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# Sunday Nation

No 13 October 31 1993

(Zimbabwe \$3)

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Who will the king choose?  
his children . . .  
or his chief minister?

## Defiant Zwelithini kids at ANC rally

■ FOUR of King Goodwill Zwelithini's children secretly attended last weekend's massive ANC rally in Durban, dramatically rejecting their father's increasingly close links with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

■ Their defiance adds a new dimension to the complex relationship between the king and Buthelezi — who is both his uncle and, as chief minister of kwaZulu, his paymaster.



■ King Goodwill Zwelithini and (below) the rally that caused all the trouble: ANC president Nelson Mandela at the 80 000-strong ANC rally, with deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma and Southern Natal leader Jeff Radebe, both in traditional dress



■ Full report - Page 3 ■ The rally in pictures - Page 23





# Fears that Zulu kingdom could be split KING'S KIDS AT ANC RALLY

**S**UNDAY NATION can today reveal that children of the Zulu Royal Family secretly attended last weekend's Sonke Festival organised by the ANC at the Kings Park Rugby Stadium in Durban.

According to Royal Family sources, King Goodwill Zwelithini had earlier warned his family that it would not be advisable to attend the event.

Repeated attempts by Sunday Nation to interview the king's family proved unsuccessful during the week.

However, sources close to the Royal Family, who asked to remain anonymous for fear of victimisation, explained that the children's presence at the festival was a symptom of growing tension and uneasiness between King Zwelithini, his children and kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"The children had indicated that they viewed the Sonke festival as an event to be enjoyed by all the Zulus - regardless of political affiliation," said the family sources.

By **ENOCH MTHEMBU**

They said the king's children were generally easy-going, humble and accepting of all people. "In their day-to-day lives they mix with all kinds of people with a down-to-earth respectfulness."

It is perhaps this easy-going attitude and open-mindedness that has led to the children's concern about the continued alienation of their father, King Zwelithini.

One source said that some of the family members have been disappointed by the king's failure to join hands with all political formations in the country and act as an undisputed King of the Zulu nation.

## Fear

And for some family members, this disappointment has worsened into a fear that if the king fails to reconcile with the ANC, the dawn of the first democratically-elected government will spell the end of the Zulu kingdom.

Some family members fear that

the entire kingdom could lose its special place in the nation when South Africa is restructured after elections.

Proof that the growing fears and concerns are becoming difficult for the family members to contain, is that the king has called several family meetings this year to discuss these issues, sources said.

A deeply religious person, the king has attempted to assuage the family's concerns by pleading with them to be patient and not to take drastic action out of their frustration with the continuing divisions among the Zulu nation.

Sources also said that the king had ordered his children to stay out of politics and avoid discussing their ideas with the media or anyone outside the royal family.

He has also reportedly attempted to explain the political dynamics of his relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party in an attempt to make them understand why it appears that he is a pawn of Inkatha leader, Buthelezi.



## SUN WORSHIPPER

Lorraine Makgeledise (22), from Molapo, Soweto, is a public relations student with a winning smile who enjoys cooking, swimming and lazing in the sun... when she can find the time.

## YOU CAN'T BEAT... MASS ACTION

Joe Slovo arriving at the World Trade Centre this week to address thousands of Cosatu members who were protesting at a clause in the draft Bill of Rights.

Tripartite alliance negotiators have been criticised for a lack of vigilance in allowing the draft clause - which would have an adverse effect on worker's rights - to be "slipped in" to the draft Bill.

See Amrit Manga's "Shopfloor" column on page 10.



## Sangoma massacre

LENA SLACHMUIJDER

THE chairperson of the ANC's Folweni branch allegedly orchestrated the massacre of 24 people at a sangoma graduation ceremony last year in the Folweni Reserve, according to testimony in the Durban Supreme Court this week.

Folweni ANC chairperson Elias Mkhize, 30, is one of five people facing 46 counts of murder and attempted murder as well as conspiracy and possession of illegal weapons and ammunition.

They are charged in connection with the attack on the Sabelo kraal on October 24 last year, in which 24 people were killed and a further 22 injured.

## Torture cop is back

THE suspended head of the notoriously violent Yankee police squad in the Vaal, Captain Louw Riekert, is back in the SAP on full pay although the unit was disbanded months ago.

He was recently reinstated after successfully challenging his suspension in court on procedural grounds.

Sunday Nation understands Riekert is doing low-level work and the police refuse to say where he is stationed, apparently because of threats against his life.

## Regulations

Riekert won his court action on the grounds that he had not been given a proper hearing before being suspended. This is in terms of new police regulations covering suspensions.

Legal sources told Sunday Nation that a narrow interpretation of the regulations meant that if a policeman shot someone in cold blood, in front of witnesses, he could not be suspended until after a lengthy disciplinary process.

Max Coleman, director of the

Human Rights Commission, said the Police Reporting Officers, set up under the National Peace Accord, should be empowered to ensure immediate action is taken against policemen who are guilty of abusing their position.

The Yankees, a squad of about 100 policemen combating use of illegal firearms in the region, rampaged through the area from last year until the middle of this year, when they were disbanded.

Before the disbanding, about 30 affidavits were handed to the SAP alleging Riekert took part in Yankee torture and assaults of people detained in the search for firearms.

The police knew about the litany of complaints from communities in the Vaal - but did nothing about it. Most of the victims were ANC and PAC members.

Riekert reported to Brigadier Floris Mostert, who took no action even when the local peace committee passed complaints on to him.

The Police Reporting Officer, advocate Jan Munnik, also handed complaints to the police in vain.

## 'Re-tyred' for success

By **NICOLETTE TLADI**

FOUR men from the eastern Cape coastal town of Port Alfred, who found themselves on the streets after they were retrenched in July this year, have opened their own tyre service outlet.

"Business is going well," said one of the men, Tamsanqa Jobela. "In a good day we get an average of 10 customers, mostly taxi drivers and local businesspeople."

## R2-million rand 'Golden handshake' deal probed

By **BEVERLEY GARSON**

AN internal Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) inquiry into the controversial R2,3-million "golden handshake" deal by the Grahamstown municipality was concluded in the city on Friday.

This follows eight days of evidence by over 25 witnesses, including Democratic Party MP, Errol Moorcroft, to a two-man committee of inquiry appointed by the CPA administrator to investigate plans by

the municipality to retrench five top officials at a cost of R2,3-million and then re-hire them.

The committee chairperson, Jacobus Hugo, said the investigation was over "for the time being".

Hugo said the committee was scheduled to continue the legal side of the investigation before making a report with recommendations to the administrator.

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# School cleaner in top 10 matrics

When Nohlanhla Mkhize's father died 12 years ago, she cried her eyes out – not only for the loss of a beloved parent but also because of the realisation that she would no longer be able to attend school.

One day she was a bright Standard 7 pupil with hopes of becoming a music teacher; the next, she was forced to search for work to make ends meet.

For the next 12 years, Mkhize's closest contact with a classroom has been working as a cleaner at Durban's Promat College. Since 1989, she has swept the floors, dusted the desks and wiped off the blackboards.

Today, Mkhize still handles a broom and dust cloth at Promat. But this mother of two is also one of the college's top 10 matric pupils,

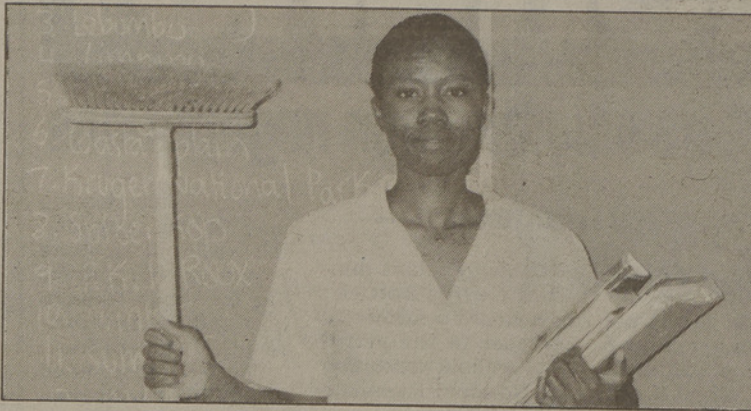
By Lena Slachmuisjlder

according to October's trial exams results.

Thanks to the generosity of Promat, Mkhize has been leading a dual life as cleaner and student. As the breadwinner for her two children, two brothers and elderly mother – all of whom live in Inanda – Mkhize has no choice but to continue working even though her studies at Promat are free.

Her oldest child, aged nine, is at school, as are her younger brothers, aged 18 and 16. Stopping work to be a full-time student is not an option for Mkhize.

So every morning, Mkhize arrives at Promat at 6am, puts on her cleaning uniform, and scrubs and dusts for two hours. By 8.30am, Mkhize changes into one of Promat's top matric pupils, studying hard until 3.30pm. Then Mkhize



**HARD WORK . . . Nohlanhla Mkhize with her survival tools**

changes back into a cleaner, and works until 5.30pm.

Mkhize still earns her full salary, gets free accommodation at the college's hostel, and has also been exempted from paying the R3 600

annual fees. "I'm not sure if it's luck or a miracle," Mkhize said.

How does Mkhize handle her dual identity? "It is difficult because I get tired and have to make sure I do both things well," said Mkhize,

who sweeps 11 classrooms daily.

"I also had trouble getting used to reading after doing manual labour for so long. At first, I could only read for a short while," she said.

Promat principal Gillian Le Roux – who played a key role in arranging Promat's sponsorship for Mkhize – has only praise for her.

"She was honourably committed to her job as a cleaner, and I had a gut feeling that she would be equally committed as a student," said Le Roux. "Finishing in the top 10 of 147 students has proved that my perception was right."

Yet, while Mkhize is sure to pass her matric, she is likely to return to being a full-time cleaner next year.

"I want to be a teacher but I have no money and still need to support my family," said Mkhize. "Perhaps I can study through correspondence colleges such as Unisa if I can find the time."

## Winnie tipped to win ANC's top PWV post

WINNIE Mandela could make a major comeback to the mainstream ANC leadership if she is elected deputy-chairperson of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) region next week.

Mandela, Murphy Morobe, Amos Masondo and Obed Bapela are candidates for the position, currently held by Mathole Molekane.

