

Journal of the African National Congress

MAYIBUYE

June 1993

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Volume 4, No 5 • June 1993

In this issue:

REGULARS

- 3 Editorial: There is a crisis
- 4 Readers speak out
- 6 News roundup
- 27 Science & Technology: Filling the Vacuum
- 44 Review: Malcolm X

CURRENT SCENE

- 2 Photo page: International Children's Day
- 8 Negotiations: Extreme right wing – What threat to the transition?
- 12 Why mass action must roll
- 14 Police and marches: Light at the end of the tunnel?
- 21 The education crisis

ANC

- 23 OR Tambo: Tribute to a people's leader
- 44 CDC – A cultural conference with a difference

FEATURES

- 16 Gandhi – a legend remembered
- 19 Preparing the electorate
- 39 Sport: An international tragedy
Mandela meets Mohammed Ali

INTERNATIONAL

- 37 US recognises Angola: A triumph for democracy

OPINION

- 29 Hani's assassination and the struggle against the right wing
- 31 Whats left of the white left? – being white in South Africa today
- 33 Witchcraft – What role muti?
- 35 Pornography and censorship

THE LIGHTER SIDE

- 42 Short story: *The home-coming* (by Justice Malala)
- 41 Those 30 years: tales of the underground, detention, jail and exile
- 46 Xword competition
- 47 New competition: win a trip to Cape Town

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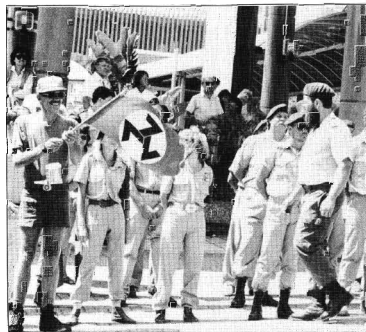
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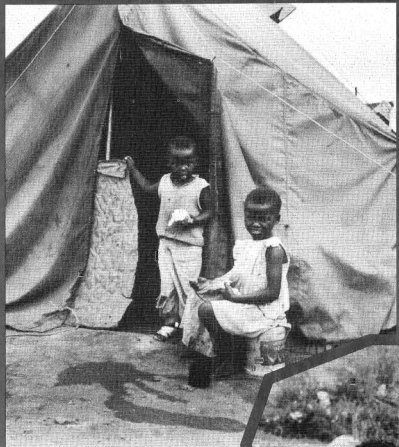
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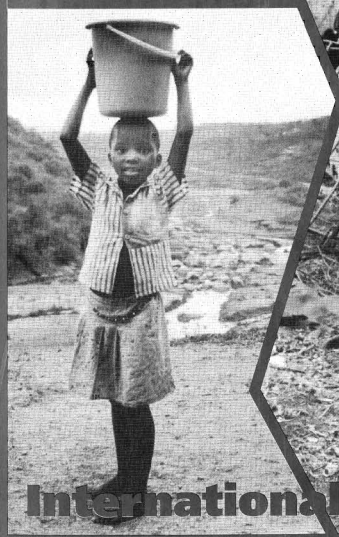
• 8-11 Police and marches: Some positive experiences



• 8-11 Negotiations: Assesing the right wing



June 1 is International Children's Day. In many parts of the world it is a moment to celebrate democracy and the rights children enjoy. But in South Africa it is the agony of oppression, imprisonment, poverty, violence, insecurity and poor education that the majority of children suffer, that will be under the spotlight. They deserve a better future!



International Children's Day

There is a crisis

There is no crisis; it's just a problem. So said John Vorster at the outbreak of the 1976 students' uprising. What crisis, said FW de Klerk as the recent actions of students and teachers gathered momentum.

Like the issue of Afrikaans which sparked off the 1976 uprising, the demands around exam fees, salary increases, an end to retrenchments and a multi-lateral education forum reflect general dissatisfaction with the educational system and the disquiet within black communities about the political situation. Yet to De Klerk, like Vorster 17 years ago, there is no crisis.

Fortunately, the intervention of ANC President Nelson Mandela has led to agreements that should resolve the immediate causes of the crisis. This is tribute to the steadfastness of students and teachers and unity among a wide range of forces.

Why was the government so inept in handling this issue, precipitating heightened conflict before conceding? Why, if the funds were available – as it now admits they are – did it not scrap exam fees and address the salary issue much earlier? Why, in this era of a "new NP", a "new SA" and "consultation", did the government resist the setting up of an Education Forum?

Some analysts attribute this to divisions within the NP establishment,

with "hawks" preferring a major upheaval which would destabilise the whole peace process. Others see it as a natural reflection of the awkward gait of a government in decay. Either way, the NP's behaviour has further exposed its incapacity to govern and aggravated its lack of credibility even within its own constituency.

The democratic movement should celebrate this victory; this crisis of apartheid; this demonstration of its own readiness to govern.

But the questions posed earlier demonstrate that there is another kind of crisis: The NP as a collective has not sufficiently grasped the intricacies of the times in which we live. It is steeped in the habit of bringing matters to a head before finally conceding an issue. It is not in a position to assess all factors at play in a given situation and take decisions that would facilitate the peace process.

Even decisions that would, at the same time, have the effect of serving the narrow interests of the party seem to elude them. For, an earlier resolution of the education crisis, without them being seen to bow to pressure, would have earned the NP praises from some quarters.

What this means is that the NP is on a path of self-destruction. It prefers to jump into the dustbin of history.

Does it deserve any better, anyway?

What South Africans want is democracy. Even if they have to fight every inch of the way to achieve it. ♦

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Readers speak out

heart and I hope the imbalances will be sorted out. However, I feel that the burning of schools must be stopped so that the available money can be used to build more schools (growth) instead of rebuilding (stagnation) without moving forward.

My children attend a Model C school which, I notice on page 24, is not acceptable to the ANC. Whether all nationalities should attend school together has never been an issue with me as most of my schooling was at a convent. As far as I am aware, our school is not aimed at retaining white privilege but rather screens applicants which, I am sure you would agree, is in the child's best interest. The child will not benefit, for instance, from acceptance into, say, Standard Four if he can only speak his/her own language because he will not be able to understand nor cope. Should the teacher slow down the rest of the class will fall behind, which will not benefit anyone in the long run.

This is but one example and it is not cited from a prejudiced point of view as that is not my nature. You and I may or may not have different outlooks on a given topic but I know we can work together, colour-blind as far as our skins are concerned, building a better future for our children. Which will include a high standard of education, enabling us to compete effectively internationally.

The short story "The great white hunters" was humorous and well written. Needless to say, I hope that particular con-

servation group does not flourish.

LP, Riviera, Pretoria

DE KLERK'S APOLOGY

Dear sir,
This is an open letter to De Klerk in connection with his myopic apology for apartheid atrocities. Mr president, I am hurt because:

- Apartheid deprived me of my childhood;
- It criminalised the black youth and nation;
- It robbed me of decent schooling, and, because of inferior education, it dented my confidence which has since been regained in adulthood.
- Apartheid nazism compelled me to harbour a lukewarm attitude towards white South Africans who voted NP, CP, DP, etc.

I am really working hard to try and change this attitude to complete acceptance of my white compatriots. What initiative is the president taking on his part, except making noise about reforms, changing a flag and continue political grandstanding for my vote? Here are some suggestions Mr President:

- Since Tuynhuis is in Cape Town, why don't you learn Xhosa?
- Come and spend three months with my family in our match-box house, communicating in our language;
- Eat what we eat, see that whenever I think of going to the loo at night I always say: "Oh my God, it's outside";
- Take a walk around

Gugs, Crossroads and Khayelitsha and discover firsthand the state of affairs in our townships;

- Visit our schools and see for yourself; and
- Finally, give me reasons why I should forgive you.

Mr President, I am even more hurt because of the death of Chris Hani and OR Tambo because both these stalwarts were deprived of their livelihood. I am really hurt.

MF, NY 5, Gugulethu

THOSE 30 YEARS

Dear MAYIBUYE
I am a great fan of Mzwakhe Mbuli and MAYIBUYE. What I don't want to miss is "Those 30 years" because it is about life in prison. Sometimes the stories sound like jokes, like the one in the November 1992 edition - "Driving on Robben Island." I liked it a lot.

PS, Mamelodi

SORRY IMMIGRANT

Dear sir
I mourn with you the untimely death of Chris Hani. This is just to let you know that, although I abhor the violence and bloodshed on all sides, I understand the anger and bitterness and I for one am sorry for any part I have played as an immigrant in upholding the evil of apartheid for so many years.

I will only get a vote this time and will not vote "Nat". Although woefully ignorant of politics Chris Hani, together with Cyril Ramaphosa and others, seemed to be men who had something

ABHORRENT RACISM

Dear sir
I, as a senior citizen, am absolutely staggered that David Blood of Radio 702 is allowed night after night to incite and encourage his absolute and abhorrent racism to the unfortunate listeners who can never get their calls put through. One finds that most of those who do get through are ex-Rhodesians, ex-Hungarians, etc.

Furthermore, he is a proper quisling, and I wonder why he is allowed to carry on in this way without any condemnation from Mr Stan Katz, the station manager. Does the ANC not do anything about this? In my opinion he is one of the worst racists in the country and even Mr Terreblanche could take a few tips from him.

DK, Dunkeld West, Jhb.

MODEL C

Dear sir
Thank you very much for sending me the April edition of MAYIBUYE. Your promptness was appreciated and I enjoyed reading it.

Black education has always been close to my

important to say and qualities needed to lead in this beleaguered land.

Because of my faith I continue to pray and ask God for mercy on all in this lovely land. In these difficult days and months ahead many pray for peace in this country, but also for those who play a part in public life and leadership.

RMM, Constantia

Dear sir

For years we have been brainwashed by the media and police reports into believing that the ANC and its allies precipitate violence in this country. The ceremonies of the past week (Chris' funeral) have, without any doubt, brought realisation to all South Africans that they have always been lying to us. The burial ceremony was the best proof when the criminal police and their rampaging gangs tried to spread their atrocious behaviour outside the stadium into the stadium.

I would therefore like to say: "Long live the ANC and its allies." I have never seen so many people sitting for two nights in one place and not even an inclination to unsavoury deeds. Everyone was there peacefully, which the criminal forces tried hard to disrupt and failed.

The country has never accepted that black people can conduct anything with such professionalism and excellence, and it has been proven to all of us. I think I want to say so much but words fail me. After all English is not my language and the emotional thought trend in me will confuse things.

MSB, Hillbrow



JOE MODISE - WHY LOW PROFILE?

Dear comrades
I'm worried about the commander of MK, the people's army. I've never heard him address a political rally or news conference. I suggest that, as a high-ranking official of the ANC, he must be involved in such things. The masses are proud of him (including the late Hani) as a man who commanded his soldiers to many successful battles which made South Africa un-

governable during those dark days.

During the funeral of Hani, Joe Modise was scheduled to speak. To our surprise he didn't utter even a single word. Chris Hani got popular because of his involvement in MK. The overwhelming majority of South Africans got to know and respect him because of MK. Not because he was the General Secretary of the SACP.

He assumed that post only two years ago.

But none of his comrades from MK, the people he lived with for three decades, spoke.

MM, ERMS. ♦

Write to:

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roundup

Attacks on ANC leaders increase

Arsonists destroyed a car when they attacked the home of Sydney Mufamadi on 20 May – a second attack in a week. Mufamadi is member of the National Working Committee of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and Head of the ANC's Peace Desk. Three days earlier, his house was damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

Neither was this the first time that his life was threatened in recent times. Two weeks earlier a bogus pager message was sent out announcing that he had been shot dead by an assassin. Also, two years ago his brother disappeared and, despite numerous attempts to find out what happened to him, no information is forthcoming.

The ANC believes that a deliberate campaign is unfolding against cadres and senior leaders of the Tripartite Alliance. It has urged the SAP to take action to bring the perpetrators of these crimes to book. "The time is now for concerted action to protect negotiations and peace," said the ANC.

Matric exam fees suspended

The Department of Education and Training suspended the mandatory R48 fee for the November 1993 matric exams. This followed marathon talks between State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

The Minister of Education and Training (DET), Sam de Beer, said the decision affected all matric candidates, including those in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda. Monies already paid will be reimbursed.

Meanwhile, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) welcomed the announcement as a "tremendous victory" and called on students to return to school. The organisation reiterated its commitment to the

total scrapping of exam fees and said it will resist any attempts to re-introduce them next year.

Cosas said other issues such as uneven distribution of resources would still be campaigned for. The organisation called on teachers to draw up schedules to make up for time lost during disruptions and matriculants to begin preparations for their final examinations.

Buthelezi unhappy

While everyone welcomed the DET decision to scrap exam fees, and right-wing organisations and unions called on the government to scrap them in white schools as well, KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is so far the lone voice against the decision. Reasons? He sees it as a bilateral agreement between the ANC and the government.

