their status after the unbanning of MK. On the whole their spirits were still high. That

was before the Vula arrests.

Then I heard how she fought ferociously against Askaris who tried to abduct her the same year. She was arrested and detained for six months. I

don't know where she has been since, but I know by the twitch of her lower lip that something has gone wrong.

Of course some of the things we have seen since 2



Graphic: Mzwakhe Nhlabatsi

February 1990 would fill volumes. The violence is something I can handle in a separate part of the letter.

But I must tell you about Themba, a young man I met in Natal in July 1990. Those were the days when my eyes widened to their limits almost endlessly in amazement at the beauty of our country. In the mean time my little boy, Tshepo, was asking: "Where are the potholes Mama?" When I ventured an explanation that they were not there because national roads used for a lot of business were well kept, he still asked: "Why?"

Back to Themba. I can still see the silvery stream, what was left of Umzimkhulu River, in the deepest part of those South Coast hills. We, a team of four from the ANC, drove precariously on the winding road from which one's eye had to drop far below the left side of the hill to land on the chilly water. Ahead of us on the right, slightly above the dusty road was a thick black forest. "Sisi, that is Mashiya Forest, we call it Uganda. We slept there for six weeks when the village was attacked in June. All the young men had to go out and defend the people." The proud note was unmistakable in his voice.

It was sunset. I could only stare as we curved slowly to the left of the hill, past the eerie forest. Themba was 25 then, already the leader of the village. As we drove past villagers carrying bedding, they waved to him with obvious respect. Sometimes we stopped to greet the families who were moving away from the boundary between them and the hostile attackers referred to as "Inkatha".

We met Themba's mother and younger brother, the "Chief Marshall", in the faint light of the receding sun. As we emptied the boot of ANC application forms and membership cards, Themba de-briefed the Chief Marshall about the security situation. A meeting was to be convened later in the night.

He gave me a poem.

Ma, on our second day in South Africa, we stood at the beautiful tombstone the old man bought to cover you. I introduced you to Tshepo. Recently he told me he knows where you are sleeping. Of course you remain a vague idea to him.

Today, exactly 43 years since you and I met face to face, you are so palpable.

24/09/1992 ♦

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Driving on Robben Island

One can recall many experiences from the Island, some pleasant, others not. One of the things that happened regularly in jail was that prison warders would play tricks on prisoners. Some of them would do so purely out of amusement, not intended in a negative sense. Other prison warders enjoyed making prisoners' stay a bit more unpleasant than what it is.

Over a period, prisoners realised how important it was to do more exciting work than the dreary jobs they had to do. Some of the people were qualified lawyers, doctors and teachers.

Robben Island has no traffic department. Anyone can drive any kind of car whether it is in good or bad condition. It moves on Robben Island. One of the jobs prisoners had to do was to dig sand or lime. A lorry that would have to be loaded by prisoners would come around to take the lime or sand to another part of the Island where construction work was underway. The only people entitled to drive the trucks were prison warders. Prisoners felt that they should be entitled to drive. But in jail pleasant jobs are done by warders.

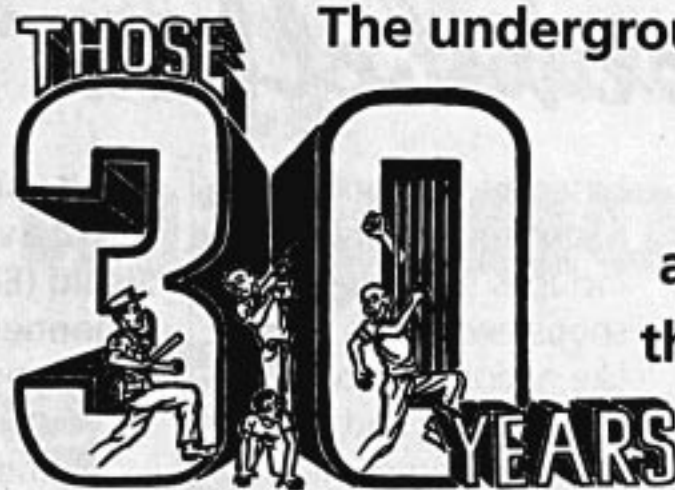
On one occasion, as prisoners were about to leave in spans to work, warders in charge came and said: "All prisoners who have drivers' licences should step one side." Those who had licences immediately did so, quite excited. Clearly this meant there was a change in the policy of the Department of Prisons. Those with licences were probably going to drive lorries. The prisoners with licences really felt good that now they were going to do some pleasant jobs. The warders then said that any kind of licence would do, not just heavy duty ones. This was done in a very serious, officious way.