The three front-runners are seen as Molekane, Bapela and Mandela. But Mandela is tipped to win. Masondo will probably want to continue running the region's election campaign.

Mandela was elbowed out as Women's League chairperson last year, a move that triggered embarrassing squabbles between the ANC leadership and Mandela's supporters.

Her popularity in the region was proved when she was elected president of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), shortly after being pushed out of the Women's League.

The region's chairperson, Tokyo Sexwale, is unopposed. The secretary, Paul Mashatile is opposed by his current deputy, Obed Bapela and ANC Youth League general secretary Rapu Molekane. Mashatile's predecessor, Barbara Hogan, is also standing against him.



**ON A COMEBACK TRAIL . . . Winnie Mandela**

Former Democratic Party member of parliament, Dave Dalling, is among the nominees for treasurer.

● Meanwhile, the doors of the ANC's Shell House offices were locked this week by security guards who screened all visitors after supporters of Winnie Mandela began demonstrating outside.

They demanded the reinstatement of Winnie as both the head of the ANC's social welfare department and the ANC Women's League.

## Joint policing at work in Bhambayi

The idea of joint policing has been mooted as one path towards peace for areas affected by large-scale violence.

But only now, after violence has left more than 250 dead in Bhambayi, have all parties finally agreed to the novel plan for peace. Already its success is telling: not a single person has been killed since the joint operation began in early October.

The system relies on total co-operation from all parties: the SAP Internal Stability Unit (ISU) based at Inanda's Vela Police Station; the ANC-aligned "Reds" and the IFP-supporting "Greens"; monitors from the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) and the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM).

Sunday Nation went along on last Friday's 7pm to 1am shift to see how the system operates.

At 8pm, NIM monitor Francis Armitage follows the ISU Nyala out into Bhambayi and picks up four monitors from the Reds and the Greens.

When the monitors arrive at the "joint operation centre" at the Vela Police Station, it's difficult to tell who the enemy is, as they all sport "Peace in Our Land" T-shirts.

"Do you know how many people have been killed since we started this?" asks 52-year-old Red representative Johannes Khiwa. "No one."

His talkative counterpart, Clemence

Bendlela (30) is equally emphatic about the operation's success. "What you must write in the newspaper is that we are doing this because we want peace. That's all."

At 8.30pm, one monitor from each side heads for the ISU's Nyala. A two-way radio, one monitor from each side and NIM monitor Billy Maseti remain in the operation centre office.

As we squeeze over the tiny dirt passages of Bhambayi, a group of about six men dance along in front of the Nyala's headlights.

Bendlela looks out the window, shrugs, and says, "They're just drunk." We make a U-turn and head for the Greens section.

We come across a group of men standing in a flattened area of burnt-out shacks. Six gunshots ring out and we all guess where they could be coming from. We decide to head to the clinic at the old Gandhi settlement.

When we arrive there, it is quiet, and time for more entries by the ISU members in their notebooks.

Our last stop is with the Red monitor on duty in Bhambayi. He gives us the story about where the shots came from. "Nothing serious," he says.

At 1am we arrive back at Vela Police Station. The monitors climb in the Nyala and are returned to their areas. Armitage and Maseti get into their car and drive home.

## No IDs for Bop residents

RESIDENTS of Phokeng in Bophuthatswana have been left confused after officials from the home affairs department in Pretoria pulled out mobile units set up to assist them in applying for identity documents.

More than 800 residents had already filled in application forms for new IDs when the homeland's minister of home affairs, Tom Setiloane, allegedly protested to the South African government last week.

A spokesperson from the home affairs department, Charles Theron, denied that Pretoria succumbed to pressure from the homeland authorities to pull out.

In response to Sunday Nation enquiries,

Theron said the mobile unit was withdrawn because it was found the applicants were mainly Bophuthatswana citizens.

He said, however, they would accept applications from the homeland residents, pointing out that another 980 applications were handed in at the department's Rustenburg offices after the mobile unit had pulled out.

Theron said that although applications for IDs from homeland citizens would still be accepted, these would not be issued until a final decision on the future of the homelands was reached at the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre.

## PAC support rises in E Cape

Support for the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in the Eastern Cape – traditionally an ANC stronghold – has reached double digits for the first time.

Results of a survey on black voters in the region by Rhodes University's Department of Sociology and Industrial Sociology show that since late last year support for the PAC has grown by about four percent to 12,3 percent.

The survey – which polled 227 potentially eligible voters between July and August – found that the ANC was still "widely popular" in the region, gaining the support of 76,7 percent of respondents.

The poll covered Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, Queenstown, King William's Town, Bisho as well as smaller towns such as Bathurst and Fort Beaufort.

The co-ordinators, department head Professor Jan Coetzee and lecturer GT Wood, say the sample was "fully representative and encompassed individuals from a wide range of occupations, incomes and places of residence".

The SACP and Azapo each gained the support of 0,9 percent.



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# WRECKERS!

## The cabinet ministers who threaten negotiations

**G**overnment ministers are wrecking negotiations by making unilateral decisions and failing to consult with organisations and structures set up specifically to deal with sensitive issues. They seem determined to create problems for a future democratic government.

By MANELISI DUBASE

Sunday Nation understands, for example, that intense pressure was put on agriculture minister Kraal van Niek-erk by the Wheat Board to dissuade him from announcing an increase of 10 percent in the price of wheat on Friday without consulting either them or the National Economic Forum.

Had the cost of wheat been increased by 10 percent, the price of a loaf of brown bread would have been hiked up by 15 cents to R1,65 and white bread by 18 cents to R2,03.

To date, a number of ministers have breached agreements and gone ahead with unilateral decisions. Sometimes they don't even bother to inform or consult with the negotiators at Kemp-ton Park.

● In March, finance minister Derek Keys took the country and the Vat Co-ordinating Committee by surprise by announcing increases in value-added tax (VAT) and the petrol price during his budget speech.

● Then the mineral

and energy affairs minister, George Bartlett, announced a further 7c increase in the petrol price without consulting the National Economic Forum (NEF). Faced with outrage from the public and a wide range of organisations, he dropped it by 2c.

● Two weeks ago national housing minister Louis Shill announced a national sales campaign of state-

financed family housing units without consulting the National Housing Forum or role players like the Urban Foundation and the Independent Development Trust.

The NHF suspended negotiations with him, but he said: "Agreements with the NHF did not preclude me from carrying out my duties as a minister."

● In August, law and order minister Hernus Kriel ordered the detention of senior officials of the PAC and a raid on the house of PAC president, Clarence Makwetu.

● Defence minister Kobie Coetzee ordered the SADF raid on an alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army safe-house in Umtata earlier this month in which five children were massacred.

Shortly after that, Coetzee told reporters: "We can do it again."

ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus and his counterpart in the PAC, Maxwell Nema-dzivanani, both said the unilateral decision-making by these ministers was aimed at putting a future government at a disadvantage.

Nemadzivanani said the ministers' attitude proved that the forums and committees, which were established to look at issues such as VAT and the petrol price, were "window-dressing rather than forums for paving the way for the democratisation of our country".

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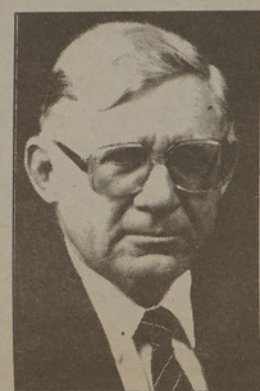
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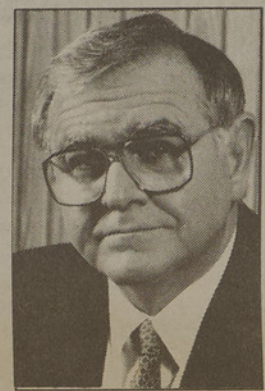
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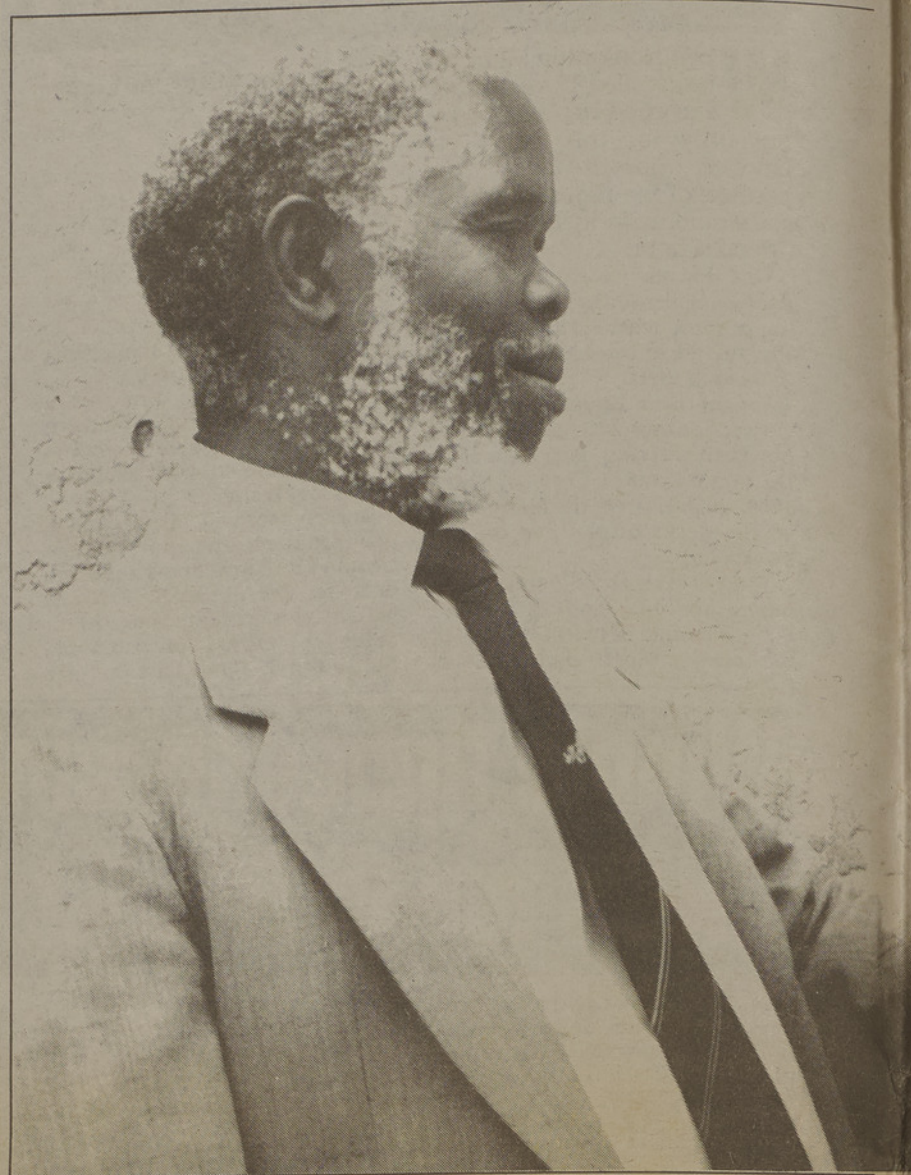


**BARTLETT ... shocked the public with a petrol price increase**



**KRIEL ... ordered raids on the houses of senior PAC officials**

## Love heeds no age limit



IF you thought marriage was for the young only, think again - Samson Nxumalo, a pensioner, and his newly-wed bride, Linga Mkhize, are as happily in love as any post-adolescent couple.