In an interview, Buthelezi said that bilateral agreements such as these would stoke more violence in KwaZulu. "My department of education is the largest in Southern Africa and therefore I take strong exception that matters which affect my department should be decided by the ANC and the government without any consultation with us," he moaned.

Teacher strike averted

A strike by thousands of members of the SA Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) has been suspended following intensive negotiations between the union and the Department of National Education and the Department of Education and Training.

A joint statement issued by the two departments in Pretoria said the strike had been suspended following a wide-ranging preliminary agreement between the union and the departments. In terms of the agreement, the parties would reopen negotiations on teachers' salaries within four weeks of the pact; the departments undertook not to imple-

ment new rationalisation programmes and retrenchments pending the issues being dealt with by the envisaged National Education Forum; and, to review the merit award system as well as specific awards in all education departments on the written request of Sadtu.

The agreement also provides for:

- The appointment of a "fact-finder" between Sadtu and the House of Delegates within one week of the agreement, whose mission would be to investigate the merit awards system and probe allegations in this regard;
- The Minister of Education and Training to meet education authorities in the self-governing states to deal with Sadtu concerns about freedom of association and the right to organise;
- The Minister of Education and Training to liaise with the Department of Foreign Affairs with the view to resolving Sadtu's concerns about freedom of expression and the right to organise in the TBVC areas;
- The Department of National Education to provide technical assistance to the commission appointed in the Transkei to investigate the issue of backpay for female teachers as far as recognised salary parity is concerned;
- Draft legislation to be tabled in Parliament as soon as possible to allow collective bargaining rights for teachers;
- The parties to meet not later than Wednesday, 26 May, with the view to finalising the agreement and setting time-frames for the contentious issues; and,
- The Department of Education and Training to postpone its application for an interdict against Sadtu pending the final outcome of the matters agreed to.

Cosatu hailed the agreement as an historic victory not only for teachers but for the entire

community struggling for a decent education for their children. It called on the government to urgently address the grievances of other public sector workers.

National Education Forum

A facilitating group for the establishment of a National Education and Training Forum met on 21 May to "take forward as a matter of urgency" the creation of the forum. This was one of the agreements from the marathon discussions between the ANC and the government on education. The forum should be set up by the end of June.

A statement issued by the facilitating group, consisting of government representatives, the National Education Conference, the business sector, the teaching profession and others, said it was preparing a working document towards this end, "based on the principles of inclusiveness and full involvement of national stakeholders."

By the time of going to press, the group was to meet in two weeks to finalise its proposals.

Mandela-Buthelezi meeting?

Nelson Mandela has announced his readiness to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "with an aim to address all aspects contributing to the current violence." This was in response to a call by the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for a speedy end to the violence that has claimed the lives of thousands.

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the cooperation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems ...

"This initiative by His Majesty is indeed a positive step and must be supported by all who value peace," Mandela said.

Licence to kill

The "Butcher of Bisho", Ciskei's dictator Oupa Gqozo granted unconditional indemnity against criminal prosecution to 69 soldiers who were involved in the Bisho massacre last September. This is a complete disregard for the process of justice and a licence to kill with impunity for the likes of Gqozo.

The ANC has expressed shock and dismay, saying Gqozo acted speedily because he knew he would also end up facing criminal charges as well.

"The ANC reserves the right to charge and prosecute those involved in the Bisho massacre when the right time comes. We regard the indemnity as fraudulent," said the ANC. It also called for the speedy reincorporation of Ciskei and other homelands.

Hani's killer s in court

Chris Hani's alleged assassin, Janus Waluz, and co-conspirators Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye, appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on 21 May. They were told what charges they would be facing and not asked to plead. The three are due to appear in the Rand Supreme Court on 23 June on charges of murder, conspiracy to murder and unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition. ♦



Nelson Mandela receiving the Gleitsman Foundation's International Activist Award on 12 May in Johannesburg. The award was presented to Mandela for his "extraordinary commitment towards abolishing apartheid in his native land".

The Gleitsman Foundation is an American non-profit making organisation promoting social activism. It was first established to honour American citizens "who have risen to challenge and correct injustice in their communities." Amongst its board of directors are former UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Nobel Peace Prize winners Adolfo Esquivel and Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Chinese Physicist Fang Lizhi.

The late ANC stalwart, Helen Joseph, also received the award posthumously.

Extreme right wing



What threat to the transition?

They were heard making threats and bombing taxi ranks in 1990. They were on your television screen and newspaper front-pages

during last year's all-white Potchefstroom by-election. They are back, threatening fire and brimstone if democracy dares to rear its head in South Africa.

They are the extreme right-wingers. And they come in all shapes and sizes. Lately, in all skin shades too.

Remember? Some of the most vocal and active in 1990 later turned out

to be agents of De Klerk's government. The victor in the Potchefstroom white by-election soon thereafter broke away from the Conservative Party (CP) to form the slightly-less-racist Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU).

Now they are back. Reinforced by retired generals dusting their uni-

forms; black servants of apartheid who fear for their future; farmers who blame the drought on a future ANC government; civil servants who, like Oliver Twist, want some more graft; and white workers who fail to see the real cause of their woes.

Certainly a more ominous combination. But the euphoria in government-supporting media is familiar.

COMPROMISES

Is this hype a creation of the state? Is it yet another trick by the powers-that-be to intimidate and extract compromises from the ANC and its allies?

An element of state manipulation cannot be

Negotiations have reached the stage where decisions about power relations have to be taken. A correspondent looks at the threat extreme right-wingers pose to the transition.



A significant portion of the rank-and-file in the army and police support the CP, the AVU and even the Afrikaans Weerstandbeweging (AWB). The state is fairly well-informed of their plans; and elements within it direct some of their actions.

This is worsened by the divisions in both the political and security establishments of De Klerk's government. Some NP leaders and generals are more steeped in the strategy of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) and prefer a closer alliance with elements of the right wing, particularly the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The campaign to eliminate cadres of the ANC, to cause havoc in black townships and fuel the conflict in Natal, forms part of the LIC strategy. And it is quite instructive that De Klerk publicly regretted last year's Goldstone raid on Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection and has concealed information on the activities of those he dismissed. At the same time, the bantustan administrators are heavily dependent on central government for their survival.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The approach adopted by the democratic movement should, therefore, not miss a crucial factor: pressure needs to be exerted on the government to ensure that it acts with resolution. De Klerk should not be allowed to pretend that he is a helpless captive of the situation.

But, because these forces are political actors in their own right, the democratic movement cannot rely simply on engaging the NP to stem the tide of right-wing reaction.

What does this mean in actual practice?

The right-wingers' fear of change is equalled only by their arrogant confidence that they can hold the country to ransom. In their moments of ecstasy, they tend to forget that they rely, in many respects, on those they despise with a venom.

This they need to be reminded of over and over again. Mass action, such as consumer boycotts, is crucial to drive this point home.

MAJOR PLAYER

But a dangerous pitfall must be avoided: one trait the right-wingers all share is to bask in the glory of publicity; to be elevated to the status of a major player. Targeting them simply because they hold wrong views would be erroneous. In many areas they are responsible for the suppression of free political activity. Mass action must therefore address central issues such as the right of assembly, association and free speech. Their conspiracies to use violence must be nibbled in the bud.

BIBLICAL TRUTHS

The democratic movement should also be sensitive to the fact that ignorance abounds in right-wing circles. Many are oblivious of the havoc that would engulf the country

← continued on page 11

ruled out. Clearly, the extreme right-wing groups are under state scrutiny. They do come in handy when the De Klerk government cannot on its own achieve its objectives. A number of them are, in fact, in the employ of the state.

DIRECT CREATION

But it would be naive to see the resurgent right-wing movement as a direct creation of the state. The objective situation in which the country finds itself has created the platform for right-wing mobilisation.

Negotiations have reached the decisive phase in which the issue of power relations has to be faced squarely. Many whites fear losing the privileges accrued under apartheid. At the same time, many are simply victims of disinformation about the transition. The right-wing movement feeds on these fears and ignorance.

In terms of numbers, this movement is, to all intents and purposes, insignificant. But it is a serious threat to the transition because of its capacity to wreak havoc.

Viewed against the backdrop of the relationship of some of these forces to state structures and strategies, the magnitude of this danger multiplies.



General Viljoen is a general who has advised the government to lead a rebellion against democracy.

Negotiations: Room for optimism?

At the end of the 18 May meeting of the Negotiating Council, virtually all parties were optimistic that major hurdles were being overcome.

The Negotiating Council had received reports from Technical Committees. Issues that need attention are:

- how the playing field will be levelled in the run-up to elections;
- constitution-making body;
- what principles will underpin the future constitution; and
- who would draft such a constitution.

The optimism arose not because all the areas had been dealt with. Rather, some of the more problematic areas were adequately probed.

Firstly, on the issue of self-determination, it was made clear that this concept pertained, above all, to individual rights and the right of collectives such as trade unions, people who hold the same religious beliefs or speak the same language, to pursue their common interests.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Instruments such as a Bill of Rights and organisations which would, in conjunction with government, protect such interests, are crucial. An approach to self-determination

based on racial considerations and which puts groups above individuals was seen as unacceptable.

The CP remains sceptical. Other right-wingers have their own reading of the arguments and decisions. But it is agreed that the issue can only be dealt with in the context of other constitutional questions.

APPROPRIATE POWERS

Secondly, on the issue of regions, it was agreed that all parties prefer a society in which there would be regional and local government with appropriate powers. Exactly what these powers can be, has been referred to the Technical Committee to make proposals. Further, a commission is to be set up to recommend regional boundaries.

Does this subtract from the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly (CA) as perceived by the ANC?

No, say the organisation's representatives in negotiations. The ANC argues for regional and national lists, meaning that electoral boundaries would have to be resolved at this stage. For purposes of the fu-

ture constitution, such boundaries would simply be recommended to the CA.

Further, in its Strategic Perspectives document the ANC raises the possibility of reaching bilateral or multilateral understanding with other parties on regional powers. Its approach to the report of the Technical Committee on this issue would be that whatever emerges is for purposes of a common approach in the CA. It would not be binding on the CA.

However, the line between full CA sovereignty and pre-determined detail is becoming quite thin.

MAJOR DISAGREEMENTS

Are the areas of dispute now behind us? Not necessarily. Agreement on pre-election structures does not resolve the question of who drafts the new constitution. Inkatha and its allies insist that elections should take place only after a federal or "volkstate-type" constitution has been drafted. Besides, when the detail on regional powers and functions is debated, major disagreements are expected.

So, the multi-party forum has taken a major step forward. A date for elections was to be announced in a matter of days.

But there are definitely some, like the CP, who will want to take two steps backwards. The task is to ensure that they do so alone, without major disruptions to the long march. ♦





properly reflected. The ANC and its allies, on the other hand, need to rectify the weakness of not reaching out to these forces. For instance, the implications of the decision taken months ago about a transition that ensures reconstruction and reconciliation have not been properly communicated. The Strategic Perspectives document has gathered dust outside the negotiating chambers. It has not been pro-actively used to help calm the fears on the right.

SHEER IGNORANCE

This is not to say that the transition will not impact somewhat negatively on most beneficiaries of apartheid. Neither does it imply that they will all shed their racist sentiments. But their leaders' exploitation of sheer ignorance must be undermined.

In addition, what gives a greater sense of legitimacy to the extreme right-wingers' cause is the backing that they enjoy from black elements. Given the racism in the white sections of this coalition, there is no doubt that the shared interests do not run very deep.

The extreme right is indeed a danger to the transition. But it should not be exaggerated.

In fact the

most positive and most significant development in the recent period is the unity of a wide variety of forces for a speedy resolution of the country's problems. These are black workers, the unemployed, the rural masses, youth, women, religious leaders, professionals and elements of big business.

CONCRETE RESULTS

These forces want decisive movement forward. They command large numbers and their positions enjoy moral authority. They do not only carry the responsibility, but also have the capacity, to ensure that the process produces concrete results.

Whether there will be progress in negotiations, or a major blockage, depends on the readiness of these forces to render ineffective the schemes of the right wing leaders and ensure that the government crosses the democratic threshold. If the central issues are not resolved, actions that have a definite impact should be undertaken.

As *MAYIBUYE* went to press, there was widespread optimism from the World Trade Centre that the feared deadlock might not happen.

But even if the present hurdle is overcome, the extreme right wing is sure to try yet another come-back, well into the transition. That is if its shaky platform is not exposed and undermined. ♦

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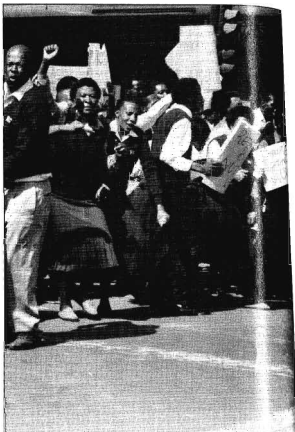
if there is no democratic settlement soon. Many genuinely fear that a democratic government would do unto them what apartheid did to the majority of the people. Distortion of ANC policies on land and agriculture, language and cultural rights, the economy and so on are accepted as biblical truths.