The remaining prisoners were very envious of those who had licences. Some even said to their friends: "Hey, *mzala*, I'll be loading your lorry. I'm on your loading span."

The group without licences were now marshalled to take tools and to walk ahead to the quarry. After they had disappeared, the drivers were called. They were all looking forward to driving the lorries. But all that happened is that they were taken behind the wall where there was a large number of wheelbarrows, which is what they had to "drive"!

It was a devastating blow. It was a joke, but no one was going to laugh about it. The "drivers" had to follow the group that had gone ahead. The non-drivers were waiting expectantly for the sound of lorries, driven by their fellow prisoners. The next thing they heard the sound of wheelbarrows and the "drivers" appeared on the edge of the quarry. There was a stunned silence for a moment. Then all the chaps who had come forward with their spades and picks just collapsed in laughter. From being jealous of the "drivers", the whole thing became a big joke. The warders at a distance were looking the other way, laughing among themselves. ♦

Terror Lekota



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.

VACANCY

NATIONAL LAND COORDINATOR DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

We are looking for a full time National Land Coordinator. The person will be required to deal with day-to-day ANC matters on land reform, to liaise with ANC regions, rural communities and relevant service organisations working in this sector. He/she should have experience in at least one of the following:

- Land reform advocacy • Land reform research
- Rural community fieldwork • Rural development

ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS ARE:

- Fluency in at least one African language and English
- Ability to write reports

APPLICANTS SHOULD SEND A C.V. AND THE NAMES AND CONTACT TELEPHONE NUMBERS OF TWO REFEREES TO:

The Head
Department of Economic Planning
PO Box 61884
MARSHALLTOWN 2107

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS:
15 NOVEMBER 1992

On the bookshelf

Making workshops work
• Bridget Pitt & Murray Mitchell • Education Resource and Information Project, Cape Town, 1992

This is a practical step-by-step guide to all aspects of community workshops and training programmes. It uses lots of practical examples and also deals with teaching methods, aids and techniques.

Beyond the factory floor
• Siphon Pityana and Mark Orkin (eds) • Ravan, Johannesburg, 1992

A unique insight into the lives, opinions, values and activities of Cosatu-affiliated shopstewards,

based on 800 hour-long nationwide interviews. It includes the views of shopstewards on issues like nationalisation, negotiations and the future government.

A snake with ice water: prison writings by SA women • Barbara Schreiner (ed) • Cosaw, Johannesburg, 1992

A compilation of fiction, poetry and interviews by women on life in jail. It exposes the implications of incarceration, including the gender dimension, and is a moving call for the humanisation of a horrifying institution in South Africa.

Black youth in crisis • David Everatt & Elinor Sisulu (Eds) • Ravan, Johannesburg, 1992

Placing marginalised youth on the national agenda was the theme of a 1991 Joint Enrichment Programme conference. This book contains some of the central contributions to that conference. It presents a clear picture of the magnitude and complexity of the problems facing SA youth and provides pointers to some solutions.

Out of exile • Kevin Goddard & Charles Wessels (eds) • National

English Literary Museum, Grahamstown, 1992

Six previously exiled South African writers – Albie Sachs, Lewis Nkosi, Mbulelo Mzamane, Breyten Breytenbach, Dennis Brutus, Keorapetse Kgositsile – interviewed on their lives and craft, return from exile, the future of art and culture and the current political scene.