Nxumalo, 72, and Linga, 58, said "I do" in front of a crowd of 1 000 people who jammed the little First Apostolic Church in Jabulani, Soweto, recently.

The wedding brought Themba Drive in Zola North to a standstill as cars honked their horns, residents formed lines outside the bridegroom's house and women ululated their appreciation.

By JIMMY SEEPE

Samson said that since his first wife, who was also called Linga, died in 1990, life had been empty. "I needed to fill it with someone instead of wandering around waiting for my next pension payment."

Samson first got married in 1941 at the age of 22. His wife bore him 10 children, of whom six are still alive. Linga also has six children, all of whom are married with their own families.

Samson, a retired factory worker, said he was grateful to his children, who had helped

## but what about lobola?



Pic by Kendall Hunter

to make the wedding such a success. "I thought the event would not attract many people, but there was a huge crowd." He said he also appreciated his family's understanding that he needed a companion to share the rest of his life with. "I did not think they would approve of my decision to get married," he said, "but they gave me every support."

In fact, he felt they spent too much money on the wedding festivities. "But they wanted to make the event something to remember."

Samson and Linga first met at the First

Apostolic Church five months ago.

He said "Since our first meeting I've never looked back. I felt my life would be fulfilled with Linga."

But Samson has not fulfilled one of the requirements of African custom - paying lobola. He is still trying to figure out who he should pay it to - his wife's relatives or her children.

One of Samson's younger sons, Sibusiso, who is in his mid-20s, told Sunday Nation: "I am happy for my father. It is nice for him to have someone to look after him at his age."

## The hospital that makes

**HEALTH** facilities in Moutse in the north-eastern Transvaal are sick, sick, sick.

More than 300 000 people in this remote area have only one hospital. Some residents from Moutse's 46 villages have to travel up to 150 kilometres to get there - only to find that the hospital is sick as well.

Moutse Health Forum (MHF) chairperson, Ngwato Motsape, told Sunday Nation that patients who report to the Philadelphia Hospital in the morning, only do so to have their names recorded. Treatment starts at 2pm only, as doctors are not available earlier.

When Sunday Nation visited the hospital this week, about 200 people were lining up to be seen by doctors. Kids cried at their mothers' breasts and adults' faces showed pain and anger. Patients who report to the hospital at night cannot be treated until the following afternoon.

By ENOCH SITHOLE

One patient said many people abandon the queues when they learn that they will only be treated at 2pm. Sunday Nation was told others are forced to depart without even joining the queues because the administrative staff claims they are not sick enough to merit treatment.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) said doctors begin their rounds in the hospital wards at 8am. However, the TPA did not explain why no doctors were available to attend to patients reporting for treatment in the morning.

**Birth**

MHF secretary-general Margaret Tlamana told Sunday Nation a woman delivered her seventh baby in the hospital's reception area after nurses said she did not need a doctor, that it was too early for her to

**THE LONG WAIT ... Prospective patients queue for hours to see a doctor at Philadelphia Hospital in Moutse**



Pic by Antonio Muchave

give birth and that she should go back home.

"Many people avoid going to the hospital when they are sick, because they are confronted by a hostile staff and also have to wait

hours to be treated. People are made to feel guilty for being sick," Tlamana said.

At times, patients are sent home without medicines because they are told the hospital has

## you feel really sick



Pic by Antonio Muchave

Tlamana said they are only used to transfer patients from one hospital to another.

Hospital authorities denied this and referred to a statement earlier this year which said that only seriously ill patients would be transported from home, as the authorities were trying to cut down on costs. But the locals have asked how the authorities determine whether a patient who asks for an ambulance is seriously ill or not.

**Children**

The MHF alleged that the inadequate provision of health facilities was responsible for the alarming infant mortality rate in the area. Children were dying from diarrhoea and measles, and there had been a steady increase in incidents of tuberculosis and other preventable and curable diseases.

The MHF engaged in talks with the national health department

and the TPA in an attempt to improve the system.

A meeting was held on July 22 with officials of the department but nothing was resolved and a follow-up meeting is planned for next week.

The MHF wants the authorities to include six members of the community on the Hospital Board and to employ Community Health Workers (CHW) to operate as field workers providing primary health care to villagers.

These will be trained by the National Progressive Primary Health Care Network (NPPHCN), but when employed, the MHF says, they should be paid by the hospital.

The MHF also wants fully-fledged health centres to be built in areas such as Driefontein and Spitspunt, which are about 150 kilometres from Philadelphia Hospital.

## STRAY BULLET

**D**ESPERATE and power-hungry, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has again threatened the peace-loving people of South Africa with the secession of kwaZulu.

The myth created by Inkatha propaganda, the media and foreign correspondents that Buthelezi is the authentic leader of the Zulus was proved incorrect by the thousands of Zulus who attended the Sonke Festival in Durban last weekend.

The festival sent a clear message that the ANC enjoys majority support in Natal - even FW de Klerk is more popular than Buthelezi among Zulus in kwaZulu.

Buthelezi has not only divided the Zulu nation but also Zulu families. For the first time in the history of the Zulu nation, chiefs' sons are killing each other because of political beliefs.

Fourteen members of Chief Boy Mzimela's family have been killed because of political differences.

**ENOCH MTHEMBU**  
on the decline in support for Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi

There are also killings within the family of Chief Temba Mthethwa, the home area of King Zwelithini's grandfather, King Dingiswayo.

Those who support Inkatha are either benefiting through business favours or they hold positions in the organisation. The violence in the rural areas in kwaZulu is caused by a rift between the youth who align themselves with the ANC and the traditionalists who perceive the ANC as a Xhosa organisation.

Among the reasons for the decline in Buthelezi's support is his open backing of unlawful acts by some members of the kwaZulu police, especially the late Sergeant Siphiwe Mvuyane, whom Buthelezi praised on a Radio Zulu talk

show as "a good shot".

Other reasons why Buthelezi has lost support include:

- the Inkathagate scandal
- appointing warlords to the Inkatha Central Committee and to leadership positions
- his threats of a civil war and the secession of kwaZulu
- Inkatha's alliance with the racist Freedom Alliance
- lack of development in the townships controlled by kwaZulu government
- forcing people to pay money to Inkatha to attend its rallies - those who fail to do so usually get death threats.

● Enoch Mthembu is a journalist based in Natal.

If you have any gripe or need a public forum to engage in debate send your "Stray Bullet" (maximum 550 words) plus your photo to: Stray Bullet, Sunday Nation, PO Box 10674, Johannesburg 2000

## MK commanders win go-ahead for school exam

**AREA** commanders of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), had to intervene this week so that end-of-term examinations could go ahead at Bulhebulu Secondary School in Thokoza.

The three MK officers had to mediate after several rowdy meetings between members of the Thokoza Self-Defence Unit (SDU), who opposed the exams, and students who wanted them to go ahead, deadlocked.

The armed SDU members argued that they had had to leave school in the middle of the year to protect the community and so had no time to pre-

By WALLY MBHELE

pare for the examinations. The students who had remained at school thus had an unfair advantage, they said.

Sunday Nation attended a riotous meeting at the school this week which came to an abrupt end when an SDU member poked an R1 rifle through a window and ordered students to leave.

Both pro- and anti-examinations factions displayed firearms and it was feared that the situation could deteriorate into a shootout.

The SDU members ignored

pleas from the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the ANC Youth League for the exams - already two weeks late - to take place. A Thokosa community meeting also came out in favour of holding the exams and suggested the SDU members write them between January and March.

This was the peace formula agreed on after mediation by the MK commanders with the exams set to begin tomorrow. Meanwhile, technicians are repairing the electricity supply to the school which was disrupted when SDU members raked the power box with AK-47 bullets.



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Sunday Nation 31 October 93



## Comment

### No more concessions to the rightwing

The negotiations process is beginning to assume a contradictory character in that on the one hand genuine progress is being made through the various agreements that have been reached, some of which will soon become law.

There is, however, the other side to it, where the process seems to be stagnating because of the recalcitrance of the minority, rightwing parties.

We have long held the view that the major parties, particularly the ANC and the National Party, will have to make a break with the rest in order for the process to remain on track.

While the ANC may be willing to do this, it is becoming abundantly clear that that the government is not willing to go that far.

It is clear though that there are fundamental, and even irreconcilable differences in the approach of the major parties and the rightwing to the talks.

The major parties have approached the talks as a process that will deliver a democratic deal for the benefit of the majority of South Africans.

The minority parties, however, see the negotiations process as being one of securing their personal or group stakes for the future - even if this implies, as it does, abandoning democratic values.

This fundamental difference cannot be resolved democratically because the other parties will never submit themselves to the democratic process.

Their objections, in the final analysis, are not reflected in the puerile demands that they keep making, but in the fact that their principal objection is to the democratic process itself.

We are increasingly getting into a situation wherein the more vocal threats of violence one makes, the greater recognition the negotiations process accords one.