Changes need to be introduced in the management of news and current affairs in the SABC to ensure that the whole truth about the transition and what various organisations stand for is



Joe Slovo with PAC representatives.

Why Mass action must roll



"Roll mass action roll", urge sp meetings and the people cheer content of this rolling mass action examines campaign issues

The Alliance, when analysing the situation in the aftermath of the assassination of Chris Hani, at an Alliance Summit at the end of April, argued that the situation provides us with the opportunity of realising the demands we have been making over the last period:

- more effectively
- more rapidly
- in greater depth and, above all,
- with greater mass involvement.

To take up this challenge we need to develop a broader approach to mass action. Mass action is not only protest actions. It is all those actions which are taken up by the masses of the people to decisively shift the balance of forces in our favour and

begin to achieve the transfer of power to the people.

POLITICAL DEMANDS

Our demands for an interim government and a Constituent Assembly have not yet been met. Today, these demands have become translated more specifically into the urgent call for:

- An election date
- The installation of the Transitional Executive Council and joint control of the security forces.
- Agreements on all other elements of the transition by June.

If these demands are not met, we will have no option but to significantly review our negotiations strategy and consider unprecedented ac-

tion against the regime. The Alliance has put up for discussion proposals for industrial action and a tax boycott – extending the idea of the PAYE campaign to all taxes.

Meanwhile, to ensure that our deadline is met, a number of regions have executed a number of actions including ongoing boycotts, 24-hour occupation of cities, marches, etc. The education struggle is seen as part of the broader effort to transform society.

PREPARING FOR ELECTIONS

There is no better way of channeling mass mobilisation than into building strong organisation to prepare for a decisive ANC victory in the forthcoming elections.



spa at rallies and
er what should be the
cta correspondent

as well as for improving the quality of life of the people.

FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The Alliance has long committed itself to a campaign for free political activity focusing on Bop, KwaZulu, Ciskei as well as small towns dominated by the right wing and hostels.

With the students and lecturers at the University of Bophuthatswana taking the lead in brave action against Mangope's regime, it is urgent that other sectors of the democratic movement join.

The ANC Youth League is spearheading a campaign of activities in every town and village of KwaZulu.

ASINAMALI CAMPAIGN

Secondly, every day the problems of unemployment, education and lack of housing stare our people in the face. The ANC, together with other organisations in our communities, needs to take up these issues. They need to take up the education crisis campaign urgently. After all it is our members and potential members who often have to pay the R48,00 examination fee and not the school pupils.

Presently the national and regional forums on socio-economic issues are negotiating many issues which can only be implemented at a local level.

For example, the
National Local

Government Negotiating Forum has agreed that new inclusive structures must be set up at a local level to deal primarily with the urgent provision of services such as garbage collection, water, electricity etc. We need to be actively involved in setting them up so that we can ensure service delivery to our communities.

When pensions are equalised in September, the NP is preparing to claim it as its victory. We need to go out to our people and claim it as ours, which it rightfully is.

Mass action must roll to end apartheid rule and begin to create a society in which all will live in security and comfort. ♦



There is no doubt that thousands of people said after Chris Hani's assassination: "Let me also now play a role to get rid of this government."

We should bring them into our "rolling mass action" by going door-to-door to meet the masses of our people. By now all ANC branches should have set up election structures. They also should be developing an understanding of their communities, embarking on a door-to-door campaign to ensure that all potential voters have ID books and know how to vote and vote for a better quality of life.

But election campaigning is not just telling people to vote ANC. There are at least another two related campaigns which are crucial for the success of the election campaign

Police and marches: Light at the end of the tunnel?

PORT ELIZABETH UNDERMINING PROVOCATEURS

The marches took place against the background of good understanding and co-operation between the SAP and the Tripartite Alliance, dating back from the beginning of national mass action last year.

On the day of the march, 14 April, there were three points from which the marches were going to start. In New Brighton, 50 000 people from the African townships were gathered near Centenary Hall by 9.00 am. In the Northern Areas about 20 000 marchers had assembled by this time. In Walmer there were about 5 000. All these marchers were going to converge at the centre of the city, at Market Square, now renamed Matthew Goniwe Square.

At about 10.00 am there was already a problem with a group of about 500 youths near Centenary Hall which wanted people to start marching before the scheduled time. Some of them carried petrol bombs and an assortment of weapons. The leadership struggled to bring this group under control but did not succeed. The group started jogging towards town, thus causing everybody to follow.

Meanwhile, our monitors had met the police an hour earlier at the ANC office to discuss issues which might hinder the success of the march. Among these were the fol-

Most of the marches following Chris Hani's assassination were peacefully conducted. In Durban, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth there were agreements with the police, and potentially disastrous situations were averted. **MAYIBUYE** correspondents in these cities assess the experiences.



lowing:

- A group of whites who were roaming the city armed, with some posted at strategic points into town. An agreement was reached between our monitors and the police and soldiers that nobody but the police and soldiers in uniform would be allowed to stand or walk along the

routes that the marches were going to take.

- The second agreement was that the police and soldiers were going to take their positions in such a way that they were not going to be seen to be confrontational and provocative.
- An assurance was given by the SAP that no order would be given to the police and soldiers to shoot.

When the march from New Brighton entered town, the leadership had long lost control of the breakaway group which, by then, had been joined by 300 others. This group hoisted the PAC flag. But even PAC leaders could not control these elements. Meanwhile police kept on contacting our monitors to inform them about developments around the marches. They reported that the breakaway group had started breaking shop windows and were going on the rampage. However, the



Photos: Police response to mass action has usually been hostile and violent. Is a change of attitude possible?

police promised not to shoot as this would bring incalculable damage. The Tripartite Alliance asked the police to give them time to persuade everybody to return to the township's stadium, Dan Qeqe. This, the leadership did with great success.

In this region there were more than 20 marches which passed without serious incident.

DURBAN JOINT ACTION PREVENTS DISASTER

On 14 April, about 100 000 people marched through the main streets of Durban to the EXPO centre for a memorial service for Chris Hani. The beginning of the march was marked by an element of defiance by an unruly group which set off in advance of the march. It committed most of the criminal acts during this event, although, on the whole, the Alliance personnel responsible for crowd control and security kept it in check for most of the time.

The size of the march and the temperament of the participants precipitated the obvious need for joint control with the police over the safety and security of the event. The security forces accepted this in view of the highly volatile situation. This was

handled in a cordial atmosphere of co-operation between the two groups.

Two security meetings were held before the march. The issues discussed covered routes to be used; transportation of participants to and from the event; security for the venue before and during the service; and emergency first aid. The security forces recognised that they did not have to provoke or agitate the situation.

While there were incidents of crime, such as damage to property and harassment of bystanders, these were few. Most notable is that, even when they did occur, the security forces acted with restraint and co-operation with the Alliance security personnel and leadership. The march and memorial service in Durban demonstrated that it is not only possible, but desirable that there should be joint control.

JOHANNESBURG CONTRASTS IN POLICE BEHAVIOUR

April 14 would have seen peaceful marches in Johannesburg if the police at Protea Police Station had not fired on the crowd that had actually come to deliver a memorandum requesting police restraint during the planned marches leading up to Chris Hani's funeral.

But Saturday 17 April was different. After the government had announced that it intended to declare 19 districts around the Johannesburg region as unrest areas, the Alliance made plain its rejection and intention not to observe that declaration.

The regional and national leadership of the ANC that was involved in funeral preparations entered into an agreement with the security forces. The agreement bound the police to act with restraint and the Alliance to assist the police by ensuring that the tens of thousands of marchers would act in a disciplined way. This agreement was significant in that it prevented the 19 areas being declared unrest areas and the disaster that would have followed.

During the march there were tiny groups of people, mostly youths, who were clearly not prepared to be controlled by the 1 500 marshals that had been posted along the march routes in downtown Johannesburg. The situation was volatile but passed without serious incidents.

When, at some point, some elements broke windows and started looting shops, the marshals apprehended them and handed them to the police. The level of co-operation was also characterised by constant consultations between the ANC marshals and the police. ♦

Gandhi - a legend remembered

MAYIBUYE: What is the significance of the Gandhi anniversary?

AK: The significance lies in the formation, a year after his arrival, of the Natal Indian Congress and later the Transvaal Indian Congress. Both organisations later became allies of the ANC.

He also introduced a method of struggle in this country. Already in 1906 when they tried to introduce a form of pass laws for the Indians in the Transvaal, Gandhi led a campaign which entailed a mass burning of those permits.

Then in 1913 he led a strike of the Indian workers on the coal mines in Newcastle. They were demanding improvement of their working conditions. The same year, together with other volunteers, he led a march across the Natal border into Transvaal, which was illegal. Until fairly recently it has been illegal for Indians to cross from one province to another without a special permit. They marched in their hundreds and several were arrested and sent back to Natal.

MAYIBUYE: Did this spirit survive his departure?

AK: After his departure in 1914, the militancy that he had introduced gradually faded and the Indian Congresses both in Natal and Transvaal reverted to a policy of resolutions, meetings, deputations and petitions.

This was so until a group grew up within the Congress with the return to South Africa from abroad of Dr Dadoo. He started a move to more militant forms of struggle and concentration on non-European unity. In this he got the fullest backing of Gandhi, with whom he was in contact.



May 23 marks the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in South Africa. **MAYIBUYE** spoke to **Ahmed Kathrada**, a member of the Nec of the ANC on its significance, and the situation within Indian communities.

In 1946, the Indian Congresses called upon the people to defy the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. They also called upon India to introduce trade and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa and raise the matter with the United Nations. The campaign was so successful that the law became ineffective. India was the very first country in the world to impose trade and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa.

Our struggle was internationalised as a result of the decision to have the matter raised at the United Nations by India. The solidarity which existed between the All-India Congress in India and our Congresses here was a result of Gandhi's influence.

Later on came the 1952 Defiance Campaign which was jointly conducted by the Indian Congresses and the ANC.

MAYIBUYE: What activities are planned to mark the anniversary?

AK: The ANC is not directly planning anything independently. The Gandhi Memorial Committees - in the Transvaal and Natal - have ANC people serving on them.

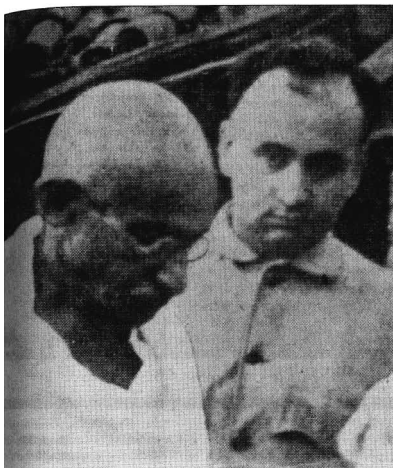
Meetings will be held, addressed by Mandela, Sisulu and others. A Gandhi march is also planned.

On June 6 Mandela will be the keynote speaker at the unveiling of the Gandhi statue in Pietermaritzburg.

There are many more activities planned and ANC members are participating in all of them.

MAYIBUYE: Is the centenary simply an issue for the Indian community?

AK: No. Gandhi's influence has extended beyond the South



Mahatma Gandhi (left) and Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

African Indian community or India for that matter. His influence spread throughout the world. Dr Martin Luther King in America directly acknowledged the influence of Gandhi. Kaunda still acknowledges the influence of Gandhi. ANC leaders have publicly acknowledged how they were influenced by Gandhi's methods of struggle.

MAYIBUYE: The philosophy behind his struggle was satyagraha. Did it mean passive resistance at all costs?

AK: Simply stated it means the force of love – that you can win over your enemy by love. But he went further, of course. He did not say that we must just pray for change. He believed that, in addition to this approach of winning over your enemy by love, you must also resist in-

equality and injustice by non-violent means.

MAYIBUYE: According to opinion polls, not more than 20 percent of the Indian community are going to vote for the ANC. Do you think this is accurate?

AK: I don't believe that at all. I don't know what samples they have used. From my personal and experiences of comrades who have been doing mass work in Indian areas, there's tremendous sympathy for the ANC. I am convinced that the majority of Indian people are going to vote for the ANC.

The claims about support for the National Party are not based on facts. There was, for instance, a gathering recently organised by the ANC Lenasia and Laudium branches at the

Sandton Hotel for fundraising where people paid R1 000,00 a ticket. They came there openly and identified themselves with the ANC. De Klerk and the Nationalists have also been having small gatherings behind closed doors where people are ashamed to identify with them.

MAYIBUYE: So there are no problems at all?

AK: There are problems and concerns that we are facing.

There's still a perception that the ANC is an African organisation. That perception exists among many people.

So we have to show the people that the ANC is the only truly non-racial organisation in this country.

When you go to Indian communities today their concerns do not necessarily coincide with the concerns of the people of Soweto. When the people of Soweto have problems with electricity, rubbish removal, squatters etc, you don't have those problems among the Indian communities.

