

SPEAK

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Nº 26



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MAKING YOUR DREAM COME TRUE
The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines

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SPEAK's Offices

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SPEAK Collective members are Gill, Glynis, Helen, Karen, Nise, Phumelele, Shamim, and Vanessa. The government's State of Emergency stops us from being free to write about many important things. If there was no State of Emergency, we would be able to write about these things.

Thanks

We thank those people who helped with this issue of SPEAK. They are Charlotte, Debby and Laura.

Sorry

We made a mistake in SPEAK number 24. We wrote that 122 miners had been killed in the Kinross mining disaster, instead of 177. We apologise for this mistake. We support the demand that health and safety, and workers' lives, come before profits.

The cover photograph was taken in Durban by Pax Magwaza, Afrapix.

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LETTERS TO SPEAK

Dear SPEAK Collective

Do numbers matter? A lot, some, at least. A lot could be 122, or 177. Some could be 420 or 20 833. Perhaps numbers matter even less for children. A children's story. Maybe the feeling cannot be expressed through numbers at all. But, just for the record, 177 miners died at Kinross in 1986, not 122. The bosses have not yet sorted out just how much money the families of those who died will get. But it certainly is not a lot. R5 000 or so plus a pension depending on salary at time of death. And this is not paid by the mine but by the insurance. The starting wage, today, for an underground worker at the Kinross gold mine is R420 per month. That is some money. But it's also the least. The average wage for directors of Genmin, the mining house that runs Kinross, is R20 833 per month. The mine was fined R100 for the deaths of these 177 workers.

A little, a lot, some, enough.

Did you read the story to children before you printed it? Did the children like the story? It left me with a feeling of hopelessness. It's a really negative story. We can extract a few key words: sadness, out of work, small sum, not happy, miss, not comfortable, unhappy, not safe, accidents, lost, disaster, not return, sacrifice, tears, heavy heart.

I can't imagine any child asking to have it read again. And anyway, what makes it a story for children?

Best wishes
Martin Nicol
Mayfair, Johannesburg.

Dear Martin, thank you for your letter. We would like to apologise for the error that we made in SPEAK 24 concerning the number of miners who died at Kinross.

Of course we feel that numbers are important. Whether it is one miner or a thousand killed, it matters very much. That is why we write about these issues. It is because of exploitation and oppression in this country that SPEAK exists as a magazine to raise these issues. We welcome constructive correction and criticism, but we do feel that the tone of your letter is somewhat uncomradely. We are looking at the issue of children's stories in SPEAK. They are very popular, and we have not had any other complaints about "Lerato's Father Goes to the Mines." We welcome comments from other SPEAK readers on this - SPEAK Collective.

Dear SPEAK,
Kindly publish my poem in your magazine as I would like to share my deep feelings with the readers of your magazine. As you know that many young women are deserted by their lovers after falling pregnant. As a young woman I am directly affected by this problem. That is why I saw a need in sharing my deep feelings with other women. I would like to appeal to all those women who have undergone this bitter experience to see this problem as an international problem, especially faced by women particularly in this country.

I therefore believe that this problem will only be solved if we women address ourselves seriously to it, and also by seeing it as part and parcel of gender oppression.

WE MUST FIGHT GENDER OPPRESSION NOW.

Yours faithfully,
Makhosi Khoza (Miss)
From Pietermaritzburg, but studying in Cape Town

Dear Makhosi, thank you very much for raising this issue in the pages of SPEAK. It is a very personal issue, but, as you say, it becomes much broader - an international issue. It is yet another issue that women need to organise around - that women and men share equal rights and equal responsibility with parenting of children. We think that your poem is very moving. Thank you for sending it to us and all SPEAK readers. In solidarity - SPEAK Collective.

Alone In Pains

By Makhosi Khoza

Her eyes were as red
As the colour of the blood
Her tears were as salty
As sea water
With her glazing eyes like a mirror
Shined by the sun
She looked from South
She looked from North
But couldn't see the sign
of the father of a baby

She kept on rubbing her tummy
Where the unborn was folded like a bean seed
Feeling protected in mother's womb
But...
Her soul was cracked
As soil erosion
Her heart was as broken
as donga beds
With the flashes in her eyes
She looked from West
She looked from East
But could not track a smell
Of the father who was running away from his
responsibility

Meanwhile the unborn was kicking and tickling
the sad momo
inside the womb
Months passed
Days were knocking A sad momo was chewing
nothing ; But pains
She was eating nothing ; but worries
OOH! There the innocent unborn kicks
OUT HE CAME
Sad happy mother welcomes her son
With warm hands and floods of tears
to this thorny world
Where trust and honesty is the myth
Where love is the game of fools
OOH! Poor son
who was sooner or later
to be told that his father was swallowed up by
the mountains
"KUNZIMA BAFAZI EMHLABENI WAMADODA"●



Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa

The State

1) South Africa will be an independent country. The country will make its own decisions. South Africa will be a unitary country. All of South Africa will be one country. South Africa will be a democratic country. The people - all the people - will choose who governs them. And if they govern badly, the people will be able to vote for a new government. South Africa will be a non-racial country. All people, black and white, will have the same rights.

2) South Africa will belong to all its people. There will be one parliament which will make the laws of the country. There will be one government, one system of courts, and one administration for the people. To bring democracy to people, there will also be regional administrations.

3) The duty of chiefs and traditional rulers will be to serve the people as a whole - and to rule in a democratic way.

4) The courts, the army and the police will serve all the people. Their job will be to protect the people and the constitution.

One Person, One Vote

5) Every man and woman will have a vote. There will be one person/one vote.

6) Everyone who can vote can also stand for election.

One Country, One People

7) All South Africans will be made to feel that they belong to the country. The state will protect the different languages and cultures of all South Africans - but all South Africans will be citizens of one country and loyal to that country.

A Bill Of Rights

8) There will be a bill of rights based on the Freedom Charter. The Bill of Rights will protect the rights of all the people - of blacks and of whites, of men and women, and of people of all religions.

9) The government, together with other organisations, will have a duty to stamp out racism.

10) The government and other organisations must find quick ways to get rid of the inequalities of apartheid - for example, differences in wages, in housing and in education.

11) Any organisation that supports racism, fascism or nazism will be banned. So will any organisation that makes any group of people hate another group.

12) Everybody - except racists, fascists and nazis - will have the right to have meetings, to think what they like, and to follow any religion. There will be freedom of the press. The state will protect the right to work, the right to education and the right to social security (for example, unemployment benefits, pensions, health care).

13) Any party can stand for election. But not parties that are racist, fascist or nazi, or parties that make one group of people hate another group.