This is a dangerous precedent where recognition is going to be given to more and more warlords and what we set out to achieve - democracy and peace for our people - is going to be sidetracked and lost.

The Freedom Alliance is now unashamedly using war talk in an endeavour to win more concessions - concessions that are out of proportion to its sphere of influence.

To give in to them, will be to give in to them perpetually. No democracy could ever exist under those set of circumstances.

## Lame apology comes too late

Foreign minister Pik Botha this week described the government's handling of the Umtata raid as "miserable" - a gross under statement if ever there was one.

Botha, unlike his boss, president FW de Klerk, is however willing to admit the government culpability in this tragic loss of young lives.

What we find unacceptable in Botha's statement is his assertion that the government did not authorise the killing of people. A typically National Party forked tongue statement.

In assessing the Umtata debacle, we need to examine whether the government's actions were an error of judgement rather than of intent.

The Umtata attack was wrong from all points of view; morally and politically.

And if the SADF soldiers who murdered innocent civilians were not acting to orders then the government should have said so a long time ago and should have taken action against them - as is standard procedure.

South Africa recognises Transkei as a sovereign state and the fact that both governments are involved in the negotiations process seems to contradict Botha's lame and late apology.

That the government has, in Botha's words "made some bad mistakes in the past couple of months" is self evident.

What is less obvious are the nature of those mistakes that the public does not yet know about.

Could it be that among those mistakes are the continuing violence that continues to plague the country. Could it be that the government will be ready to apologise about this too when it suits it?

All these are questions that need urgent answers.

In spite of what the foreign minister says, his apology cannot absolve De Klerk, who is yet to face the nation and explain his role in the murders.

# ZWELAKHE SISULU



## THE CUTTING EDGE

### ANC rally dispels Zulu myth

The ANC's Sonke rally at King's Park Stadium in Durban last Sunday represents an important event in the run up to the elections in April. That so many thousands turned up, in a region that has clearly been identified by the government and its allies as the decisive battle ground for the future government, is a tribute to the mass of the people.

The importance of the region is the reason why the government has invested so much violence and has spared no effort in propping up Inkatha.

In spite of the culture of state intimidation and violence, the people gave a resounding vote of support to the ANC.

At a time when the mere wearing of a T-shirt of any one political organisation could very easily condemn one to death, such an open and wholesome identification with the organisation, as we saw in Durban, must augur well for democracy and the principle of freedom of association.

This is not because the organisation in question is the ANC, but because it is important that all other organisations should find it possible to organise and test their popular support in this open manner, and in any part of the country.

The fact that the ANC was able to draw so many people places a heavy burden on the organisation to sustain and deepen that support. The organisation will now need to move rapidly to build on the goodwill established.

The rally dramatically illustrates the national character of the ANC and the fact that no other political party currently enjoys this type of support.

It was also an emphatic rebuttal of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claims to be the sole and authentic representative of the Zulu people. Such claims are now self evidently spurious.

Support for the ANC in the region has been no secret though, because numerous surveys have shown that it enjoys a significant influence in the area. This despite the fact that Chief Buthelezi enjoys the benefit of being head of the kwaZulu administration that is able to dispense favours and control a police force that has used its power to garner support for Inkatha.

But it would be equally dangerous to assess the depth of ANC support on the basis of a rally. Many formations have gone into the scrap heap of history for making the fatal mistake of assuming the permanence of such support.

Rallies have a wonderful atmosphere of unity and are certainly an important psychological element in engendering togetherness. But they can never be a substitute for painstaking political work to win and keep one's constituency.

This is so because imbibing democratic values must come out of a commitment to democracy, which in turn can only come from a deep understanding of what it stands for. And rallies, by their very character are not the site for such education.

The rally was important for

win and keep one's constituency.

This is so because imbibing democratic values must come out of a commitment to democracy, which in turn can only come from a deep understanding of what it stands for. And rallies, by their very character are not the site for such education.

The rally was important for

The rally was important for

**All organisations should find it possible to organise and test their popular support in this open manner**

## Letters to the editor

### SADF's Transkei raid condemned

I am concerned at the South African Defence Force's (SADF) brutal murder of school kids in the Transkei on the pretext that they were Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (APLA) members.

Nobody deserves to be killed on the grounds that they belong to a liberation army. If that is the criteria, then we should expect further brutal killings of APLA members - and maybe even Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres.

I look forward to the day when the SADF will raid and kill members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) army, seeing they are implicated in atrocities. The AWB even have the guts to threaten us with civil war if we do not "give" a share of our African ancestral land to them (onse vaderland, my voel).

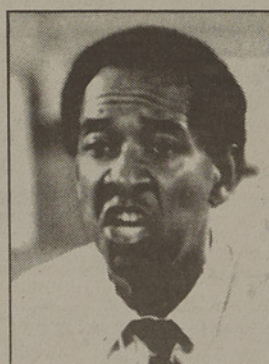
I noticed (again) that the CCV news team underplayed this horrible SADF deed. Usually when whites are killed, the world walls but because in this case it is only a couple of "black" school kids who have been murdered by the so-called peacekeepers, no one seems to care.

Petunia Nomfundo Laphondwana  
GRAHAMSTOWN

### IFP must remove Buthelezi

BUTHELEZI's key role in the formation of the small but dangerous Freedom Alliance (FA) is the latest act of betrayal by this quisling.

All these are questions that need urgent answers.



Augusto Palacios comes under attack from a reader

moting Buthelezi as a key player.

In return, he rejected De Klerk's hand of friendship, swearing allegiance to the white ultra-rightwing and positioning himself in defiance of the reform process.

On October 2, the IFP central committee made a decision to contest the April elections and hinting at returning to the multi-party negotiating forum.

Buthelezi had other plans. Five days later, the FA had been formed with Lucas Mangope, "The Butcher of Bisho" Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and the neo-Nazi Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), without the apparent knowledge of the majority of IFP central committee members, including Ben Ngubane, Joe Matthews and Ziba Jiyane.

The ideas of the FA, which wants to carve South Africa into apartheid states, cannot be reconciled with human rights and democracy. If the IFP wants to play a meaningful and constructive role, and cares about liberation for South Africa's blacks, they must stop taking orders from this demagogue, remove him from his position of leadership and pull out of the Freedom Alliance.

GJ Sellikow  
WESTCLIFF

### Palacios out, Jomo in

I am fed up with the SA national squad coach Augusto Palacios' ridiculous ritual statements every time he loses a match. He always says: "We are still learning", "We were far from disgraced", "We tried" etc.

Why is the squad always learning - but not implementing these good lessons. The joke is that even after playing 15 international games, we are still "learning".

Zambia experienced a tragic blow when most of its players were killed in a plane crash, yet within two months they managed to assemble another winning team.

Jomo Cosmos is doing well even though it is the first time the club has featured in the Mandela Cup. Even underdogs must have teeth to bite.

Palacios must be fired now and be replaced by Jomo Sono. Sono is the right medicine for the ailing national team!

Chris Mmeti  
DIEPKLOOF, SOWETO

### Gandhi criticised

Gandhi's legacy to South Africa (1893-1914), contrary to what his followers would like us to believe, shows no evidence of involvement or influence in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

Gandhi was concerned about Indians and India - full stop. We should stop deluding ourselves that he contributed anything to the struggle here. He never mentioned (not once) in all his speeches and writings that Indians should join the ANC in a united front for freedom.

E Mahomed  
DURBAN

Send letters to: The Editor, PO Box 10674, Johannesburg 2000

# BLACK EYE

■ **Sol Mokaba:** As Peter Mokaba positions himself for a career and middle age, he is increasingly dropping the Marxist concepts he once growled with such passion.

Now he wants the ANC Youth League to get shares in the elite cellular phone business.

He's even proposing that township self defence units should be turned into guard dogs for what he thinks will be a money spinner "township tourism".

The liberation struggle, which is far from over, is not a career opportunity for black yuppies. The townships are not curios, and our culture's not a gumboot dance for American cameras.

Reconstruction is about building affordable houses, creating productive jobs and building infrastructure. It is not the making of one or two black Sol Kerzners (or Mokersners), while the rest of us become a nation of flunkies, cupping our hands, shaking our bare breasts, or toyi-toying for the small change. No thanks, Mokaba.

■ **Regional rugby:** General Jannie Geldenhuys, former head of Pretoria's army, is giving rugby a bad name. He's just published a book of memoirs in which he is at pains to prove the SADF wasn't defeated by the Cubans at Cuito Cuanavale.

"If the war was a rugby match...", writes the General (and Beeld in its review of the book even drew a map of southern Angola with rugby poles on it!) "then it comes down to the fact that our opponents never came near to our goal-line ...at Jamba...Our team was leading 500 and we were about to score a push over try at Tumpo in injury time when the final whistle blew."

It would be interesting to ask Geldenhuys who blew the whistle? And why? Unlike him, the Cubans, MPLA and Swapo understood that the struggle to liberate Angola and Namibia wasn't a rugby match.

It's true, the SADF troops at Cuito Cuanavale weren't pushed back to Jamba, they were pushed in another direction, right off the field, right out of the stadium, and all the way back to Namibia.

■ **Inside track:** Nat sources say the Umtata raid was approved by De Klerk and some other ministers, not the full cabinet.

In fact, they were steamrolled into the decision: the ministers were told the "facts" were that 18 trained "terrorists" were in the house, with five tons of weapons - and the hit squad simply had to move that same night!

Kobie Coetsee was apparently there as minister of defence and national intelligence. So was law and order minister Herinus Kriel. Only Pik Botha queried the "facts", proving once again that the term military intelligence is a contradiction in terms.

## No easy walk to victory, warns Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela has warned members of his organisation against assuming that the massive turn-outs to its meetings meant there was no need to work hard to win next year's election.

Speaking at the opening of the fourth annual conference of the ANC's PWV region in Johannesburg, Mandela said it could become a "fatal illusion" to take such turn-outs and results of opinion polls as an indication that no work needed to be done.

"We have to stop moving in and out of our regions and abroad. We have to work hard. Conduct house-to-house campaigns to be able to translate such turn-outs into victory," he said.

On suggestions that if next year's election went ahead without the consent of the rightwing and the "black surrogates" there would be an outbreak of violence, Mandela said such violence would be a "picnic compared to the violence that will erupt if elections are postponed".