Their number one concern is violence, crime and security for their future. They are concerned about the ANC's economic policy, about what happened to Indians in Uganda and Kenya, wondering if that won't happen under a majority government.

MAYIBUYE: Do some of our actions influence these perceptions?

AK: There's a consumer boycott at the moment in Krugersdorp where the demand by the ANC-led alliance is that the City Council must resign and call for non-racial elections. The factual position is that this City Council is controlled by the Conservative Party. The Indians have got no



Mandela pays tribute at Gandhi's tombstone in India, 1990.

vote but the Alliance is boycotting shopkeepers where the main ones affected are Indian. They are asking us now: How do we use our influence on the City Council which we have not elected?

Leon Wessels, NP MP for Krugersdorp, has now challenged the ANC publicly to debate the boycott. He is giving the impression that he and the NP are defending Indians against the ANC. So we must take account of this mass action that we have called for. How far is it helping our cause? How is it affecting our allies, our potential allies and our potential voters?

With the undifferentiated approach that we have been having so far, we have not sufficiently reached out to the other communities and addressed their concerns, anxieties and fears. In meetings I've found that once we put forward the ANC policy, they accept it and they are going to vote for us.

The NP has got a very bad record and the people are not going to forget it in a hurry. Besides, the Indian Congresses

have got a tradition of struggle and they won't just abandon it suddenly and vote for the NP.

MAYIBUYE: Doesn't the ANC come across as a violent organisation because of its armed struggle?

AK: There is that perception. The enemy took advantage of us when we were still illegal. Even now the media keeps on portraying the ANC as a violent organisation. We have to reach out to the people and tell them that the main victims in many cases of violence are ANC people. The ANC benefits least from violence. We are committed to a negotiated political settlement.

MAYIBUYE: Research also indicates an increase in the standard of living of Indians in the past decade. Does this apply to all the sectors – the workers, middle classes, etc?

AK: The bulk of Indian communities still live in Natal. In the Transvaal the Indian community has always been essentially a

community of small retailers. It still remains that, although there's also a growing working class.

It is true from my own knowledge and observations that there's been an improvement in the standard of living of Indians. But the vast majority of Indians still remain a working class community.

MAYIBUYE: What will an ANC government offer them?

AK: The ANC is committed to and is the only organisation with a proud record of non-racialism. It has a proud record of struggle for all the deprived and dispossessed people, regardless of race. And in its policy for the future the ANC proposes, most importantly, a Bill of Rights which offers the best security to all the people.

Freedom of religion, freedom of assembly, and all the basic demands that our people are worried about – language, culture, etc – are all guaranteed in our Bill of Rights. We also believe that ANC policies offer the best hope for all the people. ♦

Preparing the electorate

Matla Trust was founded as an educational and charitable trust in April 1991 on the initiative of Nelson Mandela, who realised that the wide range of socio-economic problems that our country faces requires the attention of an organisation that served all the people of the country, not just the members of the ANC.

The Trust is overseen by a board of 14 prominent South Africans selected for their commitment to the struggle against apartheid and their involvement in community development programmes. The day to day running of the Trust is in the hands of Billy Modise, a former Assistant Director at the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka.

Matla Trust's main activity is the Community and Citizen Education Programme (CCEP), whose central objective is to promote the development of a democratic society through educational programmes aimed at teaching people about democratic principles, institutions and practices.

SYLLABUS

The CCEP syllabus covers topics like democracy, constitutions, negotiations, political tolerance and electoral systems. Its immediate priority is voter education – preparing South Africa's people for their first democratic elections.

The task of preparing over 20 million people who have never voted before for elections is immense.

From June to August 1992 Matla Trust ran a series of eight regional workshops around the country. A total of 320 trainers from 52 organi-

As the hope for free and fair elections becomes a distinct possibility, the need for a prepared electorate becomes urgent.

Matla Trust, one of the main organisations involved in preparing voters, writes about its work.

sations were trained in elections management and voter education. Participating organisations included all the black political organisations, the churches, trade unions, civics, educational and literacy organisations, women and youth organisations.

The people trained in these workshops were able to go back into their own organisations to provide training to their members.

Matla Trust has employed 30 of the people trained in these workshops full time to staff its eight regional centres established throughout the country – in PWV, Natal, Free State, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Western Transvaal and Eastern Transvaal. These centres run voter education workshops for non-governmental organisations, political parties, the churches, trade unions, women's organisations and many others.

As a spin-off to Matla's elections training, a number of organisations have asked the Trust to conduct their internal elections. This has been done for a number of bodies, including the ANC's Southern Free State region as well as for the re-

gional elections of the Northern Free State Civic Organisation.

MEDIA

A large part of Matla's democracy education programme involves the use of a wide range of media. Matla Trust has a Communications Department which deals with the content and management of all voter education materials, including theatre, print media, radio, videos, etc.

In September 1992, the Trust launched a pilot voter education theatre project. Peter Ngwenya, Doreen Mazibuko and Willie Tshaka of Ukukhanya Theatre Project were commissioned to write and produce a play on elections and voting. This resulted in an hour-long play called "Moments" which has to date given over 60 performances at community halls, factories, schools, church halls and other venues in the Transvaal.

The play deals with political tolerance, the importance of the elections and the mechanics of voting. In the closing scene of the play the audience is taken step-by-step through the voting process within the polling station. The play makes



ANC election management workshop, Johannesburg, February 1993.

effective use of music, dance and humour to impart its message.

Matla Trust has also been involved in a regular series of Democracy Pages in a range of publications, including *South* newspaper in Cape Town, *Learn and Teach* and *Speak* magazine which targets women. In May a monthly feature in

the *Weekly Mail's* education supplement directed at schools began. Matla is arranging similar pages in other publications throughout the country.

A range of other print media is in preparation. These include a comic book, booklets on various aspects of democracy and voting, newspaper inserts, posters and stickers.

RADIO AND TV

The Trust is also working, together with the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE), which groups a wide range of organisations involved in voter education, on a range of radio and television programmes.

In May a regular programme called *Voteline* began on Radio Metro every Monday evening between 8 and 9 pm, hosted by Tim Modise. A range of other radio and TV programmes are in the pipeline. Matla Trust and the IFEE are presently in negotiation with the SABC for the airing of these programmes.

The Trust is extremely sensitive to the needs of the illiterate and the rural communities. Extensive plans are afoot to ensure that voter education material directed at these sectors is distributed as extensively as possible, by way of mobile video units and the erection of semi-mobile voter education offices which can also be used as community centres.

The Trust is also looking at an ambitious programme to involve top musicians in Music for Democracy programmes, as well as a huge advertising campaign. ♦

Elections are Coming! Are you ready to Vote?
Do you know How to Vote?

Listen to
VOTELINE

a weekly **Voter Education** phone-in programme
 brought to you by
Matla Trust and
the Independent Forum for Electoral Education

on
Radio Metro
 every Monday
 from 8pm to 9pm

with
Tim Modise

To get your questions answered
 Phone: 714 8063 between 8 and 9pm Mondays

For more information about Matla Trust's work, you may contact the Trust at P.O. Box 7748, Johannesburg 2000, or at telephone (011) 834-5301 or fax (011) 838-1910.

Education: The crisis deepens

of the examination fees and decided to intensify the campaign which threatened to bring schooling to a complete halt.

NEXT MOVE

Cosas decided to suspend their action after the African National Congress and educational bodies intervened and asked students to go back to school. The suspension of the action does not mean that Cosas has decided to rest its case. Students will be holding consultative meetings with community organisations

The crisis in black education continues to be a point of focus as the country is gearing up to a new dispensation. In recent months the crisis has soared to higher levels, while the sincerity of those who have authority to effect measures to remedy the situation remains questionable.

The lack of willingness and the unpreparedness of the Department of Education and Training (DET) and the government to take resolute steps to address the problems of students and teachers is adding fuel to the deepening crisis in black education. Had they acted resolutely, there is no doubt that we could have gone a long way towards improving the quality of black education and bringing the crisis to an end.

LASTING SOLUTION

The manner in which the Minister of Education and Training, Sam de Beer, addressed the demand by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) for the scrapping of Matric examination fees has just confirmed that he does not have the interest of black students at heart. He is not worried about the deepening crisis in his department. The DET still refuses to take concrete proposals from educational organisations and those who are deeply concerned about the plight of black students to join him and jointly work out a lasting solution to the education problem. As has always been the case, the Minister decided to tackle the problem alone. He thought he could solve the problem by reducing the examination fees to R48,00.

The Minister had acted in the same old DET way, ie dealing with one aspect of the crisis at a time, thinking that the situation will return to normal. Students were not appeased by the reduction



to decide on the next move. For as long as the Minister of Education and Training refuses to acknowledge the role of educational bodies and political organisations in addressing the problems in black education, he will not come with any acceptable solution to the problems.

CONCRETE PROPOSALS

The education conference which was held in March 1992 at Broederstroom, attended by representatives of political, student and teacher organisations and trade union federations made concrete proposals to the government on how the crisis in black education can be dealt with. The most important proposal from the conference was the establishment of an Education Forum which would be empowered to deal with education before and during the transitional period. The government was reluctant to accept the proposal and, as a result, the forum could not be established.

To make matters worse, the government decided to increase teachers' salaries by a mere pittance – 5%, far below the inflation rate. It is also retrenching black teachers, despite the obvious shortage. The government's argument that it seeks to cut public spending is hollow, given the golden handshakes to army and police generals, all kinds of unwarranted perks to ministers and MP's and the billions of rands spent on covert operations.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The ANC Youth League sees the crisis in black education as one of the big challenges facing the liberation movement. The post-apartheid democratic government may find itself having to carry a big burden of educating thousands of young people who shall have failed to complete their secondary education because of the current education crisis. It will also be difficult for the democratic government to implement affirmative action if thousands of blacks are short of the necessary skills to staff the civil service.

The crisis in black education should, therefore, not be separated from the whole crisis the country is engulfed in today. All those who are committed to a democratic non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, particularly parents, should join hands and work together to find a lasting solution to the problems created by apartheid education.

Apartheid education, which is the root cause of the crisis in black education, was

introduced by the National Party in the early fifties. The National Party government can therefore not be allowed to lead the process of bringing about an education policy which will be acceptable to all. The campaign for halting unilateral restructuring of education by the Department of Education and Training must be intensified.

In early May, Sam de Beer announced that the government would agree to the es-

tablishment of an Education Forum. His understanding of the Forum, however, is different from that proposed by the National Education Conference. He wants an advisory body, whilst the Education Conference wants an education forum which will have full capacity to deal with education. Anything less than that will not be helpful to address the current crisis in black education. ♦

Reflections on the Education Summit

The education summit provided an opportunity to discuss the crisis and underlined the need for action, writes Lindelwa Mabandla of the ANC Department of Education.

Schooling is virtually grinding to a halt, with students on the streets demanding the scrapping of the exam fees. This is a legitimate demand. The socio-economic position of most black parents is such that they cannot afford to pay the fee.

There must be ways to raise the money, either through some tax mechanism or incorporation within the education budget. Any reasonable person would question the wisdom of a government digging its heels on the issue. So the summit offered the students an opportunity to table their intentions of piling up pressure until the demand is met.

DEEP-SEATED GRIEVANCES

On teachers demands that salaries be negotiated and that any further moves to retrench more teachers must be stopped until all these issues can be examined in the negotiation process, government has again doggedly refused to relent, showing complete incomprehension of the deep-seated grievances of teachers.

In De Klerk's own words, there is no crisis "but if one is imminent then it is being artificially caused by unruly elements." This is said in spite of overwhelming evidence of support for the Sadtu (South African Democratic Teachers Union) position even by teachers one wouldn't normally associate with mass action. De Klerk decided to go public on the issue of a five percent ceiling on civil servants pay hikes, thus preempting proper negotiation in a structure that he himself created.

Other issues discussed included repression in Bophuthatswana, where virtually every tertiary institution has been closed down except one College of Education. The atmosphere of repression also extends to Ciskei and KwaZulu.

So the summit provided an opportunity for groups who have an interest in education to discuss the crisis and underlined the need for action. If the government does not relent, indeed action will be taken and the people shall have taken another major step to bury apartheid.. ♦

Tribute to a people's leader

A study of other revolutionary movements shows that OR excelled by keeping ANC ranks united until the very end of its exile life, writes **Alfred Nzo** who served as Secretary-General from 1969 to 1991.



Friend and colleague

"Comrade OR has been with me since the 1930s when we were students at Fort Hare. He was my brother, my comrade, my friend and my colleague.

"One of the most striking feature about him was his quiet efficiency and the way he eschewed all kinds of publicity and personal praise.

"During the 30 years in which I and my comrades were in prison, Cde OR was the standard-bearer of our organisation and all the traditions which it represents.

"I went to see him in hospital and I spent a few moments with him alone. I looked at his face and, in death, he retained some of the virtue for which he has become very famous. Looking at him it was difficult to believe that this man was no more, because written across the face was one of a man who went to sleep for eternity at peace with himself and the world." – Nelson Mandela

ment he was to issue had to be done over and over again until he was satisfied that it accurately reflected the policy of the movement. He taught us, by example, always to be exacting in our work.