Economy

14) The state will make sure that the country's economy works for the good of the people.

15) The state will decide the country's economic system. The state will be able to decide on the rights and duties of those who own industries, factories, mines, and businesses.

16) Business must respect the Freedom Charter, and work with the state to make a good society for all the people.

17) The economy will be mixed. There will be state ownership. There will also be co-operatives and family businesses.

18) The state will give help to co-operatives, village industries and family businesses.

19) The state will help all people, especially black people, to get training in management skills, and in technical and scientific skills.

20) All people will have the right to keep their belongings. This right will be protected by the state.

Land

21) People of any colour will be able to own and use land in any part of the country. The state will give special help to people who have had their land taken away from them, for example by forced removals.

A Workers' Charter

22) There will be a special charter for workers. The rights of trade unions will be protected, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining.

Equal Rights For Women

23) Women will have the same rights as men at home, at work and in the community. The state will give women special help to make up for the inequalities of the past.

The Family

24) The rights of the family, of parents and of the children will be protected.

South Africa and The Rest of The World

25) South Africa will not be an ally of the United States or the Soviet Union. It will be a non-aligned country. It will support the aims of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) and of the United Nations (UN). South Africa will help oppressed peoples in other parts of the world. South Africa will help to make the world a place of peace.

We have taken this from Learn and Teach, number 5, 1988. Learn and Teach changed the wording and explained things here and there. They did this to make the Guidelines simpler and easier to read. They have tried their best to keep to the true meaning and spirit of the Guidelines.



Photo by: Afrapix

Be Part of Making Your Dream Come True!

Constitutional Guidelines for a Free, Democratic, Non-Racist, Non-Sexist South Africa

A Document to Discuss

The African National Congress (ANC) has drawn up a document called the Constitutional Guidelines. This document sets out an idea of the ANC's plan for a future South Africa. The ANC wants people and organisations in South Africa to discuss the Constitutional Guidelines.

In this way, people in South Africa can be part of shaping our future.

For hundreds of years the majority of people in South Africa have struggled against a government that has been only interested in the needs of a small minority - the white South Africans. Black people and workers have had to



fight against the oppressive laws made by this white government. As part of this fight, the people of South Africa, with their organisations, were involved in drawing up the Freedom Charter in 1955. At this time, the ANC was a legal organisation, organising in South Africa. The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines were drawn up in 1987 by the ANC outside of South Africa. They have been drawn up because we seem to be much closer to a free South Africa. The Guidelines spell out more clearly how the demands of the Freedom Charter can become a real part of the future South Africa.

Shaping the New Society

Many organisations have started to discuss the Guidelines. It is important that they are discussed all over South Africa. Women and men need to say what it is we want to see in a new South Africa. It is now that we have the chance to play a part, not only in struggling against the old system, but also in shaping the new society. As Nomvula, a woman active in the unions, said: "It is important to discuss these Guidelines. We can be part of adding to or changing them. We can say what we want in a post-apartheid South Africa. When freedom comes, we must know what we want to do with it. It will also prove to those who say we don't know what we want, that we do know what we want!"

The Guidelines are based on democracy, an end to racism and an end to sexism. The document talks about creating a society where people will be able to lead normal, decent lives, as free citizens in a free country. It talks about having a government where the people will have a say at all levels. It talks about having a mixed

economy. It deals with issues of land, of workers, women and the family.

Women's Rights

The section of the Guidelines that deals with women says that women shall have the same rights as men at home, at work and in the community. And that the state will give women special help to make up for the inequalities of the past. SPEAK asked some women what they understood by this. And what they wanted to see for women in a future free South Africa.

"What will it mean to have have the same rights as men at home, at work and in the community?" we asked.

Shinaez, a women activist in women's organisation talked about what this meant for her. She said: "This section shows that the ANC wants a situation where women will no longer be exploited and oppressed. And that this goes for the outside world and in the home. So they are talking of democracy and equal rights in the home and in the workplace and everywhere. Women will have to stand up for their rights. And men will have to learn that they can't have everything their own way. It will mean that we can look forward to a new South Africa, where we will be able to fight things like rape, and wife-beating. It will mean that as women we will have a place in the new society that we can be proud of. That the struggles alongside our men against apartheid and capitalism, is also going to mean a real change for us as women."

Sharing at Home

Nomvula said: "At home, marriage mustn't be like a burden, it must be like a partnership. At home, the duty of bringing up children mustn't be seen as the duty of the women. Men must take part in everything from washing the napkins to feeding the babies. I must be able to decide what I want with my future if I am married. Most of the time the husband tells you that you can't go to this meeting or go there, forgetting that you are part of the struggle. This needs to change."

Nomvula went on to talk about her idea of what equality means at work and in the community. She said: "This means the opening of jobs for everybody. We need new laws that will make

everybody acceptable irrespective of sex, creed, or race. Tax must be done equally. Married women must not be discriminated against. There must be the same salary for the same job. There mustn't be separate jobs for men and women. Women often end up doing the dirty jobs."

An End to Sexual Harassment

"Sexual harassment must come to an end. Men must stop seeing women as sex objects. They must stop thinking of sex each and every time they see women. They must discuss with us things that are relevant. You don't have to sell a car by having a half-naked woman on top of the car."

"There must be equality at work and everywhere in the society. We've got organisations like community organisations - even there they have got that old belief that women can't be in the forefront and taken seriously. This will change with a new government."

Educating People for a New Society

Malindi, an activist in women's organisation and trade unions for many, many years said: "What I know is that there is discrimination against women at work and at home. As a family discussing something, we have no say because you are a woman. It is very, very important that a future government changes things for women. All along, women have not been recognised. This is changing slowly. At work, you find that a post is for a man. I believe that all jobs should be for everybody so long as you are qualified. It has been planted in our minds that the best person to have privileges is a man. We need to root out that idea. The new government must do this by educating people. Each and everything to do with violence against women must be discussed by the people, so that we can get rid of it. Men harass their wives. The children get scared. The husband is seen as the lion of the house. They must be tamed. There must be education. This government has ruled our minds so we can't use our own minds."

Nomsa, is active in the church. She said: "Women shall be considered and recognised on merit. There must be no tokenism. We must be considered by our skills, ability and creativity. Not by sex and gender. The Constitutional

Guidelines implies doing away with sexism and racism."

She went on to talk about what it means to have the same rights as men at home. She said: "It means a human rights declaration in the home front. This means bringing equality into the home. Like with lobola, and the marital contract. We have to decide on the good things from our culture. But the things that are outdated and are oppressive to woman must be addressed. We are going to have a radical transformation. The traditional value system favours men. So we need to look at that. What oppresses women is attractive to men. And some women support their own oppression."