He called on the business community to use its influence to ensure that the democratic forces are supported and the peace process remains on track.

The conference will discuss a strategy the ANC will employ to win a majority of an estimated 6-million voters living in the PWV region.

In past months, the ANC has been conducting election campaigns, including visits to voters in their houses. The largest campaign so far has been conducted in Meadowlands, Soweto, where ANC officials have visited more than 5 000 houses and spoken to more than 19 000 voters.

Regional ANC elections co-ordinator Amos Masondo said this week that among the interviewed, over 15 000 said they would vote for the ANC; 1 380 were undecided and only 67 said would not vote for the organisation.

Similar campaigns have been held in areas such as Soshanguve, Lenasia, Laudium and Randburg. Masondo says suggestions that the ANC had little support among the Indian and coloured communities, were false as revealed by their door-to-door visits.

"The majority of people in those areas are undecided," he says, but already about 40 percent of Lenasia's residents have committed themselves to voting for the ANC.

"This means we need to work a little more to be able to ensure a majority in an area like that."

In Randburg, where the ANC only expected two percent support, about 10 percent of voters expressed their support for the ANC, says Dave Dalling, who last year left the Democratic Party for the ANC.

December 10 has been earmarked as the day by which



ENOCH SITHOLE

Toyi-toying for victory: ANC president Nelson Mandela opens this weekend's PWV regional conference - the last before South Africa's first democratic elections.

# Preparing for the poll

all houses in the PWV will have been visited by the ANC.

But Masondo acknowledges there are no-go areas where this type of campaign will not be possible. These included some hostels in Soweto and the East Rand, parts of Bophuthatswana and white rightwing areas.

"We will not waste our energy and resources on trying to reach white voters."

"We will spend more time in the black areas where our

support is guaranteed."

Tomorrow, officials from the region will have a third meeting with officials of the home affairs department to discuss identity documents for potential voters.

In past meetings home affairs officials have agreed to run mobile offices to enable potential voters to apply for IDs.

The mobile offices will be located at schools and other public venues.

The ANC PWV regional

conference will instruct its branches to nominate people for the ANC's Constituent Assembly and regional legislature election lists. People who are not necessarily members of the ANC, but are sympathetic to its views and have a high profile in their communities, will be asked to stand under an ANC banner.

A conference will be held in three weeks, where lists for the two bodies will be finalised.

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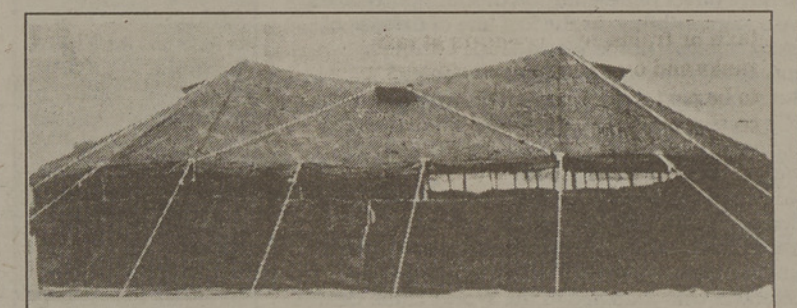
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# features section

## THE ULTIMATE TEST

**T**wo posters mounted alongside each other in ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's office sum up the challenge facing the liberation movement rather bluntly, but appropriately.

"In the trenches today", the one reads, "Unemployed tomorrow", says the other.

And the challenge to prevent this becoming a reality in South Africa is probably what the struggle is all about. It is to ensure that whatever is negotiated at the multi-party Negotiating Council, where Ramaphosa represents the ANC, ultimately translates into more jobs, houses, proper health care, and social benefits.

This is the challenge that must confront Ramaphosa with every clause that he debates at the World Trade Centre, because, whatever deal he strikes, its ultimate test will be tied to its ability to deliver a better quality of life for the movement's constituency.

But even he realises that negotiations will in many ways only change the lot of the poor in the long term.

It is therefore not surprising that he still nurses a nostalgia for the trade union movement. "In the trade union movement, you dealt with a very tight constituency, which tackled bread and butter issues. Negotiations there could yield practical results immediately, within a short space of time," he explains. These results, in the end, also help improve workers' quality of life in the long term, he adds.

"On the political scene, the constituency is much broader, more diverse and spans classes. Negotiations at a political level have a fairly long gestation period – but they also have a fairly long-term impact."

Ramaphosa, however, has no regrets about the move from trade unionism to politics and remains satisfied that he continues to serve the interests of the constituency he has come from – namely, organised labour.

"I have a working class bias and am pleased to say that the ANC is and will always be biased towards the interests of workers, because its support base is that of working people, the oppressed and poor."

Asked if the draft Interim Bill of Rights, which provides for the right to lock workers out from factories and mines did not militate against workers' interests, Ramaphosa said that disagreement between the ANC and Cosatu on the issue was all "simply a very serious misunderstanding".

"When we started discussing workers' and trade union rights, we immediately drew Cosatu and their top lawyer into our discussions in the negotiations commission and into the ANC and Communist Party delegations, because we did not want workers to be wrong footed."

"It is interesting to note that even comrade Sam Shilowa was part of the discussion that took place around

*As a former trade unionist, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa is well aware that any negotiated deal faces an ultimate test – will it improve the quality of life of the masses of the people? AMRIT MANGA spoke to him about the prospects*

all of this.

"It was always understood that this was a transitory type of provision which hinged on the fact that we will be able to get the best and maximum position once we have a constituent assembly," he added.

Ramaphosa hastens to explain that nothing on the contentious provisions in the interim constitution and Bill of Rights have been agreed to.

"The image being projected that the ANC has agreed to the entrenchment of the current civil service is not accurate," he says, "because what came out of the technical committee has been discussed but not agreed to."

He adds that the ANC is aware that workers feel very strongly about the provisions in the two draft interim documents but adds that the ANC feels equally strongly about the issues.

"My approach would never be to sell the interests of workers. If we did, as the ANC and people like myself at the negotiations, we would be betraying what we stand for."

Asked what he thought about Cosatu's decision to cream off its most experienced leadership to participate in the elections on an ANC platform, Ramaphosa said: "Cosatu had all the right to take such a decision."

But he adds that Cosatu has some of its best people on the list. "And, when something like that happens at one go, there is always the danger that they might have taken a step that could result in some weaknesses."

"I am particularly pained by the



**RAMAPHOSA:** Optimistic that pro-democracy forces will help neutralise the rightwing threat

move from the National Union of Mineworkers of someone like Marcel Golding, because he has been one of the motive forces in the growth and development of the union.

"You can never remove top leadership and hope that it will not have an impact."

Ramaphosa nevertheless takes comfort from the fact that Cosatu has viewed the freeing of leaders for the election as a transitional process, which he hopes will allow the new officials to grow into their positions.

The prospect of a weakened trade union movement nevertheless concerns him deeply, "because a weakening of the labour movement will have dire consequences for the strength of the democratic movement and civil society."

"We need a strong trade union movement and will do everything to help those that have remained behind to strengthen Cosatu."

Unlike his former trade union associates who have elected to blaze the election trail, Ramaphosa appears to have no plans to enter government.

**H**e will not speak on the subject, except to say that the ANC will make the correct decision regarding his future role.

He says there is an overwhelming feeling in the ANC that there is a need to strengthen the organisation.

"We are entering a very critical period – not only a period where we have to usher the organisation through the transition, but also to prepare it for governance."

The challenges are enormous, he says, and it is therefore important that the "ANC retains comrades who will be able to stand up to these challenges and ensure that we have an effective ANC inside and outside government".

Already, the ANC has been severely weakened at a number of levels because of its decision to move Ramaphosa into negotiations. In reality, the ANC has functioned without a secretary-general for more than two years now.

In the process, the organisation's administration, its departments and regions have experienced serious weaknesses.

But the ANC now has a strategic plan to remedy these weaknesses. This plan will take the organisation through its first five-year term in parliament.

And, if the plan is to be properly managed, the ANC will need a full-time secretary-general in place.

"It is said in farming circles, that the best manure for a farm is the farmer's footprints – he has got to be there all the time," Ramaphosa says.

If the former unionist decides to play the role of the proverbial farmer, it would rule him out for a position in the government of national unity.

But it is not only the need for strong organisation that will require that the ANC staff the office of the secretary-general with a capable incumbent. There is the need for co-ordination between national and regional government. Accountability of parliamentarians and legislators will also have to be enforced.

Explaining just how important co-ordination is, Ramaphosa points to the possible consequences of one of two regional governments, both dominated by the ANC, passing legislation that is incompatible with the other.

But these are challenges that the ANC will have to contend with in the post-Constituent Assembly (CA) phase.

There are more immediate concerns that the ANC will have to address and these relate to the process of transition to the elections for a CA.

**D**espite rumblings in the rightwing, Ramaphosa remains optimistic that the April 27 elections will happen.

Asked if he was not misreading the Freedom Alliance's posturing, Ramaphosa said: "We have worked long and hard to get to the point where we are today. And our strong view is that we should not be robbed of the gains we have won and the progress we have achieved, by anyone."

"I think we must be seen as people who are absolutely determined to make sure that what we have agreed upon is implemented."

He dismisses positions taken by the rightwing Freedom Alliance (FA) as being without any popular support. "They are only aimed at pursuing the interests of a section of the people."

"And our view is that, for as long as they pursue this path, we should not allow ourselves to stop or stall the movement forward to a democratic South Africa."

Ramaphosa is banking heavily on mobilising support for the ANC's position in an attempt to defeat the rightwing.

### FEATURE INSIDE

■ **TWO OPTIONS:** How to deal with the rightwing threat

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From page 11 ▶

"We have sufficient support from across the board for the progressive positions from among people and organisations."

"And I think that, with the weight of support of our people, we will be able to make sure that we make the transition to democracy."

At the same time, Ramaphosa cautions against being complacent and taking the rightwing's recalcitrance for granted.

"They are forces that can destabilise the process. But I believe that, in everything we do, we should not allow that."

"And it is for this reason that we are prepared to sit down with them and negotiate."

But if that sounds like a willingness to bend over to meet the FA's demands, Ramaphosa's position is clear. "If negotiations fail, we have to move ahead," he warns.