It is commonly accepted that he played a leading role in the mobilisation of the international anti-apartheid and democratic forces. His stature grew to the extent that he was regarded as a leading world stateperson by leading statesper-

sons, whose doors were always open to him.

With his keen foresight he led the National Executive Committee in preparation for an eventuality when the regime would be forced to sit with the ANC around the negotiating table. Thus was born the Harare Declaration.

The demise of Tambo has robbed the entire democratic movement of our country of a selfless fighter, an outstanding leader and a true democrat. ♦

We did have many problems in exile. It was, however, due to the guiding figure of our then president, OR Tambo, that we were able to overcome our internal organisational difficulties.

OR kept in sharp focus the main mission of our organisation which was to assist in every way possible to develop the underground structures of the ANC.

Under his leadership, the National Executive Committee created special organs such as the Revolutionary Council and later the Politico-Military Council, whose full-time functions were to help guide the internal struggle. Later, Operation Vukindlela (Vula) was set in motion under his direct leadership to deploy leading cadres inside the country and ensure on-the-spot guidance.

OR was deeply concerned about the welfare of the exile membership of the ANC, in particular those of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He paid painstaking attention to his work. A draft of whatever state-

Modest family man

By Neo

Moikangoe, who was one of Tambo's assistants.

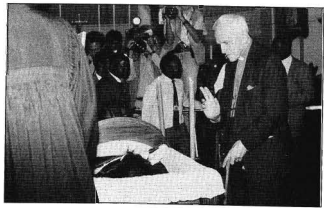
Oliver Reginald Tambo's modesty verged on shyness. On the other hand, the force of his gifts propelled him towards the summits of leadership and a life lived almost constantly in the public eye. He wore the burden of such contradictions with an ease that seemed almost natural.

At heart he was a family man. He worshipped his wife Adelaide, his daughters Thembi and Tselane, and his son Dali. One of his abiding regrets was that he was unable to spend enough time with them. He frequently had to fall back on long distance telephone calls from almost every corner of the earth.

Though he lived by a strict Christian moral and ethical code, he never succumbed to dogmatic rigidity or doctrinaire posturing. He was thus able to communicate, interact and work with people across a wide spectrum of political persuasions, ideologies and religious beliefs without either antagonising them or compromising his integrity.

OR was constantly scouting for talent in others. Wherever he found

Tambo is



it, he drove it to the limits of excellence. This was one of the many ways in which he was an inspiration to an entire generation.

OR believed in collective leadership. He saw it as the key to spreading and rooting the sense of ownership of the struggle across the broadest possible constituency of anti-apartheid forces.

Those who knew him understood why he invariably laughed at the periodic suggestion that his leadership of the ANC was threatened by "Young Turks." He was himself a perennial "Young Turk." He loved and doted on youth, and youth reciprocated the feeling more than fully. More often than not their affection for him bordered on total adoration. ♦



id to rest



Oliver Tambo died at 3.10am on 24 April at the Milpark Hospital. He was admitted to hospital the previous day for observation of a chest infection. In the early hours of the morning he unexpectedly suffered a severe stroke.

He was buried at the Wattville cemetery, after a moving ceremony at the FNB Stadium. Thousands of South Africans and dignitaries representing virtually all governments of the globe attended the funeral. He is survived by his wife Adelaide, children Tembi, Dali, Tselane, and three grandchildren.

OR: "The perfectionist"

By Joe Nhlanhla, member of National Working Committee of the ANC's NEC.

My first working contact with OR Tambo was when I was head of the Youth and Students Section of the ANC in exile. He requested me and Thabo Mbeki to prepare a speech for

the 60th anniversary of the ANC. We had a week for the task and spent sleepless nights preparing a document we considered to be excellent. OR went over it and decided to deliver one of his best unwritten speeches. It taught us a lot, and if you look at the capacity of Thabo Mbeki to produce excellent speeches over the years, I am sure that he himself

would say that he owes this to the many rejections, improvements, encouragements and praises from OR.

He was a perfectionist in this area. This weighed heavily on him. Nobody in the NEC, with perhaps the exception of Thabo, wanted to be near him when it came to speech-writing. People were prepared to serve on any other committee but not one preparing speeches for him. Not that he was personal with anybody. He was in fact worse with himself. The stroke he got in 1989 was when he was working on the Harare Declaration.

He had an enduring conviction that the political message that the ANC gives at any given moment must be well considered and expressive of the interests of the South African people. He never wanted any ambiguity.

STRATEGIST

OR was a strategist. He never tried to look at South African problems in a narrow sense. He saw them in their totality. That is why under his leadership the ANC was able to link all the pillars of struggle – the mass political organisation inside the country, the underground, the armed struggle and international mobilisation.

His whole preoccupation was with the mandate he had been given in 1960 by the ANC inside the country. He was ready to sacrifice personal interest in order to carry it out. Even when doctors tried to make him relax, he was consumed with the tasks before him and often defied them. Even when he eventually agreed to take holidays, he would continue his work from the holiday place.

There was always an endless queue of people wanting to see him in his office in Lusaka. He attended to everyone because he believed that solving a small household problem of a cadre, or listening to the complaints of an MK cadre, a student or an old person who had not heard from his or her family since he left the country, was very important. These problems, he said, could be of a make or break character, saving cadres from a possible course to deep-felt disgruntlement. ♦

Meticulous commander

The last major mission OR Tambo undertook was a month before his untimely death. He attended the passing-out parade of MK cadres who had just completed their basic training in Uganda, writes **Siphiwe Nyanda**, MK Chief-of-Staff.

How fitting OR Tambo's visit to Uganda was for the man who, more than anybody else, helped build Umkhonto we Sizwe into the respected force that it is today.

The request for him to officiate at the graduation ceremony last March was made when I visited Uganda on 16 December 1992 for the Heroes Day celebrations. It was not made lightly. The soldiers knew that their former Commander-in-Chief was not in good health. But they needed his benevolent presence "probably for the last time", as the camp commander put it. More in reference to the transient nature of the existence of our camps abroad than to the probable final eclipse of this leading light.

No one could stand in the way of the desires of the cadres who so adored and loved Tambo. I had to oblige. The only condition I put was that they organise a helicopter for the trip to the camp. The rough road is so punishing it could harm a healthy body.

OR looked forward to the trip. To him the interests of the soldiers came first.

When we got to Kampala we found that arrangements were such that we would be flying to the camp and back on the same day. We would therefore forego other events planned for the weekend, in the interests of OR's health.

SPECIAL PLACE

But the National Chairperson would have none of that. He insisted that he wanted to be there – to witness

all the planned events and to share in all the moments of joy of the young soldiers. It is this caring that carved out a special place for Tambo in the hearts of the membership of MK.

He effectively stewarded all the senior structures that prosecuted the armed struggle. He was Chairman of the Political Military Council, which was responsible for the overall conduct of the struggle inside the country and, before then, the Revolutionary Council. Operational missions such as the Zambezi crossings into Zimbabwe in 1967; the abortive attempt to infiltrate through the sea; Special Operations, which undertook some of the most daring and dramatic operations like SASOL and Koeberg, and Operation Vula, which was the most serious attempt to infiltrate leadership into the country, were all headed by him. He attended to every detail.

When he fell ill, it was a cruel blow. One consolation was, however, that we would soon share with him the fruits of the sacrifices of those he so inspired, the living and the dead. How sad then that he will not be at the victory parade.

We are, however, stretched by his memorable words after his unanimous re-election at the Kabwe Conference in 1985 when he reported that he was not well, but that, "whatever little is left of my health will be consumed in struggle!" ♦



Filling the vacuum

For South Africa to become a prosperous African lion to rival the Asian tigers, the various studies by the democratic movement must be debated widely and translated into a blueprint, writes

Robert Segall of the PWV ANC Science and Technology Group.

The ANC, Cosatu and Sanco recently received a draft report they had commissioned, entitled "Towards a Science and Technology Policy for a Democratic South Africa", from a mission sponsored by the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) report and another produced by the professional associations of the scientific and engineering community have also just come out. All express profound concerns about current Science and Technology Policy.

To be more accurate, the concerns centre not on policy itself but on the "policy vacuum at the highest levels of the present South African government" (IDRC report p3). This is a vital matter because it impinges directly on our capacity to meet the desperate needs of all South Africans for employment and rising living standards. The

**"Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature."
Principle 1 Rio Charter,
June 1992, UN
Conference on
Environment and
Development.**

economy must be underpinned by government fostering a sound science and technology policy. This is not simply a matter of improved integration of research and devel-

opment. It is a broad strategic issue involving looking at national strengths and capitalising on them.

The present government tries to do this through the Science Advisory Council (SAC), an ineffectual statutory body with broad terms of reference, whose role is to advise the Minister of National Education. It includes numbers of scientific bureaucrats but has not a single person from the 50 top scientists and technologists in the country, as identified by peer review by the Foundation for Research Development (FDR). When I questioned this with the SAC secretary, he told me it was a Council of wise persons who would, if necessary, have to advise the government if too much was being spent on science.

IMPLICATION

The implication of this is that competent practising scientists and technologists would not give independent advice. Not only is this propo-

sition insulting to the technical community, but it is also ironic since it is the government's own ministers and bureaucrats who are infamous for corrupt practices.

However, there are even more serious concerns. Firstly, it is essential to put science and technology advice together. We need a Council of Science and Technology not just for science. Secondly, the SAC has no independent secretariat. The Department of National Education provides the secretariat. As the IDRC report points out, this has led to the SAC limiting its advice to matters which have not raised questions about the overall direction of government financing of Research and Development. Thirdly, the SAC reports to the Minister of Education. International experience has shown this to be inappropriate. In a new dispensation it is essential that Science and Technology Policy feed into economic decision-making.

Professor Herman Bondi, the distinguished UK physicist, strongly advocated a Ministry of Science and Technology during a recent visit. If this is the route the new government takes, it is vital that this Minister be a member of the inner Cabinet.

GLOBAL ECONOMY

Science and Technology Policy has now acquired even greater importance because the global economy has changed fundamentally in the last 20 years. It is not possible to opt out of the world economy if manufacturing jobs are to be created, partly because the growth in world trade greatly exceeds the growth in the world's economies. The global economy is now information-based, involving sophisticated industries dependent on information technology. South Africa has a massive deficit in its balance of trade in high-tech

goods, whereas the export of these goods is the basis of success, whether in the developed world or in the new Asian tigers such as South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan.

It is important to recognise that reorienting ourselves in this way is required for reasons other than to earn foreign exchange. It is primarily to drive the country to acquire skills and new technology to generate a sustainable growing manufacturing sector.

GOVERNMENT INERTIA

Meanwhile, thanks to government inertia, in South Africa the percentage of all graduates that are engineers has

fewer scientists and engineers emerging annually from the technicians than from the universities, an unusual situation by international standards. Moreover, the proportion of technikon students in the technology field is decreasing.

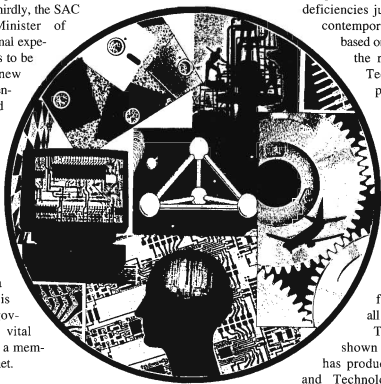
Of course, these problems arise partly from the appalling DET schooling in science and mathematics. This must be rectified by a new democratic government with an inclusive "science for all" education policy in schools (1992 Science Curriculum Group Report, NEPI).

POLICY VACUUM

But the problems of a policy vacuum go well beyond the educational deficiencies just cited. Successful contemporary economies are based on an understanding of the role of Science and Technology Policy in pursuing social, cultural and economic development. This does not mean a heavy-handed bureaucratic government. It does mean an intelligent, comprehending government with a policy of utilising technical knowledge to foster a better life for all its citizens.

The ANC has already shown its commitment. It has produced a draft Science and Technology Policy which recognises South African realities. Its initiative in commissioning the IDRC report has already borne fruit in exposing the absence of strategic thinking and the current misapplication of resources, for instance, sophisticated research into specialised medicine having priority over research into public health.

It is now important that the various studies by the democratic movement are debated widely and translated into a blueprint. In this way, South Africa can become a prosperous African lion to rival the Asian tigers. ♦



dropped from nine percent in 1971 to less than five percent in recent years, compared to 12 percent in the UK and higher figures in Europe and the Pacific Rim countries. In 1987 engineering received five percent of total research funds in South Africa while in the UK it was 20 percent, 15 percent in the USA and 23 percent in Japan.

South African universities allocate proportionately twice as much research funding to the arts and social sciences as do the western countries. In addition, South Africa has

Hani's assassination and the struggle against the right wing



AWB protest outside the SABC, 1992. A ban on the display of guns and other dangerous weapons in public will assist in restricting the right's legal space.