"What does it mean by saying the state will give women special help to make up for the inequalities of the past?" we asked.

Women Must Be Trained in Leadership

Malindi feels that women must be trained in leadership. She said: "Women must be trained so that we can take up positions in the new government. Men are the very ones who oppress us."

Shinaez said: "It must mean that the government will see to it that things like childcare, maternity rights and that will be provided. That women will have equal rights to education - so that the damage done by the present system which keeps women down will have to be put right through things like special education programmes."

A Big Need to Discuss the Guidelines

All the people we talked to felt that there is a big need to discuss and debate the Constitutional Guidelines as far and wide as possible. Because it is our future South Africa that we are planning. Many organisations are discussing these Guidelines. Everybody needs to be able to make informed choices and decisions for the new South Africa. For it is in this way that true democracy must work. All the people of South Africa should be involved in this process of making a contribution to our future.

Write to us with your ideas of a new South Africa. Share with our readers what you think needs to happen and be done so that all women, men, youth and children shall have a decent life in a free South Africa. Let us continue the discussion and debate so that we lead ourselves to a society that is truly democratic, non-sexist and non-racist.●



SOSCO (Soweto Students Congress) women at Johannesburg march

Anna Zieminski, Afrapix

Youth Women Organise

This article was taken from Youth Focus Vol. 1. No. 1 July 1989, published by the National Youth Working Committee.

Youth organisations in South Africa are talking seriously about organising women. The South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) has a national organiser for women. Her name is Dipuo. Dipuo's job is to make sure that women are involved in SAYCO and that SAYCO takes up issues affecting women as part of their programme.

Young Women Organise!

Dipuo believes the task of organising women is an important task. She believes this must be given an important place in the work of youth organisation in particular, and the mass

SPEAK

democratic movement in general. She believes that even with the state of emergency and the attacks from the government on organisations the work of organising women must be done.

Dipuo said in an interview in *YOUTH FOCUS*: "Presently the women's organisation in SAYCO is very weak, because we don't have a solid womens body at national level. But an agreement has been reached that a forum or committee must be created where women can come together and discuss issues that affect them."

For instance, every woman is a potential target of rape and other forms of abuse in her community and even beyond. There are also health issues to rally women around such as contraceptives, and issues related to family planning.

Much has been said and published about why are women suffering various kinds of oppression and exploitation. But I would like to point out here that it goes a long way to change the attitudes of society towards women.

We as women object to the fact that we are the only ones who among other things have to take contraceptives, while men need not even worry about that while the task of making kids is undertaken by both parties. Why hasn't medicine invented a contraceptive for men? This inconsiderate attitude of the society towards women is now a norm. People don't see anything wrong with that, they think there is absolutely nothing wrong with it, that it's normal."

Struggle To Create New People

"The liberation of this country will be meaningless as long as it does not include completely changing society, or the creation of a new person.

SAYCO does not separate the struggle of women from the broad national democratic struggle."

On the question of protection of women against rape Dipuo believes that organised women in African communities are seldom victims of rape because tsotsis are often scared of anything associated to or called a comrade.

Dipuo says:

"To my knowledge no rape of a comrade has ever been reported — I don't say comrades haven't been raped, I'm merely emphasising that this seldom happens".

On the question of why women get left behind, or why there are so few women in organisation Dipuo says:

"At the age of eight a boy is allowed to go out and play while a girl is taught household chores and told how vulnerable she is in the outside world. She must always stay indoors. And still while she is indoors she doesn't question her

elders when taught the do's and don'ts.

She will grow up with this attitude of not questioning things until she goes out. The boy on the other hand meets challenges outside and develops his own point of view which he learns to defend, by debating, and fighting if possible. So when they come into organisations it usually takes a long time before they develop self assertiveness and confidence in themselves.

Equal exposure of the outside world for a boy and a girl will in the long run make nonsense of the belief that boys were born cleverer than girls."

Changing Attitudes

How can these attitudes be changed?

Dipuo believes that these attitudes will change if women are mobilised and actively involved in



Boys sharing housework will free girls

Steve Hilton Barber, Afrapix

organisation. SAYCO, she says, is deeply concerned about the need for organising women. This is why SAYCO agreed to form a womens subcommittee within SAYCO at their 1988 Congress and appointed Dipuo as national organiser to realise this task.

SAYCO is working towards a women's conference. SAYCO says that every effort must be made to organise women at local, regional and national levels. SAYCO women were urged to join FEDSAW (Federation of South African Women) or any other regionally based womens organisation in addition to SAYCO.

A few months after the meeting which decided these things SAYCO leadership were detained. Dipuo escaped detention. She said "I had gone to prepare food for my baby and change her nappy when the police arrived. They arrested Rapu Molekane and beat him in an attempt to force him to reveal my whereabouts. He did not

reveal this to them. He only told them that I took my child Tumi to the hospital as she fell ill during the meeting.

These detentions and the state attack on youth organisation meant that all energy was put into consolidating remaining youth structures."

Stop Living in Shadows

Dipuo's message to women is clear. She says: "As women we do not have to wait for events to give us direction, but we have to direct and actively involve ourselves in the events. We must avoid living in the shadows of our boyfriends or husbands. We must be seen as individuals within our own personalities and strive for recognition as such.

Standing in the shadows of boyfriends or husbands means we will fall if those shadows are removed."



Young women at a funeral in Tembisa

Gill De Vlieg, Afrapix

Salma Prepares for a New Namibia



Salma lives in a traditional hut in Ovamboland, Namibia. She, like many women of Africa, sews and knits dresses, scarves and headdresses. But Salma works with three main colours. Red, blue and green - the rich colours of South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO).

A SWAPO Supporter All My Life

Salma lives in a part of Namibia that has always been tense since the armed struggle against the South African government and its army began in the 1960's.

"I have been a SWAPO supporter all my life," says Salma. "My two brothers left the country to join PLAN, my family has supported SWAPO since the beginning, and now elections are coming, I have nothing more to fear. Viva SWAPO!"

"SWAPO has fought the war and won. Now we must show our support for our boys and girls who have been fighting." Salma has survived a tough and tragic war. Her commitment has got her through. She and her close family members have survived. But, like so many others, she has lost other family members, and friends.

Salma sews in the colours of SWAPO.

The war has caused great pain for the people of Namibia for more than 20 years. Now Salma feels more relaxed, as she talks freely of her experiences.

SWAPO Colours Are Everywhere!