Essential things: an anthology of SA poetry • Andries Oliphant (ed) • Cosaw, Johannesburg, 1992

New, substantial selections from 23 poets with a wide range of themes and styles.

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Some of my best friends may not like it

The play starts with two people, Com Chair and Com Sec, seated at a table in the dark.

The Chair begins: "Comrades, I think we should start."

Sec: "We're two hours late, Com."

"Hmmm. . . that's an improvement! Our township comrades must be getting the message about punctuality."

"But we don't have any township members, Com."

"I know . . . but they're always a good excuse for starting late."

And it continues in that vein – a hilarious commentary on every meeting you ever wasted your time in.

The first target is the culture of politics. It comments on the endless meetings – "Sorry, com ... this is my seventh different meeting today. What organisation is this again?" It takes a side-swipe at the treasurer, who has absconded with the Swedish grant. And it enters the fray as non-sexist, except that "we don't have any women members".

The second target is the politics of culture. The play consists of a meeting of the Cultural Wankers Congress. They report on such things as the "Commission for Language Monuments", the future of "multi-cultural dance", and "making Shakespeare relevant".

The general slapstick is punctuated with one serious reality check: in the middle of this extended self-criticism, the lights go down and the actors recite:

"Men in uniform stand idly by
Men in hoods roam free
Sheltered by evil and the night
Women and children die. . . ."

One can, of course, easily attack this kind of revue as too slapstick, too random in its sweeps. Just who and what do they wish to condemn?

Review of *Some of My Best Friends are Cultural Workers*, a play by Mike van Graan



A hilarious commentary on every meeting you ever wasted your time in

tracks is to say we can only have criticism in the arts if it doesn't threaten us – and "we" decide what is, or is not, threatening.

Some of My Best Friends is well worth seeing, especially if you can understand the jokes because you've lived through it. I admit some of my best friends don't like it ... but it's time they learned to live with it, too.

– JAS ♦

But the serious question always raised when we laugh at ourselves in public performances is: "Doesn't this kind of criticism of progressive organisations play into the hands of the enemy?"

The author points out within the play itself that this will be raised: "As altruistic cultural workers, we prefer to give ... criticism, rather than take it." The play includes its own press reviews, where the "left critic" states "... it betrays the progressive cultural movement and plays into the hands of the liberal establishment by reinforcing their reactionary perceptions."

Unfortunately, in real life rumours abound that some persons (unspecified) have very seriously levelled such words against *Some of My Best Friends*. Therefore, an answer is needed.

Firstly, we learn from self-criticism. If we can't make fun of ourselves, we are in very deep trouble.

Secondly, "the enemy" won't profit from this kind of humour. They actually don't know enough about the situation to see where it's bitter, and where it's only funny. And where they might understand the negative bits (the treasurer and the Swedish grant?), the problem is already well-known, and we will survive acknowledging it.

Third, we do believe in an open culture – a culture which allows criticism, and self-criticism. And the easiest way to stop such a culture in its

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 15

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KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT THE ANC**

Solution to MAYIBUYE Xword No 13

1	N	E	H	A	W	U		4	M	W	5	A	S	6	A
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Across

- Butcher of Bisho.
- Visited South Africa to adjudicate in the Peace Committee on IFP complaints against the ANC.
- MK cadre recently released from jail.
- Whether.
- Country in west Africa.
- Inquest into the murder of ... opened in October.
- Was locked in a bitter conflict with Nehawu recently.
- Carried out murders of political activists in the eighties.
- Won the recent elections in Angola.
- Buthelezi distorts ... traditions for political ends.
- Not moving.
- Beat the SA soccer squad 4-0 in a World Cup qualifier.
- Tambo's initials.
- Opposed to the ANC/government Record of Understanding.