The death of Chris Hani over the Easter weekend has raised many serious questions for the movement. One of them is the general attitude to the danger posed by the right wing and how we plan to deal with it.

In order to formulate a strategy that will respond effectively to the attack on our leaders and organisations we



need to have a clear understanding of the source of the murder of Chris Hani. The view that is dominant within the mass movement is that the De Klerk regime is directly responsible.

This view is strengthened by the fact that the gun used was stolen from the South African Air Force. The central tactical line that has emerged from this direct linking of the

killer to the state has led to almost exclusive emphasis on demands for speeding up the process leading to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and announcement of an election date.

Although the establishment of a Constituent Assembly (and with it the possibility of a direct influence on the activities of the armed forces by the ANC) is clearly important, it is an error that this alone will resolve the problems that are posed by the right wing counter-revolution. The arrest of a number of prominent right-wingers by the police in the aftermath of the assassination is an indication that the movement needs a more thoroughgoing understanding of the political significance of the assassination and the tasks facing the democratic movement.

SEPARATE FORCE

The first error committed by this exclusive focus on an election date is that it conflates the right wing with the state. Although the right wing has a range of connections with the state, and the state and the ruling class gain – in the long term – from the assassination, the right wing remains a separate force that must be addressed in its own right.

In many countries all over the world extreme right wing groups emerge out of the chronic instability of the middle classes in the face of deep economic crisis and/or political change that threatens their privileges. This is also the case in South Africa. As the crisis facing these classes deepens, the right wing movements that spring out can assume a mass character. It is this potentially mass nature of this movement that makes it an error to simply conflate it with the state. This leads us to the second error.

By simply identifying the assassination, and therefore the violence of which it is a part, with the state (and thus with the National Party) we create the illusion that once the ANC is in government the violence will be ended. The contrary, however,

is true. While recognising that governmental power will give the democratic movement much more leverage, we must also recognise that the current sources of the right wing point to a further escalation of violence.

To the extent that the assassination of Chris Hani signals an increasing boldness on the part of the right wing, it places before us a fundamentally political task of how to deal with the serious threat it poses.

LEGAL SPACE

The first issue is that the demands that the movement must place before the De Klerk regime as part of the demands that must be met immediately must include restriction of the legal space that the right currently enjoys. It is this legal space that makes it possible for the right to collect large quantities of arms (eg automatic weapons).

Some of the demands that will assist in restricting the right wing's legal space are:

- a ban on multiple licensing, ie no individual should be allowed to have a licence for more than one gun;
- a ban for licences for automatic weapons for whatever reason;
- a ban on the display of guns and other dangerous weapons in public; and

a ban on military training in public, e.g the kind of public training in armed combat that the AWB carries out.

These kinds of measures will, however, only assist in reducing the legal space within which the right operates at the moment, but do not address the social roots of the right. In order to begin to address this question two issues need to be taken up.

The one is the struggle for the allegiance of the white working class and the lower sections of the white middle classes. The movement has shown a tendency to be fatalistic about the allegiance of white labour and there has been no serious contest for this strata since the days of Solly Sachs' Garment Workers Union.

ALLEGIANCE

The other issue that needs to be taken up is the struggle for the allegiance of the security forces. This is not a task that can only begin to be tackled once the ANC is in government. It does not take much insight to see that it will be impossible to combat the right with a police force and army that has right-wing allegiances.

The immediate implication of the assassination of Chris Hani is that we need a strategic and tactical line that combines the struggle for immediate demands that will reduce the right's organisational and legal space, and also the implementation of organisational initiatives that are aimed at contesting the social bases of the right wing.

Lastly, in contesting its social base, it would be an error to imagine that we can defeat the right and win over its social base by a policy of appeasement, ie by adopting policies and methods of struggle which are primarily determined by the desire to avoid "antagonising" it. What we need are not the politics of appeasement, but a combination of militant mass action and policies that will convince the potential recruits of the right that the ANC also champions their genuine interests. ♦



What's left of the white left?

Being white in South Africa today

It is often said that the darkest and coldest time is just before dawn. Those of us that spent the night at FNB Stadium during the vigil for Chris Hani can testify to that. And for those of us who have been active in the struggle for liberation for a long time, this period is probably one of the darkest.

Some people did not stay all night at FNB and many may not have been able to come back the next day. Either the stadium was too full or they had to run the gaunt-

As the struggle reaches a crucial but yet dark and cold stage, many who used to be called the "white left" are staying away, writes a former member of the now defunct Jodac.

let of battles between police and youth on the roads leading to the stadium. Some feared coming back. In my observation, yet some, like the "white left", are simply staying away.

NON-RACIALISM AND RACISM

The South African liberation struggle has been marked by a very strong commitment to non-racialism. Despite the enormous injury

Violence in Natal: What role muti?

Beliefs in supernatural powers are an integral part of social activities. They find even greater resonance in conflict situations, writes **Mpho Scott**, Deputy Secretary of the Southern Natal ANC.

W h e n
M o s l e m s
go to war,
they first
pray so that
they can get

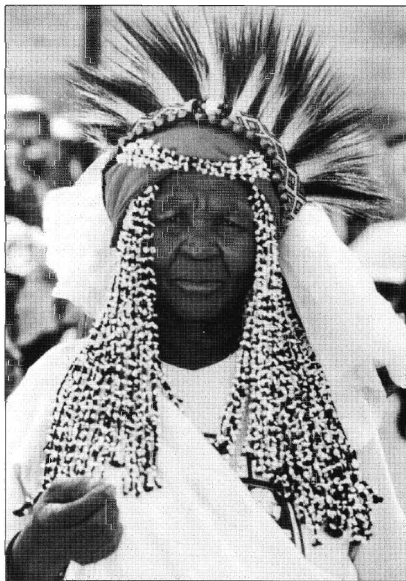
more power, strength and protection from Allah. That also builds a sense of unity within their army. Soldiers in Europe and the South African army (SADF) pray, appealing for strength and protection from God.

In African communities during previous centuries, muti was used instead of prayer. The warriors would come together before any war and intezezi (medicine) would be used as a source of strength and protection. This corresponded with the usage of herbs, roots and other medical practices.

FACTION FIGHTS

Today people are using sophisticated weaponry like guns. In the faction fights we have been witnessing in rural areas like Msinga, South Coast, people are still using muti because of the strong belief that it offers some magic in battle. They go to the extent of believing that it makes them invisible, and the opponents' weapons useless.

One of the disturbing features is that herbalists (inyangas) make people kill their opponents or young



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kids in order to take their private parts or heads. They use those parts to make muti for war.

BOOMING BUSINESS

During the intensification of struggle in the early 80's the regime increased repression. It was the time when warlords, assisted by the boers, emerged in Natal townships and villages. Democratic forces took up arms to defend themselves.

Inyangas started to mushroom all over Natal. They used very organised, calculated marketing skills. Township people who were involved in defence and in dealing with collaborators went to these inyangas to get medicine to evade the police.

People were paying large sums of money for that medicine. The muti which comrades acquired was seen to serve the following reasons:

- to protect them from the police and IFP;
 - to weaken the opponents;
 - to be invisible in battle; and
 - to give them power and strength.
- Comrades started wearing belts on their arms.

POLICE AND MUTI

Police started co-opting some of these inyangas and they also encouraged their agents to become inyangas.

I remember one inyanga who was used by some comrades in Lamontville. He was a former SAP who had been given a special task by the security branch to infiltrate structures as much as possible. He succeeded to some extent and was even introduced in a number of areas around Durban.

NEW DIMENSION

Since the unbanning of the ANC, the state and the IFP have intensified their violence against democratic forces.

Youths have organised camps in order to defend their communities from aggression. In these camps and in the communities, muti is widely used.

It is a source of encouragement to comrades to defend their commu-



nities. It has also played a crucial role in the building of defence structures.

This is a source of income for inyangas, and some of them are trying to monopolise this business. The story that they spread is that in one area there cannot be two inyangas operating because the muti of one inyanga will weaken the muti of the other.

They then encourage comrades to remove the other inyanga by all means. This has always led to divisions and internal strife.

People who use this muti each pay R30,00. Inyangas from outside Natal – who are seen as being stronger – have been making a fortune.

It is unfortunate that people do believe strongly in the theories which are offered by the inyangas.

THE EFFECT OF MUTI

Comrades use muti particularly when they defend themselves from IFP gangsters in their areas. But, when they have dealt with that problem and there is no longer the threat of attacks, comrades continue camping and using muti which psychologically agitates them to look for an immediate enemy.

This has contributed in creating divisions amongst our ranks in branches that have had this problem.

It is further complicated by individuals who assume power because of their link to these inyangas. But usually they are not part of the lead-

ership structures on the ground. Most of the time it is people who have little understanding of politics. They, in turn, create their own command structures which become powerful in their areas.

SEXISM

There is also a lot of sexism when people are using muti. Women are not allowed to be part of defence structures. They are not allowed to touch any men. They are also not supposed to attend any meetings discussing defence or violence facing that particular community. They are looked at as weak subjects.

People also use muti to promote clanism in our ranks.

POLITICAL SOLUTIONS

It is important for our regions where this problem exists to look at it and come up with proper political solutions. We cannot run away from the fact that muti has contributed a lot during times of attacks.

It helps to keep people together and encourage them to defend the organisation and their community at all costs. It keeps the morale of the community high during hard times.

It is important to speedily address the question of political education. ANC branches have been formed in a number of areas, but people have little or no knowledge about the policies of the ANC. Political education will contribute towards developing certain perspectives in terms of problems confronting the movement at this juncture.

We need to seriously address the question of centralised defence committees or Peace Corps with the objective of controlling these structures.

Our intervention at this moment should not be an outright rejection of muti. We should recognise its psychological impact during difficult times of aggression.

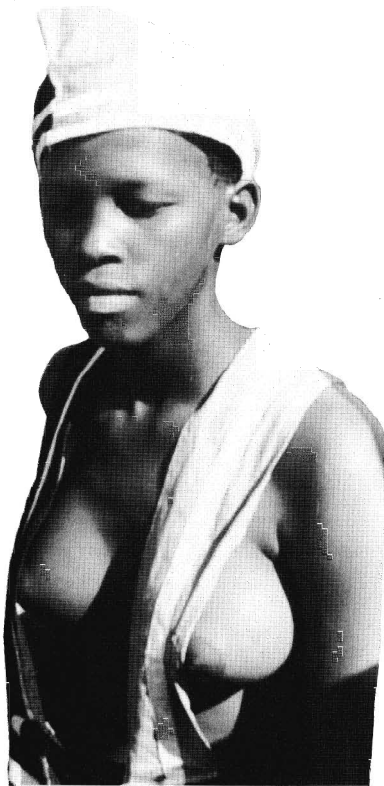
However, we need to ensure that somehow we put an end to political degeneration in our branches and systematically deal with this serious problem of backwardness before it is too late. ♦

Pornography and censorship

How, in this future South Africa, should the new government and the citizens deal with pornography? Should it continue to be banned? Should censorship be abolished? **Joyce Ozynski** of the Anti-Censorship Action Group examines the issues.

Over the last year or so *Scope* magazine has begun to concentrate on pictures of women with hardly any clothes on. This is something new in South Africa, and it is due to a change in attitude by the censors. But the censors want to control the speed of change. So very often they ban *Scope*.

Then the censorship appeal board proceeds to unban it. Thus a



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battle rages in which three groups of men – the censors, the appeal board and the *Scope* editor and his lawyers fight over how much of a woman's body can be exposed to the public (male) eye. Is this ongoing battle between *Scope* and the censors one between the forces of freedom and those of repression?

PURITANICAL REPRESSION

For so many years we have been subjected to the puritanical repression of the Nationalist Party. The government imposed a strict Calvinist morality on South Africa, outlawing books, films, videos, calendars and magazines in an effort to secure the values of Christian Nationalism. Its structures were hard at work, continually sifting through material and, in the period between 1960 and 1991, 38 813 books, pamphlets and other items were banned. The majority of this material was political.

Since 1990 several hundred banned publications have been unbanned by the censors, whose job it is now to unban the works of once-banned organisations and publishers.

Some of these newly unbanned books are novels by highly respected writers like Philip Roth, Alberto Moravia and William Styron whose work was previously too frankly erotic for the censors' taste.

This absurd situation will end when a new government replaces the present one, and the structures of censorship – the Publications Board, the hundreds of committees of censors, the appeal board, and the eight inspectors (who bring material for banning to the censors) will fall by the wayside.

How, in this future South Africa, should the new government and the citizens deal with pornography? Should it continue to be banned?

The full expression of human sensuality has been forbidden for so long here – it is one of the important freedoms to be regained. The most difficult question is: how can society facilitate the full and joyous expression of the erotic aspect of women and men?

Should censorship be abolished?