With the war now over, attention is on the elections, on the returnees, and on a free and independent Namibia. What Salma is doing with her sewing and knitting has grown into a kind of fashion. Before, people in Ovamboland wore only their colours of SWAPO in very safe places for fear of death or detention. In time, people became more bold as they saw the arrival of white trucks and cars with the big UNTAG sign. This was a sign that fair and free elections should come to Namibia for the first time.

Now the north of Namibia is full of people wearing T-shirts, scarves, dresses and caps - all in the rich red, blue and green of SWAPO!

Thanks to Paul Weinberg, Afrapix, for story and photo●



Women at the 'Women Unite' Conference

Photo by: one of UWCO's media trainees

A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN HER ORGANISATION

This article was written for SPEAK by members of the United Women's Congress (UWCO) in the Western Cape. Members of UWCO's Education and Training, and Media sub-committees worked on the article. UWCO stands for a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa. UWCO is the leading affiliate of the Western Cape Region of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). UWCO has 17 democratic branches in the Western Cape. Membership is open to women over 18 years of age.

An Important Conference

During the weekend of 11-13 August 1989, we had an important conference to build FEDSAW. The theme of the conference was: "Women

Unite for a Future South Africa." The aim of the conference was to reach out to as broad a group of women as possible, across class and racial barriers. "We have so much in common. We all want peace in our land. We are all concerned about the future of our children. We all share common experiences as women in South Africa. Come, let us talk of these things, let us talk of our problems and try and work out solutions. Let us talk of freedom." And the women came. There were about 300 delegates from 45 organisations, with many women working as organisers.

A Special Honour

We were especially honoured to have two women from Namibia. One woman from the

South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) had recently returned to her homeland after many years in exile. The other woman was from the Namibian Council of Churches.

We also welcomed Thandi Modise from the Northern Cape. She was the first African National Congress (ANC) woman guerilla to be imprisoned. She was released last year after serving an eight-year sentence.

Many Organisations Came

The organisations that came included affiliates or observers of FEDSAW Western Cape, such as UWCO, Black Sash Western Cape, Rape Crisis, Bellville Gemeenskap Organisasie, Mowbray Youth Congress, Women's Movement for Peace, Atlantis Women's Organisation, and Southern Cape women's organisations from George, Plettenberg Bay, Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn.

Civic women were there, our youth and students were there. Rural women, teacher organisations, religious, detainee support organisations, health organisations and service organisations were all represented - and many more!

A Big Victory for the Women

An UWCO branch member said: "I think this conference was a big victory for the women. Even in planning it, we were all so united. So many members got involved, from catering to planning the programme. Just being together at the conference was a big step forward - never mind all the wonderful discussion."

On Friday night we had a social umjikelo to meet each other and raise funds. Early on Saturday the conference started. Delegates divided up into ten workshops, to give everyone a chance to participate. Delegates could choose which workshops they wanted to take part in.

There Were Many Workshops

The workshops looked at issues which affect women in South Africa. The topics were: work and unemployment, housing, health, education, children and the family, law, violence against women, culture and media, repression, and religion. Each workshop was guided by a few

volunteers from our organisations. When we planned the conference, we had a training session for these facilitators to prepare them.

Women discussed the problems women face under each topic. The next day we spoke about our demands to solve the problems, and how we will fight for our demands. The reports from every workshop were presented to the whole conference. An UWCO branch member said: "Discussion was really brisk. In small groups, particularly, women felt free to open up their hearts and speak freely. Mealtimes were often forgotten in the need to explore fully all the issues which affect women so in South African society. Women spoke of their fears and hopes and dreams for this land."

On Saturday night, we all relaxed. We watched videos, sang songs, and printed t-shirts. On



Photo by: Eric Miller, Afrapix
FEDSAW has so far been launched in the Cape. There are plans to launch FEDSAW nationally.

Sunday the conference was closed by one of our visitors from Namibia. After lunch, everyone joined in the National Women's Day rally. We had speakers from SWAPO and also one of the founder members of FEDSAW, 84-year old Helen Joseph. Women unite for a future S.A.!●



A Young lion in Cape Town protests the elections. - Aug. 1989.
Benny Gool - Afrapix



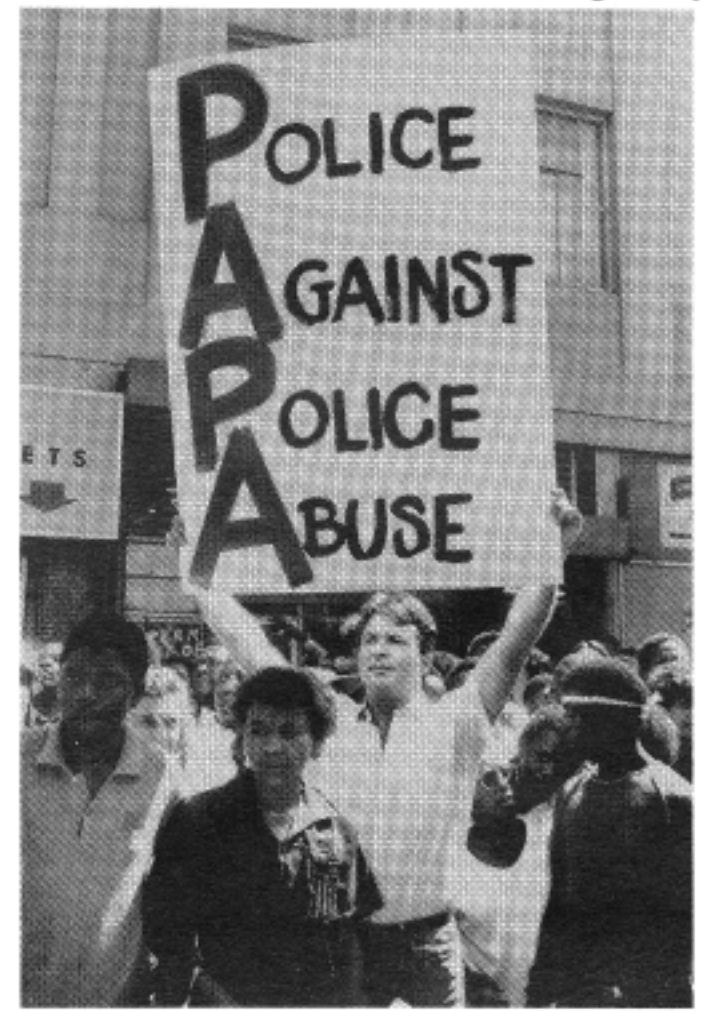
Young women in Pmb. on protest march for peace - Sept. 1989 : Aron Mazel



Thokoza march in protest of removals, living conditions & apartheid generally.