Down

- Murdered Cradock leader.
- Unites African countries.
- Savimbi's party.
- Held its first multi-party elections in September.
- Nelson Mandela is one of the 1992 ... Peace prize nominees.
- Intentional false statement.
- Continent.
- Demonstrators fell into one in Bisho.
- ... Jordan is head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity.
- Thozamile ... heads the ANC's Department of Local and Regional Government.
- Its ideology is black consciousness.
- Miriam Makeba's profession.
- Published false statement damaging to a person's reputation.
- Desperately tried to push the Further Indemnity Bill at the special session of parliament.



WINNER!



The winner of
MAYIBUYE XWORD No 13
is Stephen Langtry
7 Linden Tree Close
Forest Heights
Eerste River, 7100

RULES

- The first correct entry drawn wins.
- Only originals and hand-drawn facsimiles will be considered.
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- MAYIBUYE**, DIP and DPE staff members and their immediate relatives may not enter.
- Send answers to: **MAYIBUYE XWORD No 15**, Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.
- Closing date: 15 December 1992.
- See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, February 1993.

CONGRATULATIONS THE WINNER

MAYIBUYE AIRSCAPE COMPETITION NO 2
PAILLARD CHARLES MNISI
939 PROTEA NORTH
SOWETO
1818

WIN A TRIP FOR TWO TO EAST LONDON!

FLY TO EAST LONDON AND STAY TWO NIGHTS
(BED AND BREAKFAST) AT A HOTEL

QUESTIONS

- The slogan **MAYIBUYE ...** in full is:
a. ... Izwelethu b. ... i Africa
c. ... Usuthu
- The column for readers' letters in **MAYIBUYE** is:
a. Opinion. b. Those 30 years.
c. Readers speak out.
- 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
- Name three articles which appeared in the issue of **MAYIBUYE** in which you found this competition.

RULES

No 3

- Only one entry per person.
- Send your entry to **MAYIBUYE Airscape Competition No 3**, 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 East London" and send it with your entry.
- Closing date 15 March 1993.
- The judge's decision is final and no correspondence shall be entered into.
- Employees of the ANC and their immediate families may not enter.
- Winner to be announced in the April 1993 issue of **MAYIBUYE**.

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- Students with 'O' levels GCE certificate
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- Standard 8 with work experience in the proposed field of study

PROPOSED INTAKE

- 200 students

DURATION

- 6 months (from January 93–June 93) full time

PREFERENCE

- Students of mature age
- Returning exiles
- Ex-political prisoners
- Victims of state and police harassment resulting in education disruption
- Financial constraints
- Rural students

HOW TO APPLY

Apply in writing, enclosing your latest school report or certificate to:

Access Course Programme
Centre for Continuing Education
PO Box 1906
BELVILLE
7535

Access Course Programme
Repatriation Committee
PO Box 61884
MARSHALLTOWN
2107

Fax: 021-959-6107

Fax: 011-333-4509
011-29-3616

Or apply in person through any ANC, NCCR offices, Batlagae Trust, Saset or the Peninsula Technikon in Cape Town.

SELECTION

Selection will be done through written assessment exercises on communication skills, numeracy skills and functional mathematics.

CLOSING DATE

Applications must reach us not later than 15 November 1992.