Ramaphosa's optimism appears to be more the consequence of a desire to see the process work rather than a product of an objective assessment of where the transition process is headed.

He agrees, saying: "Yes, there is that desire. But what is also likely to happen is that if they (the rightwing) are not on board by November 5, we will move ahead."

The focus will then shift to building a broader consensus around the agreement, which will also be passed into legislation.

"There are many forces that are pro-democracy, who will want to own the settlement that we have achieved."

Ramaphosa argues that as these forces rally around the agreement, the FA will realise that its room for manoeuvre is being eroded and narrowed down.

Ramaphosa's optimism, however, is certainly not shared by his rightwing adversaries.

Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who was addressing a group of businessmen in the eastern Cape this week, said: "The TEC will be the final stage of the SA government's abandonment of authority. They will be powerless thereafter. The state president will be told what to do. Right now, the SACP has usurped political power from De Klerk."

"We must fight to deny it in power as well. Should we fail, it will be fatal." Gqozo also warned that the FA would not stand for what he describes as a sell-out agreement that the ANC and De Klerk are in the process of finalising.

"Similarly, the results of this farcical exercise (elections) will not be recognised in all territories of the FA."

"The only elections we will participate in are regional elections, effectively making this country a federation."

Gqozo's warnings mirror the practical difficulties that structures such as the Transitional Executive Council, the independent electoral commission and joint peace keeping force, are certain to come up against in territories where members of the FA wield state power.

In fact, Gqozo's utterances clearly suggest that, as things currently stand, the FA will stay out of the process. But this is not all. Obvious from his posturing is a threat that the FA will do more than just stay out of the process.

Ramaphosa says that ensuring implementation of agreements must be the responsibility of the government.

He says the homelands, where the FA operates, are creations of apartheid. And, if the settlement has to stick, the government must ensure that the playing field is levelled in those areas.

"They (government) are in power in the whole country, and we are going to be exerting a lot of pressure

on the government, as the power in authority, to ensure that the decisions taken at multi-party talks are implemented."

Examined against the backdrop of threats such as those made by Gqozo, Ramaphosa's determination to see the agreements implemented, could result in military confrontation between the SA government and homeland armies.

Given the vast superiority of the SADF over fledgling homeland structures, such a confrontation is unlikely to be a protracted one. But the possibility of violent upheaval in a short space of time cannot be ruled out.

Ramaphosa, however, says that the ANC rules out the use of any form of force "because it would not be in the interest of our people and a lot else can be done to ensure that decisions taken are implemented".

He says that it has already been agreed that South African citizenship be restored to all homeland residents.

"This is one of the important pressure points that will be used because it will empower our people in those areas. And, as we get into these trying times, it is the masses of the people, who are hungry for democracy, for a united South Africa, who will ensure a victory on all these issues."

"Once you empower those people to vote, that in itself will trigger off a number of forces that will add to the pressure that must inevitably mount against these (rightwing) forces."

**PREPARING FOR WAR? The rightwing has served De Klerk's agenda well over the past three years. The chances that he will act against them now are therefore slim, especially with a possible election alliance on the cards**

# Dealing with the rightwing THE TWO OPTIONS

**T**he regrouping of the rightwing under the banner of the Freedom Alliance (FA) over two weeks ago, while not dramatically changing the character of conservative political forces, brought some degree of strategic coherence to its approach to negotiations.

This was most clearly demonstrated by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei joining the Conservative Party and Inkatha in leaving the multi-party Negotiating Council in Kempton Park.

At the same time, warnings of civil war have grown louder and posturing has assumed a more ominous but theatrical character.

Now, even Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo threatens military resistance as he recites a 1998 CBS broadcast, which sets out to project a picture of a South Africa under "President Ramaphosa" as a country riddled with political strife.

Despite Gqozo's theatrics, the rightwing threat cannot be discounted. And



by Amrit Manga

in enclaves defined along ethnic and racial lines and a complete disregard for fundamental principles of democracy.

While the objective of the democratic forces is clear – to absorb the rightwing into the political order by creating the terrain which would allow it to feed into a national political consensus – the means to do so remain unclear.

And this is not surprising. South Africa has no other international experience to draw on in addressing the rightwing problem.

Conservative forces in other parts of the world have not had the need to express their demands in the way that Freedom Alliance has sought to do in South Africa.

Unlike other parts of the world, South Africa does not offer the possibility of the rightwing ever gaining political office. In many parts of Europe, the rightwing rotates in and out of power, waiting in the wings while progressive parties rule, and winning office when conservative sentiment prevails.

In South Africa, given the extremely limited rightwing social base, prospects of being accommodated in a way that will extend political power to it in a unitary state do not arise at all.

In short, there is no prospect of a rightwing party coming to power in South Africa.

The question arises – how then do you accommodate the rightwing in a given political order?

Parties at the Negotiating Council have failed to come up with any more meaning-

ful solutions even though they have consistently rejected the confederal proposal.

But, before parties even begin to identify ways to absorb the rightwing into the political order, it is important to define exactly what the rightwing is and gain some insight into its social base.

At the same time, a related question that must be confronted is whether reconciliation can be achieved by simply striking a deal with a leadership elite? Or is there a need to address the grassroots base of the rightwing with an equal sense of importance?

Ray Suttner, ANC national executive committee member and head of the organisation's Department of Political Education (DPE) points to the present situation in Nicaragua as an example highlighting the fact that reconciliation can only succeed if it is addressed at grassroots level.

"What this signals for me," Suttner says, is that when you deal with General Constand Viljoen, you are not necessarily addressing the fears of the white working class or the various other strata that fear majority rule."

Suttner believes that the rightwing question needs to be addressed at a number of levels – "we need a multi-pronged approach" in engaging the rightwing.

"It is not enough that we strike a deal with the FA as a whole either," he points out.

Such a deal, he cautions, may not stick because there are too many contradictions within the FA itself.

The only factor holding the FA together is the common desire to block the elections for a constituent assembly and to ensure that they are guaranteed some form of state power in either a federal or confederal sys-

tem.

But when it comes to their constituencies, each component of the FA is seen to have a different social base with different needs.

"On the one hand, you have the white rightwing. Its base may be mainly white working class, displaced farmers and burocrats," Suttner says.

Then there are the black components of the FA, each with differing size and significance.

Inkatha, for example, has a base, albeit limited in size. However, like the white rightwing, it has a very substantial capacity to obstruct the democratic process and destabilise society on a wide range of fronts.

The FA also has components which are completely irrelevant in terms of power. The Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, for example, have no base of any significance. The Ciskei government has little capacity to destabilise, but the Bophuthatswana government's potential for obstructing the process is significant.

While these differences make it difficult to negotiate meaningfully with the FA, there is the added problem of the predominance of white rightwing strategists in each of the alliance components.

"So, while you have a multi-racial alliance, it is controlled by whites," says Suttner.

And, complicating matters is the alleged association of rightwing whites with military and national intelligence.

Depending which wing of the intelligence community they come from, they could either be predis-



**TALKING ABOUT A REVOLUTION: Since the formation of the Freedom Alliance, rightwing threats have become more ominous**

posed to a dirty tricks agenda, and therefore with much less interest in ending the conflict, or to negotiations.

Within Inkatha, negotiators are faced with the daunting task of having to deal with party heavyweights, who hold positions that straddle open confrontation, right through to negotiations.

In addition to conservative white hardliners, there are black leaders in Inkatha who support a militaristic approach. On the other extreme, there are black leaders more dis-

**At the end of the day, the options are few. The ANC could either sell its democratic ideals in exchange for rightwing compliance or neutralise its threat by directly addressing its social base and leadership**

posed towards a negotiated solution. Attempting to structure an offer that will at the end of negotiations bring the FA and all its components, together with their constituencies, on board, seems impossible against the background of its social and political diversity.

Any analysis of the rightwing based on the composition of the FA alone would be incomplete without taking into account its links with sections of government.

In recent weeks, a view that sections of the NP and FW de Klerk may have links with the rightwing and may even be instrumental in

influencing parts of the conservative agenda, is gaining currency among negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

It comes after repeated claims by the Conservative Party that some of its own members were NP agents.

Some researchers point to a number of trends to support the view that the NP may in fact be in control of part of the rightwing agenda:

• The hype about the rightwing in 1990 came during the period when the ANC was being pressured into abandoning the armed struggle.

There were a series of bombings, assassination threats and massive propaganda, which fueled the hype.

According to researchers, some of the actions were found to have been carried out by state agents.

• The second hype was around the Potchefstroom by-election, which laid the basis for the all-white referendum. The winner in the by-election, soon after his victory, broke away from the CP in support of negotiations.

There is nothing to suggest that the current hype fuelled by an apparent restlessness within the rightwing could in fact be part of a drive, orchestrated by the NP, to justify a referendum.

The advantages for the NP in such a referendum are obvious. While it would delay the planned April 27 election, it will also allow the government to piggy-back on the ANC and so make inroads into the black community.

It may also be argued that, if the NP does have a hold over the rightwing, a settlement between the NP and the ANC would quell rightwing restlessness.

But this does not necessarily follow. That the rightwing continues to exercise some degree of autonomy is not in doubt.

And, without sufficient control over the rightwing, there is no guarantee that the FA can be reined in by the government in the event the ANC makes concessions, which, while satisfying De Klerk, may not be good enough for the leaders in the conservative forces.

But, even if the FA leadership are satisfied, there is no guarantee that their grassroots constituencies will agree.

In fact, it may even be argued that giving in to demands articulated by leaders such as General Viljoen offers no assurance that the aspirations of the rightwing working class base will be satisfied.

In this case, any deal with General Viljoen will not eliminate the threat of destabilisation from pockets of white workers and farmers.

Suttner agrees, saying that Viljoen and other generals are articulating ideological concepts such as a boerestaat, for example. "I am sure that the average Afrikaner has not bothered to look at these maps being produced by the Afrikaner Volksfront leaders."

He explains that more immediate concerns occupy the minds of the average white worker and that they are, in all likelihood, pre-occupied with bread and butter questions such as housing, jobs and social security.

This is borne out by comments from organisers in the Mineworkers Union, probably the most highly organised of all rightwing formations.