Below: Defiance catches on 'Joburg - Sept.

Below: Women on the march in Johannesburg - Sept 1989 - Ana Zi - Afrapix



PICTURES

1989 was a year of defiance and marches. These pictures tell something of the mood of this year. The struggle goes on for a democratic, non racist non sexist S.A. where all will be free.



Defiance & Protest in Cape Town - Sept.

School children and residents in Maritzburg flee teargas at election protest meeting.



Nehawu members in hospital defiance July '89



Parents and children protest use of school as polling station in Sept. elections.
B. Gool - Afrapix

Below: Beach apartheid defiance



THE DAY VLOK FEARED THE WOMEN'S STRENGTH

People of South Africa are up in arms. They are demanding a new South Africa like never before. They have been marching through the big cities making their demands for future South Africa.

Women, too, chose a day in September 1989 to put forward their demands. Their march was to take place in Pretoria. They went from office to office organising women for the march. Women made colourful banners with strong messages, all showing the anger of women.

The government heard the rumour that the women were coming. They rushed to court to ban the march. Vlok, the Minister of Police, told his police to put barbed wire across the streets to stop the women from going to the church service. He called hundreds and hundreds of police. He really shivered, for he knew that he had touched the women, he had touched the rock. He was surely going to be crushed. Pretoria was buzzing with police, all fearing women and their banners.

Women are a force to reckon with. The South African government knows that way back in the 50's, the women defied the banning of their march and came out marching. The police stopped the women from marching in Pretoria but they had made their point. The women together are strong.

YESTERDAY

TODAY &

TOMORROW

Students protesting against an Inkatha warlord. Mandla Shabalala, who came out of court free after allegedly killing a young boy in KwaMashu. The killings in Natal townships are continuing. Many activists have been killed by killer squads and none of the killers have been brought to justice. This has been going on since 1987. More than 2 000 people have been killed since then. When will it stop?



Photo by: Rafs Mayel



Photo by: Benny Gool - Afrapix

Another Giant is Born

The Garment and Allied Workers Union and Algamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa have come together to one big strong union. The workers in the clothing industry will now speak to the bosses in one powerful voice. Women workers in the photograph are singing songs during the launch of the new union.

The name of the new union is the South African Clothing and Textile Union.

Our Fathers' Struggles Are Ours Too

More than 900 drivers of Durban Transport Management Board (DTMB) went on a month long strike in August 1989. It was a long and bitter struggle over better wages and working conditions. The drivers work long and tiring hours. They are up and out of their houses as early as three in the morning. But they are not getting a living wage.

The bus depot is next to Phambili High School. The students were watching the developments with interest, as some of them have their fathers working at DTMB. The dispute went on until all the drivers were fired. People started going to the depot hoping to get jobs of the dismissed workers. Phambili students could not take that lying down. They went straight to these people and told them never to wait for their fathers' jobs. One student said, "We wanted to make it clear that we are very much part of our fathers' struggles."

Rape in Marriage

Rape is a crime that makes women afraid. We learn as we grow up that we must watch how we talk, how we look, how we smile, to avoid being attacked by men. Every day hundreds of women in South Africa are raped. Most women do not report rape - so the actual number of rapes that happen is not known. People often say that rape happens because of the way a woman dresses. Or because she was out late at night. But numbers show that most women are raped in their own homes, often by men they know, or have seen around. And many women are forced at times, by their husbands, to have sex against their will.

We believe that rape is a crime against women, no matter who the rapist is. We believe that husbands or boyfriends have no right to force a woman to have sex against her will. Caroline Leemisa, Lerato Nompula, and Dikeledi Sekhitla, from Khanya College in Johannesburg went out to talk to people about this issue of rape in marriage. Some people felt that husbands have no right to force sex on their wives. But some felt that this was a husband's right. The Khanya students asked the people they met: "Is there rape in marriage?"

Maureen is a student. She is 22 years old. She said: "Yes, there is rape in marriage, because women have so long been treated as inferiors and as sex pots. I believe that a woman's feelings should be respected. Women sometimes have moods whereby they don't feel like making love. This does not mean she does not love her husband."

Nathaniel is a 26-year old student. He said: "Immediately a man marries a woman, he has a right over her. Since lobola still exists in our country, and a woman appears to be a commodity, then when a man has bought that commodity, he has a right to have sex with her, even forcefully. He should not be punished for this."

But Lebu believes forced sex is rape. He is a 23-year old student. He said: "If one is not in a mood of making love, and she is forced, this is regarded as rape because it is done against the woman's will."

SPEAK

Why Does Rape in Marriage Happen?

Laura works at Khanya College. She offers counselling to the students. She said: "I believe that marriage is for two people who want to spend their lives together, and who are committed to each other. Women in most cases are oppressed. They are told what to do, sometimes against their will. This extends to sex. There is this thing of a power relation. Men are more powerful. They abuse women. They put women into situations which they cannot control. And usually there is no way out. I believe that rape is not only a sex issue. It also involves aggression, and anger. The power relationship is imbalanced. Men are usually dominant. These are social attitudes that are passed on."

Themvikile believes that men use their wives as an outlet for their frustrations. He said: "You see, other men suppress their feelings of anger and frustration. So, in order for them to release those feelings, they abuse their wives."

He feels that lobola is part of the problem. He said: "You see, sometimes you find that other men feel justified in sleeping with their wives even if it means using force. They feel that if they have paid lobola for their wives, they can do anything, anytime and anyhow with, or to them."

Solutions to the Problem

Rape in marriage does happen. The question arises: "What can be done about it?"

Sellwane is 20-years old. He believes that partners need to talk more with each other about the problem. He said: "Sometimes a person does not want to make love, but she does not say so directly to her husband."

Lebu feels that couples should have sex only if they both agree to it. She said: "Sex should be mutual, and it is an agreement derived out of the passion of two partners."

Themvikile thinks the solution lies in marriage guidance. He said: "In marriage, both partners are equal, and since rape is an abuse, and it

has a serious effect on the victim, it is wrong. A rapist in the eyes of society, especially a husband raping his wife, loses all dignity and respect. If a husband is convicted for raping his wife, this will not solve the problem, or guarantee that he won't do it again. They should get to the root of the problem. Both the husband and the wife can do this with the help of the marriage counsellor."

Desmond is a 23 year-old student. He feels that respect between couples is important. He said: "I feel that people, especially if they are married, should always be in a position to discuss their activities in marriage. There should be a sound basis for communication. People should learn to know each other and respect each other's feelings. If one party says 'no', then it should be 'no'."