Moralists, especially religious ones, argue that pornography has a corrupting influence and that people must be protected against this. This argument can never be proved. If exposure to pornography is inevitably corrupting, then surely the censors, who look at and read more pornography than anyone else, must be the most corrupt of all.

FEMINIST VIEW

The libertarian view is that adults should be free to read or watch whatever they choose, without interference by the State or the Church. In recent years a third view of pornography has been put forward by feminists in countries where there are no restrictions (or very few) on the production and distribution of pornography.

Feminists argue that pornography is based on the subordination of women, their degradation and exploitation.

In pornography women are objectified, dehumanised and reduced to an instrument of male gratification. By treating women as inferior, pornographers infringe a basic human right – the right to equality.

FLOURISHING INDUSTRY

At this moment in history, as we struggle to transform South African society, we need to thoroughly discuss all the questions which so many decades of state repression put on ice.

We have to confront the possibility that the pornography industry will flourish here as it has in other countries. Will this mean liberation for South Africans?

The full expression of human sensuality has been forbidden for so long here – it is one of the important freedoms to be regained. The most difficult

question is: how can society facilitate the full and joyous expression of the erotic aspect of women and men?

Pornography, which is commercialised sex, is concerned with profits – not human dignity. Yet it has proved to be very popular and is an established part of the mass media in Europe and America. Like any other mass media product, pornography ranges from the fairly subtle to the very coarse.

In South Africa at the moment, the censors are allowing, for the first time, some fairly bold pin-up pictures. But no more. Despite the changes taking place, the censors still want to keep the nation "pure".

Can the new South Africa cast off puritanical chains of the old South Africa and emerge with a new and vital concept of human sexuality?

This is the really important question which underlies the debate on pornography and censorship. ♦

A triumph for democracy

Coming as it has, in the midst of discussions between the government and Unita, the anti-government group that refused to accept defeat in UN-monitored elections last October, President Clinton's recognition of the Angolan government has given those who believe in democracy a boost. The hopes that were dashed when Unita resorted to violence after the elections have been revived.

HIGH PRIORITY

Unita was obviously stunned by the announcement, although the decision had been expected since Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos made the appeal to US President Bill Clinton, in January, to recognise Angola. People in South Africa and other parts of the world supported this appeal.

Clinton's government says that its decision reflects the high priority that it places on democracy. It does not matter that the Republicans' views were different. His aim was to end the civil war that has ravaged the country since Unita took up arms again after losing the elections.

Talks have been going on in the capital of Ivory Coast, Abidjan, for about six weeks now. When the announcement was made by Clinton, the talks had stalled and they were due to end on May 21, the deadline that had been placed by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The point at which they collapsed concerned a government proposal calling on Unita to withdraw from some towns captured in the past seven months of renewed fighting.

Unita refused to accede to this proposal, stating that it believed that government forces would reoccupy the towns if it left them. Unita wanted a guarantee that those territories would not be reoccupied.

Another contentious point concerned the issue of a government of national reconciliation through the allocation of some ministries to Unita. Again Unita stalled on this issue, wanting to deal not with the principle but the specifics of which ministries would be given to it.

In this way Unita would have been able to stall the talks further by then arguing for the most strategic ministries, despite its poor electoral performance.

ANC MESSAGE

The ANC has been active in trying to ensure that the talks continue until the matter has been resolved. While the talks were going on, the ANC undertook several trips to Luanda and some African capitals which support Unita. Its message was that it is in everyone's interests that the Angolan problem is solved.

This means that even those who support one side or the other in the conflict, must ensure that in the interests of peace and the spirit of democratic transformation that is sweeping the continent today, they

After 18 years of diplomatic isolation and covert and overt assistance to the anti-government forces, the US Administration, on 19 May, decided to recognise the government of Angola. This is a triumph for democracy in the sub-continent. A MAYIBUYE correspondent looks at the implications of this recognition for the resolution of the problems in Angola and Southern Africa.

should also encourage Unita to respect democracy.

Unita is now isolated in more ways than one. The US recognition means that those countries that look up to US leadership in their diplomatic policies will also have to accept the government of Angola as the legitimate force in the conflict. And, to boot, Unita has to reckon with the reality that there will definitely not be any more funds forth-



Photo: AFP

coming from the US, even covertly.

While the 21 May deadline has passed, there are moves by the UN, the US, Russia, Portugal and other international forces involved to work out a compromise formula that will unblock the stalled talks.

STUMBLING BLOCK

The main stumbling block, which is the refusal by Unita to withdraw its forces from towns it controls, is the main point around which a compromise is being worked out. Unita says that all the forces involved in the conflict must be kept in barracks under UN supervision. The draft says that the UN forces will not be deployed in Angola until Unita forces move out of the occupied towns.

But the problem was caused by



Unita itself during the run-up to the elections last year. It undertook to keep its soldiers in assembly points but, apparently, left out a large contingent of its forces in bush and town hide-outs. There were many incidents where UN forces were forced out of certain areas because of fierce fighting. The Angolan government says that it is prepared for compromises provided they do not undermine the basic principles of the peace draft.

The question is where Unita will now receive arms to continue fighting if a solution is not found. South Africa has reportedly sent some of its foreign office personnel back to Angola after they left in the wake of the fighting and the dangerous situation that prevailed in Luanda. There were also reports that there would be measures taken by the South African government to prevent private support to Unita. This was in the wake of numerous reports alleging night flights to Angola to deliver supplies

to Unita. The government denied that it was involved and promised to stop the practice.

Pik Botha is scheduled to meet the Angolan Foreign Minister on 4 June in Namibia to lay the ground for the normalisation of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

TRIUMPH

This would be another triumph for the MPLA government because it would mean that legally, in diplomatic terms, the previous logistics suppliers of Unita would have now declared that they will not do so any longer. Even countries that acted as conduits for arms destined for Unita would have no arms to pass on. That is if the De Klerk government is taken at its word.

What remains is for the US to back up its diplomatic recognition of Angola with pressure on Unita to accept the election result. It was, after all, the encouragement and arms from the US that made Unita resist for as long as it has. "The MPLA government has more than earned its recognition by taking strides towards democracy," said Clinton. Those words must be backed with action if they are to help democracy move forward in Angola. ♦



Squaring up: ANC President Nelson Mandela and former heavyweight world champ, Mohammed Ali, met in Johannesburg. It was an exciting encounter between former heavy-weight boxers, during Mohammed Ali's visit to SA in April 1993. Ali, who also visited Durban and Cape Town, had come to promote boxing development programmes in the townships and to pledge his solidarity with the ANC and the anti-apartheid struggle. He was there at Chris Hani's funeral on 19 April.

An international sports tragedy

What befell the Zambian national soccer team is a tragedy that can happen to others anywhere in the world. This view was expressed by the secretary general of the South African Football Supporters Association (SAFSA), **Mothobi Ramusi**, in a message of condolences on the tragedy that befell the Zambian soccer side in April when the airplane they were travelling in crashed off the coast of Gabon.

The soccer-loving fraternity the world over felt a great loss at this tragic accident. Zambia was on its way to a World Cup qualifying match in Dakar, which might have seen it qualifying to represent the Africa Zone in Atlanta next year. Now we will never know the results

because most of the best in Zambian soccer have been lost and there may not be enough time to rebuild another team to immediately take over the national and continental tasks the squad had set out to fulfil.

We in South Africa were looking forward to another gruelling encounter with this accomplished team after our 1-0 defeat at the FNB stadium last year.

"We were privileged to have seen their brilliance and exciting style of play against our own squad last year and we were looking forward with great anticipation to the return match in Zambia," said Ramusi.

For most South Africans who spent their exile life in Zambia, the 'KK Eleven', as it was known then, was their adopted team. The gusto with which they cheer their own squad today is the one they reserved for the Zambian side then. Thus, the Zambian side was not just an ordinary side but was part of the history of the struggle of the South African people because it provided a missing part in the exiled South Africans' soccer-loving hearts.

Each sports-loving nation takes its teams to heart and cherishes them. The Zambian people are therefore, understandably, terribly grieved at this moment because they loved their team and looked upon its illustrious victories throughout Africa as very important to raising the image of Zambia and Africa. They had great hopes for the soccer squad.

The death of the squad has brought into sharp focus the many dangers that face teams as they travel to distant lands to honour their countries.

They may face hostile crowds after trouncing local heroes, have to contend with soldiers who want

The death of the squad has brought into sharp focus the many dangers that face teams as they travel to distant lands to honour their countries. They may face hostile crowds after trouncing local heroes, have to contend with soldiers who want to dictate who must win a game, as happened to Kaiser Chiefs in Rwanda, or have a disaster as befell the Zambians. More stricter rules must be taken to eliminate such dangers.

fell the Zambians. More stricter rules must be taken to eliminate such dangers.

The people of South Africa, through the South African Football Association, SAFSA, and Nelson Mandela, have extended their condolences to the families, supporters and individual clubs of the dead players, the officials and to the whole soccer-loving fraternity of Zambia.

Zambia has consistently played well in continental and regional games. The country has talent and soccer is its number one sport. We are sure that to pay tribute to the fallen players, other players will come up and strive to present the same challenge to others as the team that was going to Dakar did. ♦

to dictate who must win a game, as happened to Kaiser Chiefs in Rwanda, or have a disaster as be-

up and strive to present the same challenge to others as the team that was going to Dakar did. ♦

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A generous mistake

Why did OR Tambo at times refer to BB as "Camarada Presidente"? Nxumalo, who was OR's driver for a long time, traced it to OR going to Rome with BB, then Sactu's Secretary for International Relations. At the airport they were met by their hosts who were meeting OR for the first time. OR was of small stature and BB is very big. The hosts assumed that the leader of an organisation as big and internationally known as the ANC was, would have to be the bigger of the two.

"Welcome, Camarada Presidente," they addressed BB, "and welcome to you too Camarada BB," they referred to OR. BB was tempted to accept that generous mistake by the Italians. Practicalities of meetings later made him point it out. Amused at BB's initial tacit acceptance of the title, OR occasionally referred to BB as "Camarada Presidente."

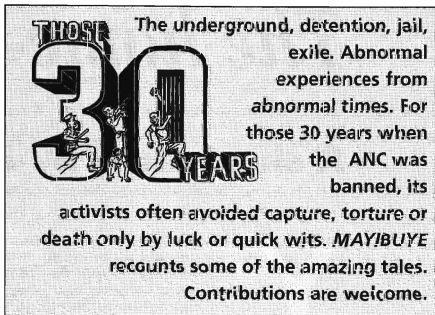
Nxumalo was big too and he used to say that Zambians, who always seemed to be in awe of big-bodied persons, never could easily accept that he was only OR's driver. In some ways they were right because he was a very close assistant.

A SPECIAL DRINK

When OR and his colleagues were still young, they always had intense political discussions after working hours, often in a friend's house or a cafe in Johannesburg. In those days it could never have been a pub because blacks were not allowed to have "European" drinks.

Somehow the group at the office, which included Duma Nokwe, discovered this place in Fordsburg which sold a wonderfully refreshing drink. They wanted to go and sample it. The place also served the then newly-marketed Pepsi, which OR liked very much.

The comrades would order "Shandy" after "Shandy" and the discussions became louder and louder. But, alas, well into the night, the place had to close and everyone had



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.

to go home. Day after day and week after week they visited the place. Then disaster struck. One day, as OR was preparing himself to meet the others to go to Fordsburg, the guys told him sadly they would no longer be going there. The owner was no longer selling "Shandy". But they could take Pepsi, couldn't they, OR inquired.

It was only then that he learnt that "Shandy" was a mixture of the forbidden drinks with some "dash" (soft drink). OR was a teetotaler. Small wonder that Duma and his friends never allowed him to taste the "Shandy", always making sure that there was a Pepsi in front of him.

A TOUCH OF MALARIA

During the 1978 World Youth Festival, the Cuban delegation invited the ANC to dinner at its villa in one of the most picturesque areas of Havana. OR was one of the special guests.

There was an electrifying moment when Fidel Castro made an unannounced entry. He was clutching a bottle of rum – a 15 year-old Havana Club. He broke the seal and was about to pour a drink for OR when OR declined, saying that he did not like liquor. Fidel immediately asked for a "mojito" for OR, so that a toast could be proposed. Mojito is a mixture of a tiny amount of rum with mint, crushed ice and lemonade.

The toast was duly proposed. As the evening wore out, Fidel noticed that OR was only taking tiny sips, and he humorously barked: "Here I am drinking rum like mojito, and you drinking mojito like rum!"

It is rumoured that OR then drank a few glasses, not knowing that mojito contained rum. When he felt flushed and light-headed he turned to Fidel and said: "I think I am coming down with a touch of malaria". If indeed it was malaria, Fidel would have been in intensive care! ♦

The home-coming

A short story by Justice Malala

You could say it was the worst of times, this that I call the year of the inferno. Some say they were the darkest days for democracy in our country. But it was also the time we showed them the anger of the young lions, the fury of a people chained and enslaved too long. It was 1987.