As far as they are concerned, the threshold would have been reached the day white workers begin to lose jobs as a result of affirmative action and when living standards of their members begin to suffer.

If these are the material concerns of the rightwing social base, it seems that the obvious way to address them would be to give them assurances

around bread and butter issues.

But this is not easy. An immediate problem is whether the ANC can make such an undertaking to white workers without compromising its commitment to black workers in areas such as affirmative action, for example.

Already, suggestions that negotiators at the WTC had acceded to demands for the entrenchment of the white civil service has elicited a flood of protest, which this week took the form of a march to the multi-party negotiations.

But Suttner believes that the challenge is not so much the material concerns of the white rightwing. The country could muster the resources to ensure job creation and provide housing with relatively little difficulty.

"The question is – how do you address the (military) threat to ensure that we are guaranteed the space to address these material concerns?" Suttner asks.

One possible approach would be to neutralise the homeland component of the rightwing by pulling the plug on financial resources.

This could only be achieved with the co-operation of the government and has to be done immediately if it is to help level the political terrain well before the April elections.

Whether De Klerk will be willing to take such a step, however, is doubtful, especially if the NP has tentacles reaching into the FA.

Suttner believes De Klerk can be compelled, through local and international pressure, to cut the financial lifeline to dissenting homelands such as kwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

While this could paralyse rightwing homeland administrations, a cut in funding will not be without resistance.

Sections of the homelands' civil service may resist a central government take over. But any resistance from police and the army is likely to be short-lived without resources.

However, neutralising the white rightwing will not be that easy. It has a constituency which is not only heavily armed, but which has access to parts of the state armoury.

An added problem is the perceived link between the NP and the white rightwing. Given that the rightwing has in the past three years served De Klerk's agenda well, the chances that he will jettison conservative forces now are slim.

De Klerk nevertheless would be confronted with a bigger dilemma if he considers having to deal with the rightwing threat.

This dilemma must be seen in the context of recent statements which point to the possibility of the NP fighting the election in alliance with parties opposed to the ANC.

His most likely partners are Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF). If this is his thinking, he is unlikely to risk antagonising forces that he will have to rely on to put up a meaningful showing on April 27.

Therefore, for political reasons, De Klerk is unlikely to move against the right.

However, he also needs the ANC to ensure that the NP has a role in government through a power-sharing deal.

Whether De Klerk acts against the rightwing or not, will therefore depend on the pressure the ANC is able to bring to bear on him.

In the end, the options are few. The ANC could either sell its democratic ideals in exchange for rightwing compliance or neutralise its threat by directly addressing its social base and leadership.

In whatever it offers, the ANC needs to be convincing enough that it will deliver without compromising the vast majority of disenfranchised South Africans.

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# Armcor must clean up its act

By Jimmy Seepe

If Armcor wants to be acceptable to the majority of South Africans, it must reveal all past covert operations, according to the man at the helm of the corporation's public relations.

Barely a month in office at Armcor, Abba Omar is already making his presence felt. But he admits that he faces a bigger battle than he anticipated.

Omar's appointment places him in a key position in what was in the past one of the country's most secretive organisations.

A former Student Representative Council (SRC) president at the University of Durban-Westville, Omar worked underground for the ANC during the 80s.

## Guerilla

Asked if his past experience as an MK guerilla had an impact on his decision to join Armcor, he said: "It was not a simple choice. But it is time we became pragmatic in making our contribution to the future of the country."

He said he viewed his appointment in line with people who are now involved in structures such as the National Housing Forum and the Local Government Negotiating Forum which puts them in decision-making positions.

"I see my position as part of the empowerment of people who have been denied access to these institutions," he said. "It also allows the democratic movement to examine what is happening in the arms industry and its importance to the national mould."

Since his appointment, Omar said, debate had increased inside the democratic movement about the future of the arms industry in this country.

Omar said: "We have to start to think how we can begin to focus research on trying to change killer weapons into useful tools for civilian needs."

## Income

But he maintained the arms industry could not be shut down. He pointed out that the country's arms exports represented the second biggest earner of foreign income.

There are 31 South African arms manufacturing companies which will display their latest products at an international air show in Dubai in the United Arab Emirates in a major drive to export arms to the Gulf region in the Middle East.

What new role then does Omar see for Armcor?

Omar considered for a moment before declaring that Armcor would have to undergo various changes.

"It should serve as a regulatory body for the needs of the armed forces including the South African Air Force and Navy to avoid abuse of public monies.

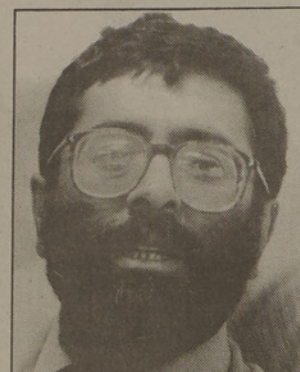
"At present Armcor still represents the Afrikaner male culture. It is still locked in the apartheid era. I'm the first black person to be appointed to a major post in this corporation."

## Skills

"I believe there are lots of skills and experience among the black community to fill some of the positions here."

But Omar cautioned that change would not come easy for most public institutions such as Armcor.

"There is going to be a dragging of heels and resistance to change among certain people," he said.



Abba Omar faces big challenge at Armcor

For Armcor to be credible, "there should be union, civil society, business, and political

representation inside Armcor - all sectors of society must be represented."

Sunday Nation asked Omar if he did not feel that Armcor, with its shady past, should reveal all its activities under apartheid.

## Investigation

"We need that kind of investigation. I believe the public should know what happened inside Armcor during those years."

"What would facilitate the process is the political will in the democratic movement to push for such disclosures," he said.

As someone who comes

from the liberation movement, would he be willing to disclose information that could be damaging to Armcor?

Omar replied: "There is a certain value system and consciousness that has defined my actions for many years and I think I will be guided by it," he said.

"I'll obviously have to make a decision when that moment arises. But I'll not make that choice alone."

"I am committed to ensuring that the values I have subscribed to are not compromised," said Omar.

"I'll do my best to ensure what is good for the country." Omar said he does not regret having received training under MK and still holds its ideals and integrity in high esteem.

# TRANSITIONAL EXE

## STAFF

In preparation for the installation of the Transitional Executive Council, as applications are urgently invited for the undermentioned posts (until approximately the end of April 1994), and who can assure

The salaries mentioned are provisional estimates, and must be

Persons who are prepared to render their services on secondment

## EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

### Duties:

Responsible for the management and administrative control of staff; charged with the responsibility of accounting for State monies. For a full description of duties please see section 26 of the Transitional Executive Council Act, 1993.

1 Post:  
R155 500 per annum.

## DEPUTY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

### Duties:

Responsible for the management of the administrative component consisting of personnel, financial administration and office support services.

1 Post:  
R126 500 per annum.

## LEGAL OFFICERS

### Duties:

Verifying, evaluating and drafting legislation, and dealing with legal matters in general.

1 Post:  
R146 000 per annum.

1 Post:  
Negotiable up to R112 000 per annum.

## MEDIA AND LIAISON OFFICERS

### Duties:

Responsible for liaison with the media, channelling and replying to media enquiries, distribution of information, arranging press conferences and media interviews, and public relations in general.

1 Post:  
R108 000 per annum.

1 Post:  
Negotiable up to R92 500 per annum.

## DIRECTORATE: SECRETARIAL SERVICES

### Duties:

Responsible for the management of professional secretarial services for the council and the seven subcommittees, supervision and control of administrative support staff allocated to the directorate.

1 Post:  
R108 000 per annum.

1 Post:  
Negotiable up to R103 500 per annum.

7 Posts:  
Negotiable up to R92 500 per annum.

## DIRECTORATE: ADMINISTRATION

### Duties:

Responsible for management of general administration including personnel and financial administration and office support services.

1 Post:  
R108 000 per annum.

1 Post:  
Negotiable up to R92 500 per annum.

## ACCOUNTING STAFF

### Duties:

Responsible for all matters pertaining to financial administration.

1 Post:  
Negotiable up to R56 500 per annum.

1 Post:  
Negotiable up to R30 000 per annum.

## PERSONNEL

Duties:  
Responsible for administrative

1 Post:  
Negotiable

1 Post:  
Negotiable

## ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

Duties:  
Dealing with provisioning and

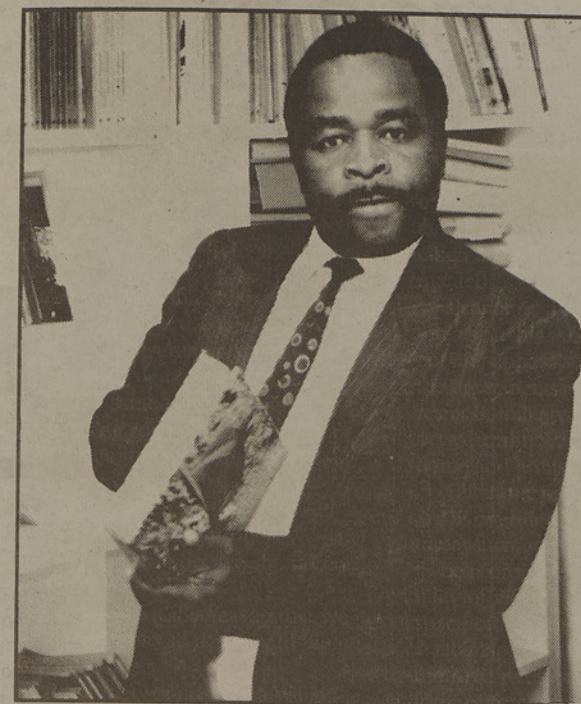
1 Post:  
Negotiable

1 Post:  
Negotiable

Various posts  
Negotiable

## PRIVATE

Duties:  
Managing personal and keeping of



ELIAS NDWANDWE, publishing director, Swaziland

# Swaziland's dreams now close to reality

FOR the majority of schools in southern Africa, providing each pupil with a set of prescribed textbooks remains but a dream.

In Swaziland, the far-sighted approach of the government, in tandem with the establishment by Macmillan of a local publishing company, has seen the dream approach reality.

"Today each pupil from grade one to seven has textbooks for each subject," says Elias Ndwandwe, publishing director of Macmillan Swaziland National Publishing Company.