Thabo believes that part of the problem stems from the way women are seen in society, and this is what needs to change. He said: "Women are taken to be inferior and men use their superiority to make love by force to women.

They do not take them as their wives but as their sex tools. They usually do not take any notice of women's feelings. Men can't control their feelings."

A New Kind of Relationship

We need a new kind of relationship where women and men can communicate as equals. Where men do not see women as their property to use as they wish. And where women demand the right to be treated as human beings and not as things.

As Maureen said: "Men should respect their wives as equals, and they have to understand them as partners. If husbands are using violence and force when it comes to the bedroom department, then one gets the idea that he does not love his wife. Action must be taken against such people."

What do you think about these things? Write to SPEAK and tell us your views. Write to: SPEAK Collective, P.O. Box 19375, Dormerton, 4015, Durban, South Africa. Let other readers hear what you have to say! ●



Photo by: Eric Miller, Afrapix

South African women protest male violence.

Women Writers Want to Be Heard



**COSAW (Natal)
Women's Forum
Launch**

"We women writers want to be heard, we want to be published, we want to hear each other, we want to write about our issues!" - Jenni Karlsson, (COSAW)

Working Towards Equal Representation

"Women became aware that the men always seemed to hold the floor and take the lead. And we said no! No more! We got together, we passed the resolution to have a Women's Forum, and work towards 50% representation by women at each level of Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) structures," said Jenni Karlsson, poet and executive member of COSAW, at the historic Natal launch of the Women's Forum of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW).

Many People Attended

The launch took place on 24 September 1989 in Pietermaritzburg. It was attended by worker, youth and women's organizations, as well as writers from the local structures of COSAW. The national Women's Forum of COSAW is still to be launched.

Mewa Ramgobin, one of the speakers, and chairperson of COSAW in Natal, explained that a woman writer is any woman who is able to write or deal with the spoken word. He said that part of our historical duty is not only to recognise but also to encourage our oral poets.

"We in the liberatory movement are going to guard against all forms of oppression. We as South Africans can never be free as long as we keep half the population, our women, in bondage. And it is within that context that we look at the role of women writers," Mewa said. "We welcome the Women's Forum of COSAW!"

Tumi Mofokeng, poet and executive member of COSAW in the Transvaal, said: "The winds of change are blowing all over South Africa, even here in COSAW, which is why we have launched the Women's Forum."

Black Women Must Write

Tumi spoke about the issues facing women as writers. She said that black women writers must write about the customs they do not agree with, because of the negative and destructive effects some of these customs have on their lives.

To show what she meant she read out one of her poems which she had just recently written. The words 'with my baby on my back' had been going around in her head. Then she wrote:

With my baby on my back
Day in and day out I toil
with my baby on my back
Hour after hour I count undone chores
I'll have to stop at 6pm
to prepare meals
with my baby on my back.

I listen to all cries of hunger
only one long lullaby makes my baby sleep
And he, the man of the house stays
Wide awake
watching me toil around like a race horse
waiting for his moment to give a helping hand

Only at that time of retirement
he helps to remove my baby from my back
because now is the time to make love
The only chore I do with my baby
not on my back.

Tumi feels strongly that women must be brave enough to write about the problems they face in their homes. She said: "Let us bring up our children without treating girls and boys differently. Because then when males have grown up, they will give their wives a chance."

"Let us express our true feelings about the things which keep us down. If we don't speak for ourselves, men will accept that things are okay."

"What is very encouraging," said Tumi, "is that COSAW is applying the resolution and the men are hearing us. So it is a step forward. The men within COSAW have accepted the fact that women have to play the role of making themselves heard, and we are being given the chance!"

The launch of the COSAW Natal Women's Forum ended on a high note, with women writers reading and sharing their creative work with an appreciative audience. Everyone left with a feeling of hope and excitement. Now the opportunity had come for women to tell their stories and make their voices heard●

Forward with COSAW Women's Forum!

Drawing by Sanna



Being A Writer Does Not Mean You Had To Go To School

Roseline Naapo's Story



Photograph by Anna Zieminski, Afrapix

Roseline Naapo

Roseline Naapo was a domestic worker before becoming an organiser for the South African Domestic Workers' Union (SADWU), a Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) affiliate. Roseline is a poet, and a member of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW). She spoke at a COSAW conference called "Women and Writing." Here she speaks about how she became a writer.

"We are encouraging domestic workers to write short stories and seeing whether there are some hidden talents within the domestic workers. Because we have seen that to be a writer does not mean you had to go to school. You can say whatever you can say without knowing how to write. The next person will write it for you, and it can be put into a book."

"I am going to speak about how I was inspired to be a writer. I was not born with the knowledge of writing. I was brought up by a stepmother who never showed me love. She bought me beautiful

clothes, toys as a camouflage to society that she loves me. But the house was cold."

"When I started going to school I learnt to have a little notebook to write about whatever problems I had on a particular day. These writings made me compile them into small poems, or plays."

"During my school days the problems became more and more, because I had the gift of being clever, of coming number one in school each year. And my step-mother's children couldn't get the first position. That was another problem for me."

"I started again, writing a play and letting the school children play that play and I would pretend to be my step-mother. I was trying to show the people how I was living in that beautiful house with beautiful clothes, with everything which the people saw was beautiful and a happy life, but with no love."

Roseline became a domestic worker. She said, "In the field of domestic work, it's not happy, it's not nice. You live in a beautiful room which they call a home. But you live alone. You are not allowed to have visitors, you are not able to live with your husband. You are separated from your family for many months. And your employer expects you to smile each morning when you come into her house."

"When the employer leaves she expects you to be a good mother to her kids, a good nurse to her kids. You must be one hundred percent to her kids. Meanwhile you are feeling a clot in your heart that you cannot even kiss your child in the morning when you wake up."

Here is a poem written by Roseline Naapo.

Madam,
remember when I was young
and happy
Remember when I used to
perform
your choruses in time
Remember when I used to run
your errands fast

Today I'm old
I'm no good

Today I'm walking on three legs
I'm no good

Madam
where did my sweat go
Madam
did you ever consider
that today I need you
as you needed me
in the sixteen years
I worked for you

COSAW held a conference called "Buang Basadi/Khulumani Makhosikazi/Women Speak." They produced a book by the same name with speeches and discussion from the conference, as well as poems by COSAW members. This article was taken from the book. The book costs R3.50, and can be ordered from COSAW, P.O. Box 421007. Fordsburg, 2033, Johannesburg●



Photograph by Pax Magwaza, Afrapix

Domestic workers are being encouraged to write stories about their lives.