I tell you we got involved. We were young then, young and angry and militant. And we created our own bonfires from the municipal buildings and the "mellow-yellows". In the process, almost inevitably, we got detained.

I can still remember that day when I came out of detention, the blueness of the sky, the singing of the wind: the total, fleeting, freedom. I had been inside for 18 months, having been shuttled from police station to police station until I ended up at the Pretoria Central Prison. And then, suddenly, I had been released from that hell-hole.

I walked out of the prison gates with all that I had in the world then: a box full of books, two shirts and two pairs of jeans. I had given all my other clothes to the comrades I had left behind. It was traditional that when you left prison you gave almost all your stuff to those who were unfortunate enough to stay behind.

There is no transport from the prison to anywhere. You have to walk some two kilometres to the taxi-rank. I would have walked a thousand miles, I just could not wait to go home and see my family and my girlfriend.

The taxi to Jo'burg was quiet, with no one to talk to. I could not stop smiling to myself as it ate up the tarmac home.

"O go ratile mosetsana ngwanaka?" the old woman sitting next to me asked. Did she accept your proposal?

I gave her a broad, toothy smile – and laughed. I shared my life story with her, the tale of so many young men and women in our motherland. She

smiled too, and then her eyes clouded and it was as if she was about to cry. We were both quiet, contemplative. When we arrived in Noord Street she held my hand and said, "Don't worry, my son, our day shall dawn."

I was almost running when I got off the taxi in Zola and went home. The matchboxes seemed to blur and merge as I passed them, all of them becoming one monstrous tale of suffering and a fountain of asbestos-induced disease. I ran, faster and faster, as if by running I could escape this reality, the reality of a people struck by a holocaust.

1221 Mapetla Street. Home! I was home to my mother and my family!

I ran into the yard and saw people milling about. They must know that I am free, I told myself. The prison authorities must have alerted them that I had been released. Joy filled my heart and emotion surged like a mighty river in my chest.

As I trotted up to the door I saw that the people congregated in the yard were looking at me strangely, unbelievably. My sister Dimpho was at the door, looking at me with her jaw hanging down. She looked as if she was seeing a ghost.

"Papi! Ooh Papi!" she cried and fell down. I ran to her and took her in my arms. She was sobbing hysterically. Our neighbour Mma Ngobeni came and pulled me away from her. A few women carried Dimpho away.

"Come, my son, come," Mma Ngobeni said.

I went, wondering what the hell was happening here; what the hell was wrong. She took me away from the house and went across the fence and into her house. We sat down. She asked me how I was and I asked her what was going on. She asked me how I was again and I told her I was fine. She started weeping.

"What is wrong, Mama?" I asked.

"Your mother has passed away, Papi."

The world clock immediately stopped its clicking. The joy of being free melted like dirty snow, melted

and became a deep ugly sorrow. And yet I was calm. Even now I remember how calm, how detached I was.

"What happened?" I asked her. She started sobbing hard, her body shaking as if it was about to burst.

"Yesterday," pausing from her sobbing, gasping for breath like an exhausted marathoner, "yesterday Van Niekerk came and said that you had died in prison. He said that you had hanged yourself with your trousers. He told your mother that if she did not tell him where you hid your guns and who your friends were, they would not give us your body."

Van Niekerk. The bastard who had arrested and tortured me, looking for guns and bombs I never had. The only weapon I ever had was a guava juice (a molotov cocktail). And now he had done this.

"So what happened?" I persisted.

"Why do you have to ask me? Oh why?"

"I have to know, Mma Ngobeni, tell me." I answered.

"She hanged herself last night."

My anger writhed inside me like an enraged mamba. I wanted to find Van Niekerk and take him

by his smelly neck and squeeze and squeeze and squeeze until there was only a pulp left, until the abomination that is him existed no more.

I went out of Mma Ngobeni's house and went home. No one spoke to me, my anger and my sorrow was too heavy, too deep, to be shared with anyone else at that moment. I went to my bedroom and fell on the bed.

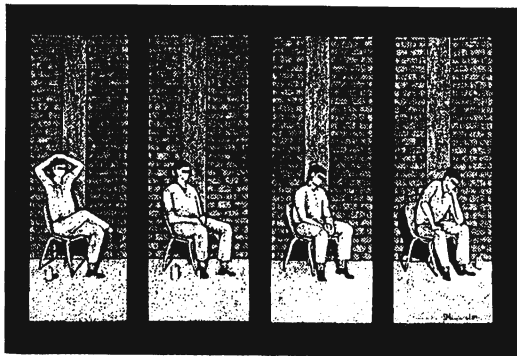
I did not weep for my mother that night. All that was in my mind was vengeance and Van Niekerk.

At around five the next morning Dimpho came to the bedroom and talked to me. After some time I started to cry, the tears rolling off my cheeks like a flood. She hugged me then, the first time she had done so in all our young lives.

I wept then, not so much for my mother and my family. I wept for Van Niekerk, for my country, for all the bleeding that was taking place because of this ugly system.

Dimpho held me close and whispered in my ear: "Don't worry, Papi, our day shall come."

She did not hear my answer, given in-between the sobs. I said yes, our day shall come. Soon. ♦



AN EXHIBITION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS' ART

Market Galleries, Johannesburg Sunday 23 May - Thursday 10 June 1993

CDC – A cultural conference with a difference

The Culture and Development Conference (CDC), organised by the ANC Department of Arts and Culture from 25 April to 1 May, 1993, was a cultural conference with a difference, writes a MAYIBUYE correspondent.




Anyone who was already aware of the racial question during the American Civil Rights Movement goes to see Spike Lee's Malcolm X with a nostalgic expectation of a vitriolic dose of white racism damnation. After three-and-a-half spellbinding hours, one emerges with a feeling of having relived one's life all over again. The emotional experience through which Spike Lee successfully takes the audience casts a new light on the metamorphosis of a racially disadvantaged person from a futile, almost suicidal criminal existence to a meaningful existence; from being a negative role model to being a positive one; from obscurity to prominence through resistance.

Malcolm X's life could be divided into two distinct eras, namely, the first one which was characterised by outrage which clouded reason and attempted not only the racial odds stacked against him but reality, and a second one during

which he found salvation from the first by drawing on a power, imagined or not, beyond his mortal limitations, the power of Islam. The striking analogy between Malcolm X's life and that of disenfranchised South Africans is that, while the former found personal deliverance in Islam, many South Africans have and are finding almost religious redemption in the ideal of democracy, a phenomenon which embraces all the categories of South African society.

The relevance of "Malcolm X" to the current South African political situation lies in the coincidental escalation of white racism from intolerance to confrontation together with the concomitant racial reaction, a development which is, sadly and unfortunately, taking place with



What made the difference is that the CDC succeeded in focusing the attention of South Africans on the vital, yet underestimated, issue of cultural development as a component of the process of reconstruction.

Most deliberations at the CDC were the culmination of the work of the commissions set up by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), namely Negotiations, Funding, Language, Museums, Monuments, Archives and Heraldry Commissions. It also deliberated upon the need for the establishment of a State and Culture Commission. This will ensure that the state takes active responsibility in the development of arts and culture in a democratic South Africa.

DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

The DAC has entered negotiations with relevant establishment bodies with a clear understanding that all the people of South Africa must enjoy a healthy and dynamic cultural life. "Apartheid culture" and apartheid cultural institutions must be replaced with democratic culture and cultural institutions.

In this transformation process, the negotiations commission instituted by the DAC should, ideally, include representatives from other cultural formations. This was partly achieved at the CDC when the negotiations commission's report was discussed by a broad spectrum of arts and culture formations and individuals. After very positive inputs, far-reaching resolutions were taken.

Recognising that cultural evolution is dependent upon resources and skills being made available to the

arts and culture community as a whole, it was felt that there is a special need that the conference's draft policy proposals should be approved by the broadest spectrum of arts and cultural practitioners before they are finalised.

Cultural negotiations must be opened to all cultural stakeholders, and negotiations need to be as inclusive as possible.

It was also resolved that the boards that govern arts and culture must be restructured. Certain rules and regulations governing the boards should be changed completely and there must be an adjustment to allow for the broadest-based governing board. Board appointees should have good cultural standing within the community and should have a democratic track record. At a political level, there should be a single Ministry of Arts and Culture which would ensure fair distribution of resources.

OLYMPIC GAMES

It was further agreed that, in the light of the announcement that about R45 billion is to be used to develop Johannesburg for the 2004 Olympic Games, a moratorium should be declared on its use until negotiations have been completed.

Negotiations should take place at local, regional and national levels. But this must be guided by a clear common approach, especially in relation to state structures, including the bantustans. The CDC's decisions should help bring negotiations on arts and culture to the level of national negotiations. ♦

the tacit blessings of the apartheid regime. Perhaps the difference lies in the fact that, whereas the infamous white Ku

Klux Klan was never allowed space to thrive under the American constitution, the South African regime seems reluctant to stem the rising tide of white racism.

In a less polarised society than South Africa, the film might have served to expose the follies of racial antagonism by reflecting the obscenity of racism to those from both extremities of the racial spectrum who have allowed themselves to be contaminated with the pestilence. It is thus a pity that many white people will not bother to see the film.

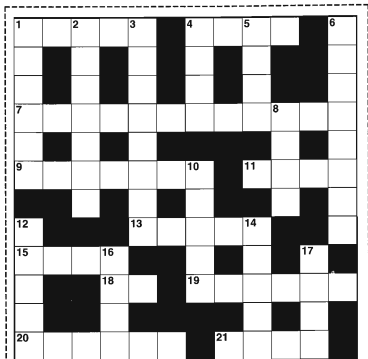
Apart from the content of the film, the superb standard of acting, especially by the lead actor, Denzil Washington, who manages to project the Dr Jekyll and

Mr Hyde facets of the real Malcolm X so convincingly, the film undoubtedly places Spike Lee among the upper echelons of American movie directors. The storyline is easy to follow and the actors live rather than act their parts.

The controversy that some media, like the *Natal Tribune*, tried to kick up by querying whether the participation of ANC President Nelson Mandela in the final sequence of the film could be construed as an association of the ANC with the racial subject of the film, was completely unfounded as one emerges from the film with a strong anti-racist attitude. In short, the film is a strong anti-racism statement. The juxtaposition of Nelson Mandela's gentleness with Malcolm X's caustic nature serves to provide the viewership a contrasting and positive role model. None of those of us who have experienced racism at its worst at the height of apartheid and partly owe our political consciousness to the African-American racial experience as articulated by Elijah Muhammed, Huey Newton, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X, should miss the film. ♦

MM

MAYIBUYE XWORD No 21



Name:

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Across

- ... Derby-Lewis is CP President's Councillor on trial in connection with the murder of Chris Hani.
- Frank Chikane is its General Secretary.
- Freedom.
- One who doesn't believe in the existence of God.
- The ANC is demanding the immediate announcement of the date for one person one ... elections.
- Organises metal workers.
- ... Johnson is vice-president of the ANC Youth League.
- Public Relations.
- River in South Africa.
- Imaginary homeland for Afrikaners.
- In the course of.

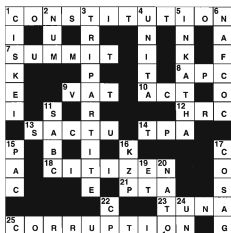
Down

- Broke down in May last year.
- Opposed to a Constituent Assembly.
- Choice by vote.
- Charles Nqakula is its new General Secretary.
- Moses Mayekiso is its leader.
- Andrew ... is a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.
- Symbol of worship.
- Late Chairperson of the ANC.
- ANC and SACP leader on a right wing hitlist.
- Azapo's student wing.
- Preposition.
- Old.

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- See answers and winner in **MAYIBUYE**, August 1993.

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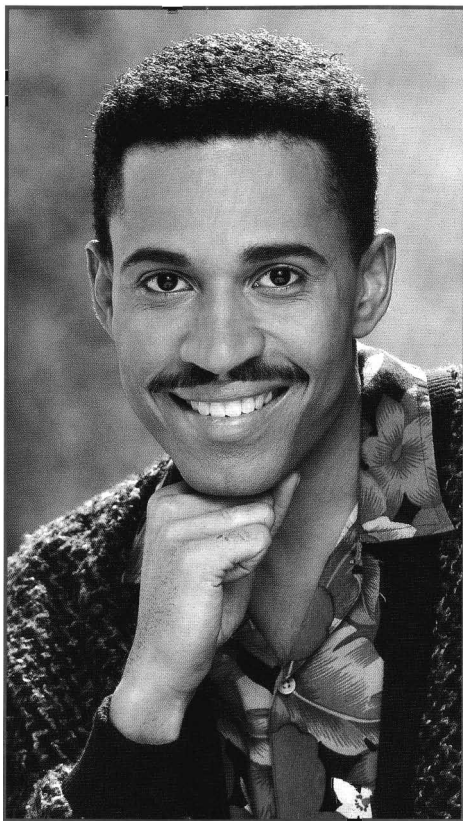
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