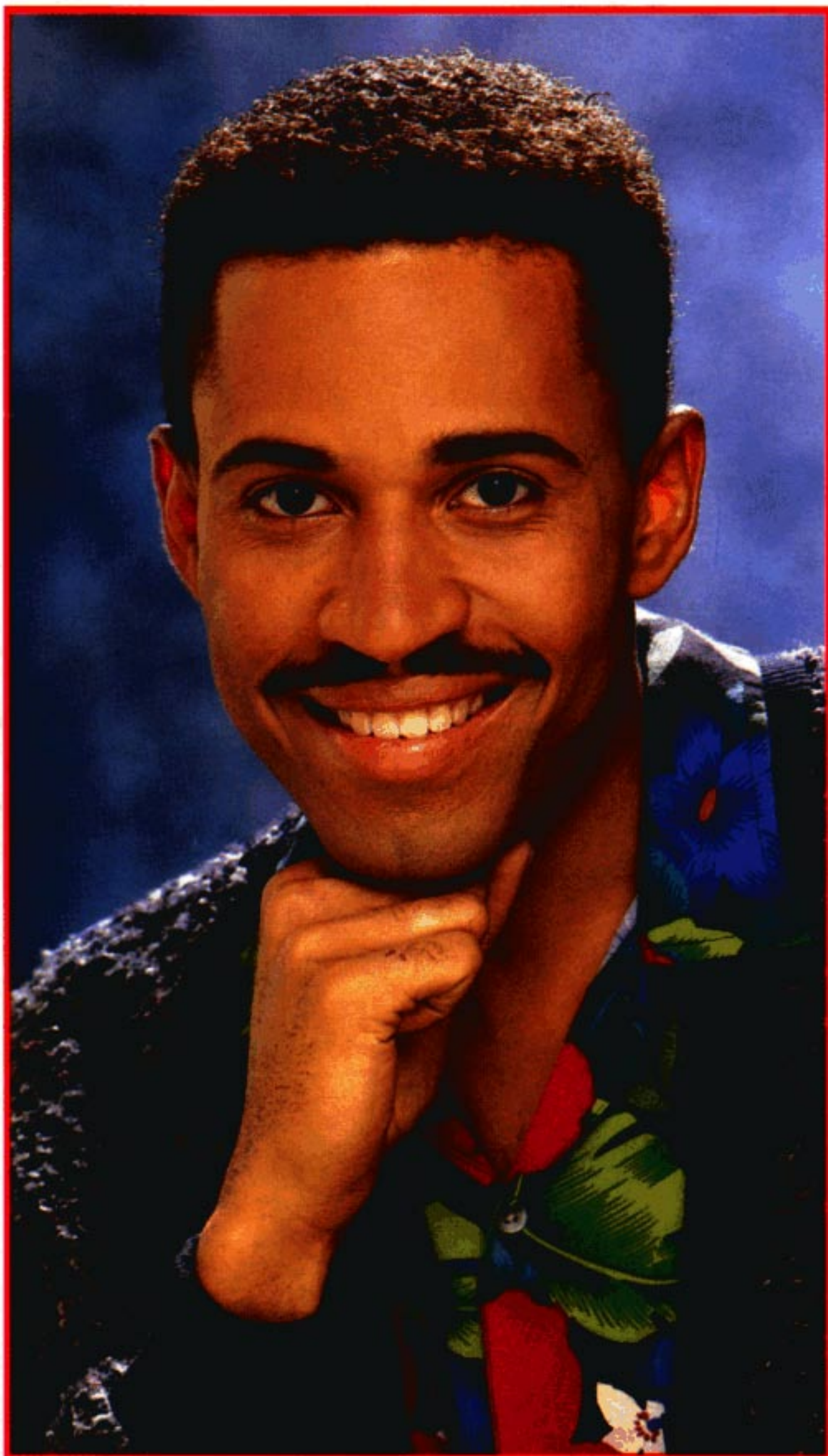
Access Course Programme organised by The Peninsula Technikon – Danida – ANC repatriation

The course prepares candidates for entry requirements for National Diploma courses at the Peninsula Technikon in the following fields:

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- B. SCHOOL OF ART AND DESIGN**
1. Graphic Design
2. Clothing Design
3. Photography
- C. SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**
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2. National Teachers' Diploma (Workshop)
3. Further Diploma in Education (Commerce)
4. National Higher Diploma for Post School Education
5. National Higher Diploma in Science and Mathematics
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- 5.2 National Higher Diploma in Analytical Chemistry
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- 1.2 Civil Engineering**
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- 1.2.2 National Higher Diploma (Civil Engineering)
- 1.2.3 National Diploma in Technology
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- 2.1 Light Current**
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BLACK Like me