A Women's Health Journal

Women all over the world are organising around health issues. The Women's Health Journal is produced by Isis International. It aims to share with women how women all over the world are organising around health issues. The journal comes out 6 times a year. It has news, information and articles. It talks about the experiences of women's groups and organisations. It also tells of meetings and conferences that are coming up all around the world. If you would like to find out more about this journal, then write to: Isis International, Casilla 2067, Correo Central, Santiago, Chile, South America.

International Women and Health Meeting in the Phillipines in 1990

There is going to be a big international meeting of women to bring women together to share information, experiences, and to talk about ways of organising around women's health issues. And it will focus on how to strengthen women's organisations. The meeting will be in the Phillipines in 1990. It is the sixth meeting of its kind. If your organisation is interested in attending, then write as soon as possible to: GABRIELA, P.O. Box 4386, Phillipines.

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Dear Doctor

Dear Speak Doctor

I am a 37-year old woman. I have three children. And I use the loop. My problem is that I have a discharge under, and a bad smell. I went to my clinic, and they said I must go to the doctor.

The doctor gave me an injection. The discharge and bad smell went away for two or three weeks, and then it came back again. Can you please help me.

Yours
Unhappy

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter asking about this important problem. Many women suffer from discharge and go to their clinic. But as you said in your letter, the problem is that the health workers do not explain properly what is wrong with the patient. And most patients are too shy to ask the doctor to explain more fully.

Let us think about your problem. You have a loop and a bad smelling discharge. There are two main reasons why you could have this

discharge, even if you do not have an infection. The loop rubs against the walls of your womb (uterus) all the time. This causes your womb to make a discharge. This discharge only goes away if you take the loop out.

The second thing that can cause a discharge with the loop is infection. It is easier for germs to infect the womb when you have a loop inside you. If the infection is inside your womb, you get a bad discharge and pain low down in your stomach. Sometimes the infection is only in your vagina and not in your womb. Then you get a bad smelling discharge without feeling pain. But it is sometimes painful inside your vagina when you have sex. This bad smelling discharge is usually treated with pills. It can sometimes be treated with creams or pessaries.

Pessaries are large pills that you put into your vagina. If you go to a doctor, she may take a swab from your vagina. She uses an instrument called a speculum. She puts a speculum into your vagina, and she touches any place on your cervix or vagina you can see a lot of discharge. She will send this swab to a laboratory for a test. After a week, they can tell what germs are growing in your discharge. Then the doctor can tell you what the right medicine is to cure your discharge.

We hope that this information will help you with your problem.

Best wishes
The SPEAK Doctor

Do you have a health problem?

Write to the SPEAK Doctor. She will answer your letter. Remember to send an address with your letter so that she can reply to you.

Breast Cancer

What is it and how do you check for breast cancer?

Most women have heard of breast cancer. But most of us do not know what it is. Many women know that we should examine our own breasts to check that they are healthy, but most of us do not know how to do that examination. And we do not know what it means if we find something wrong with our breasts.

First, let's understand more about breast cancer. One out of every 15 women gets breast cancer. Cancer can start in different parts of the body. The body is made up of tiny cells. If these cells change from being normal, and become cancer cells, then they attack other healthy cells in the body.

Can Any Woman Get Breast Cancer?

The answer is yes. But some women have a greater chance of getting breast cancer than other women. Those most likely to get breast cancer are:

- * women who are more than 40 years old
- * women who have never breastfed before
- * women whose mother or a sister have breast cancer

How can we find the cancer before it gets too bad?

The only way to do this is to examine your own breasts every month. You should examine your breasts straight after your period has finished. If you do not get periods anymore, then you should do it on the first day of every month.

What do we look for in our breasts?

All breasts are lumpy. They are made up of tiny bags and pipes that make milk. Often the first sign you feel when there is something wrong with your breasts is a new area of lumpiness. Usually this is not cancer, but some other problem. There are many diseases as well as breast cancer that can affect the breasts. But there is no way you can tell what is causing a breast lump until a doctor cuts the lump out and looks at it.

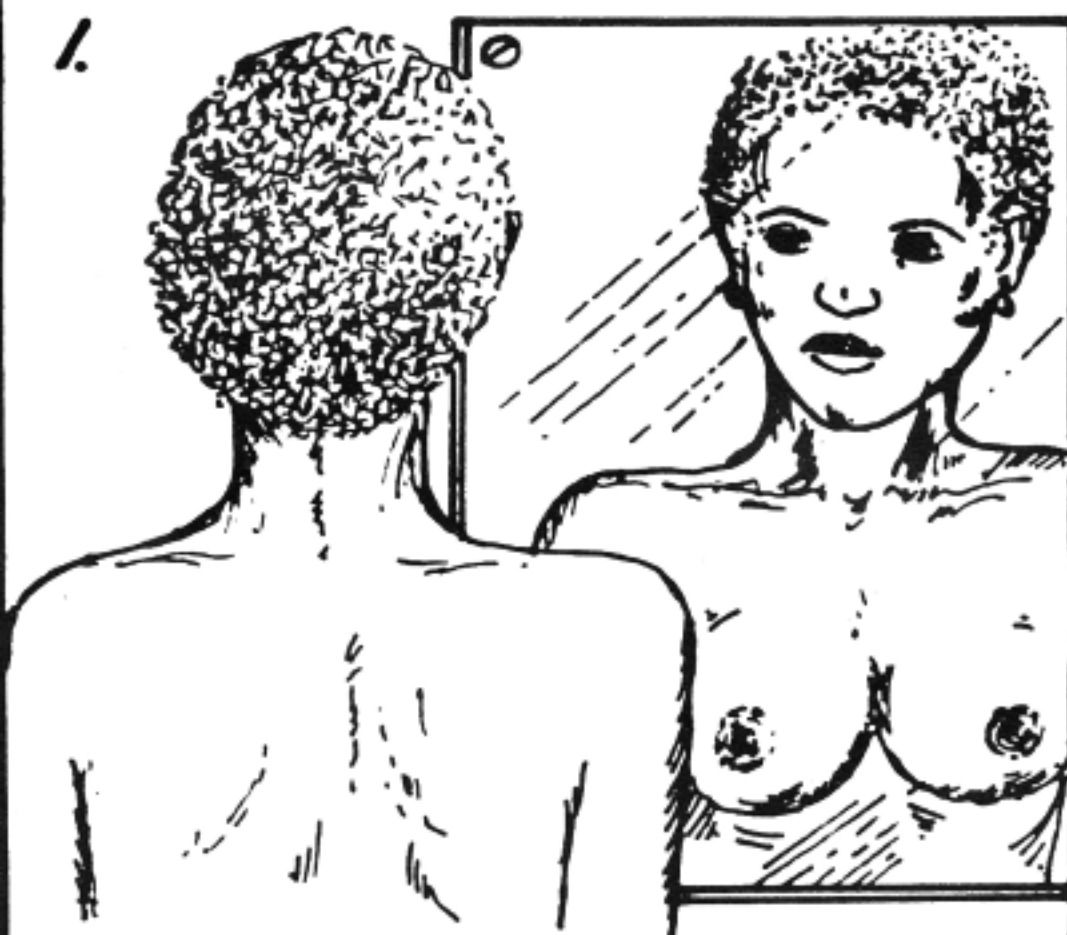
Another way that you can notice something wrong with your breasts is when water, blood, or other liquid comes out of your breast when you are not breastfeeding. Blood coming from the nipple may be an early sign of breast cancer. If you have liquid coming out of your breasts, or if you find a lump, go straight to your doctor or clinic.

Many women worry that painful breasts are a sign of breast cancer. This is usually not true. Many women have painful breasts, especially before and during a period. The pain is often a part of your breast that feels lumpy when you touch it. This is caused by the changes in your body that happen every month around the time of your period. If the lump stays after your period is finished, you should go to the doctor or clinic.

It is very important to examine your breasts every month, the day after the end of your period. Many women are scared of examining their breasts in case they do find something wrong. But remember, it is best to make it part of your life to examine your breasts. This way if something is wrong you can do something about it at an early stage.

Remember, getting to know our bodies, and how they work, gives us more knowledge and control over our lives. And we can educate other women and men about these things. Health is our right!

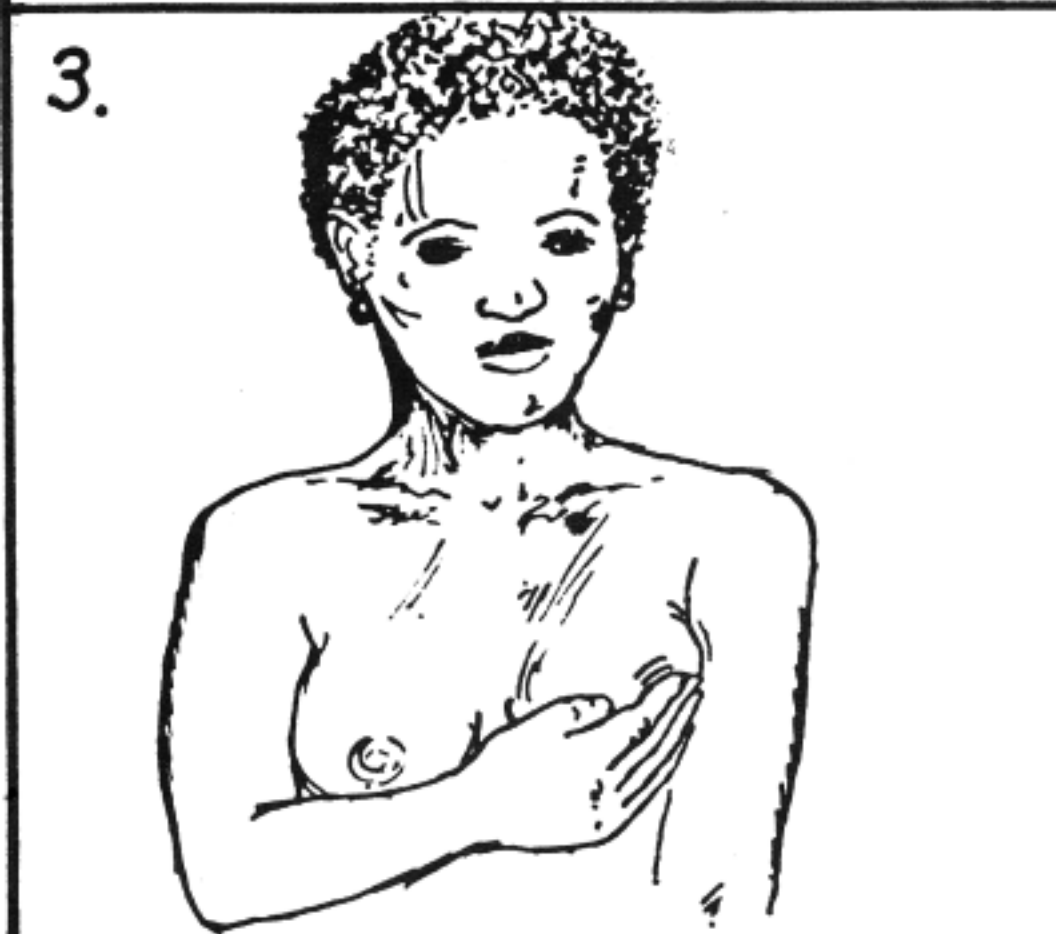
EXAMINE YOUR BREASTS EVERY MONTH AFTER YOUR PERIOD



LOOK AT YOUR BREASTS IN FRONT OF A MIRROR. IF YOUR BREASTS CHANGE IN THE WAY THEY LOOK, YOU MUST GO TO A DOCTOR.



LIE IN THE BATH OR LEANING UP IN BED. USE YOUR RIGHT HAND TO FEEL YOUR LEFT BREAST, AND THEN YOUR LEFT HAND TO FEEL YOUR RIGHT BREAST.



START AT THE OUTSIDE OF YOUR BREAST. ROLL THE BREAST UNDER YOUR FINGERTIPS, MOVE DOWN AND INWARDS UNTIL YOU HAVE FELT ALL OF YOUR BREAST. DON'T FORGET TO FEEL OVER THE NIPPLE



IF YOUR BREASTS ARE BIG THEN USE BOTH HANDS TO EXAMINE. ROLL YOUR BREAST BETWEEN YOUR FINGERTIPS.

SIGNS:

- GO TO THE CLINIC IF YOU FEEL ANY NEW LUMPS IN YOUR BREASTS.
- GO TO THE CLINIC IF YOU FIND BLOOD, MILK (UNLESS YOU ARE BREASTFEEDING), OR IF WHITE 'PUS' COMING OUT OF THE NIPPLE.
- GO TO THE CLINIC IF YOUR BREASTS SUDDENLY LOOK DIFFERENT TO HOW THEY LOOKED BEFORE ●



Women and Men, young and old came in thousands to put their demands in songs, speeches messages on banners and T-Shirts. The spirits were high. Durban March. September 1989.