Ndwandwe, a former teacher and headmaster, says that prior to independence in 1968, most of Swaziland's educational material came from Britain, South Africa and the United States. Not only were textbooks foreign in pre-independence days, but they were in short supply.

"Often the only person in the class with a book was the teacher," he says.

However, with the establishment of a National Curriculum Centre (NCC) and the arrival of Macmillan in Swaziland, great strides have been made in addressing these inadequacies.

While ascribing much of the progress made in education to the work of the NCC, Ndwandwe says Macmillan Boleswa "has certainly made a positive contribution to Swaziland's educational development."

"Today," he says, "school books are produced according to projected enrolment figures and students are encouraged to use reference materials like atlases and dictionaries."

"Foreign educational material is often culturally obscure and irrelevant to the reader, which makes learning more difficult, especially subjects like history, social studies and English, where settings and concepts were often foreign, thus making it hard for children to visualise."

"Locally developed material is easier to identify with and consequently easier to understand."

Ndwandwe says his company works closely with NCC staff before final production of educational material.

"Draft texts compiled by NCC designers go to an educational panel for review and are refined until acceptable to the panel," Ndwandwe explains. "The drafts then come to us, at which stage I find a specialist in the subject to check the draft. It helps to involve an independent person, as a reviewer looks at the material in an unbiased way. I then report and advise the NCC accordingly."

Ndwandwe says his company also runs workshops with the NCC on a number of topics such as book design and layout.

Since he joined Macmillan Swaziland ten years ago, Ndwandwe has seen the staff grow from five to over 100.

"As the company grows bigger, so it can afford to invest in projects that do not necessarily ensure a financial return," he says.

"We believe we have an obligation to publish local writers' material and to publish in the mother tongue, even though it is often not profitable."

"Although education is our main emphasis, we believe we have a duty to go beyond educational publishing."

Ndwandwe explains that the company initially published English science, mathematics and social studies books, but increased its list of titles by publishing literature, particularly siSwati literature.

However, there were initially few authors writing in siSwati. So, since 1984, Macmillan Swaziland has run annual writers' workshops and literary competitions, which have generated a lot of original material in drama, folklore and poetry.

"Now we have more than 30 published siSwati titles and each year we publish up to eight new ones," he says.

"We have to develop a habit of culture and reading. Most schools now have basic educational reading material, but we have to encourage reading for leisure, so we must concentrate on making entertaining and informative material more accessible."

# WRITERS' COMPETITION

THE people of southern Africa have suffered many hardships such as drought, poverty, alcoholism and oppression, and have struggled for basic human rights. But alongside the stories of struggle are stories of hope for a better future.

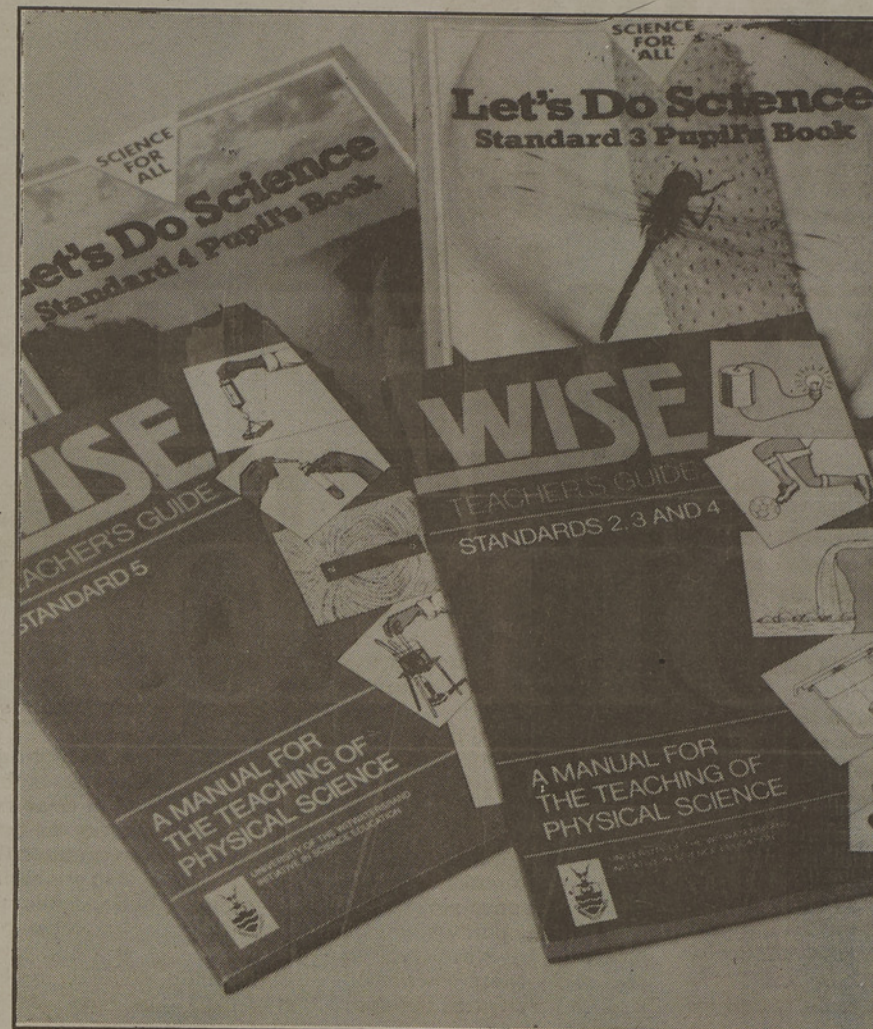
Entries are invited from prospective authors throughout southern Africa in the following categories:

- Category A: Novels (in English only - 30 000 to 40 000 words) 1st prize R10 000; 2nd prize R5 000; 3rd prize R2 000.
- Category B: Short stories (in English only - 3 000 to 7 000 words) 1st prize R1 500; 2nd prize R1 000; 3rd prize R500.
- Category C: Drama (three to five-act plays in any of the following languages: Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Swazi, Ndebele, Venda, Tsonga, Afrikaans).

R1 000 to the winning play in each language. All manuscripts must be received by December 31, 1993, at the following address: Macmillan Boleswa/Pace Writers' Competition, P.O. Box 32484, Braamfontein, 2017, South Africa.

For further information and rules, please contact: Macmillan Boleswa, Pace magazine, or your local library or bookshop.

# R1-million boost



MACMILLAN BOLESWA aims to set new standards in science textbooks

MACMILLAN Boleswa is planning to invest R1 million in establishing an educational trust which will develop appropriate and innovative science textbooks for the new South Africa.

Initial funding for the trust will come from Macmillan, which will also pay royalties to the trust for science materials it develops. The main project of the trust will be to develop further the materials initiated by the Independent Schools Science Materials Project (ISSMP).

In a radical departure from the way in which textbooks have traditionally been developed for South Africa, the trust will establish pilot projects to evaluate all aspects of materials in development.

After publication by Macmillan, the trust will provide in-service support for teachers using the textbooks and will carry out further evaluation on how effective the books are in the classroom. Teachers' notes will be provided for all student textbooks in the series.

The general research the trust carries out will be made available through journals and conferences.

The trust will be established by the end of 1993.



(Front left) Vusi Khanyile, managing director of Thebe Investment Corporation, Christopher Paterson, Chairperson of Macmillan (southern Africa), and Mthobisi Mutloate, managing director of Skotaville Publishers, at the signing of the deal to launch Nolwazi Educational Publishers (Pty) Ltd.

# New company tipped to be a boost to publishing

THE much-criticised joint publishing deal between Thebe Investment Corporation, Macmillan Publishers and Skotaville Publishers is on.

The deal for the new company, to be known as Nolwazi Educational Publishers (Pty) Ltd, was signed in Johannesburg by the chairperson of Macmillan (southern Africa), Christopher Paterson; Macmillan Boleswa's managing director, Luchi Balarin; Skotaville's managing director, Mthobisi Mutloate and Thebe's managing director, Vusi Khanyile.

Paterson said he was delighted Macmillan was re-entering the South African publishing industry.

He said Nolwazi hoped to bring together the best creative educational thinkers in South Africa and

that it would "set high standards of quality and responsibility in endeavouring to fulfil the educational needs of all the people of South Africa."

Thebe will hold 42,5% of Nolwazi's shares, Skotaville 10% and the remainder will go to Macmillan.

Paterson said the funding of the venture was flexible, "but we envisage a financial commitment to the tune of R2 million as a start and the rest will depend on the progress made."

Mutloate said the venture is aimed at black economic empowerment in the publishing industry.

He said the new company would be staffed and run by black people, as was the case with Macmillan Boleswa in Botswana, Lesotho

and Swaziland. Khanyile said Nolwazi would start operations in January next year.

He said that, as a first step, recruitment would focus on securing a general manager, a publishing manager and marketing staff. In the meantime, the company would rely on Skotaville for services such as copy editing, layout and design.

"Nolwazi reflects the mission and business goals of Thebe, especially as it will give black people access to the means to shape their own educational future."

"Nolwazi will actively promote black South African authorship and it is expected that its staff profile will reflect the new South African democracy," he said.



# Bid to find a solution to township violence

By SYDNEY MAFILIKA

**B**USINESS and community leaders will meet in Johannesburg on November 18 to seek solutions to the violence which has had a destructive effect on township traders.

Jubilee Mashologu, co-ordinator of the workshop, told *Sunday Nation* that looting, robbery and the hijacking and burning of commercial vehicles had done irreparable harm to township business communities in recent years.

"Most companies trading in the townships are finding it very difficult and costly to

obtain the goods and services necessary to keep their business operating," Mashologu said.

Mashologu said the crisis had reached such proportions that businesses in the townships were losing their market share and were being crippled by high insurance premiums.

There was also dwindling financial support for township traders from banks and other financial institutions.

Escalating unemployment in the townships could also be partly blamed on the fact that outside traders shied away from doing business with their township counterparts because they feared the destruction of their property.

Worst affected were delivery companies, bakeries, Eskom and Telkom.

The main objectives of the workshop will be:

- to highlight problem areas affecting businesses in the townships

- to establish effective communications between the civics and the political and business communities

- to establish effective security for both the entrepreneurs and companies delivering commodities to the townships

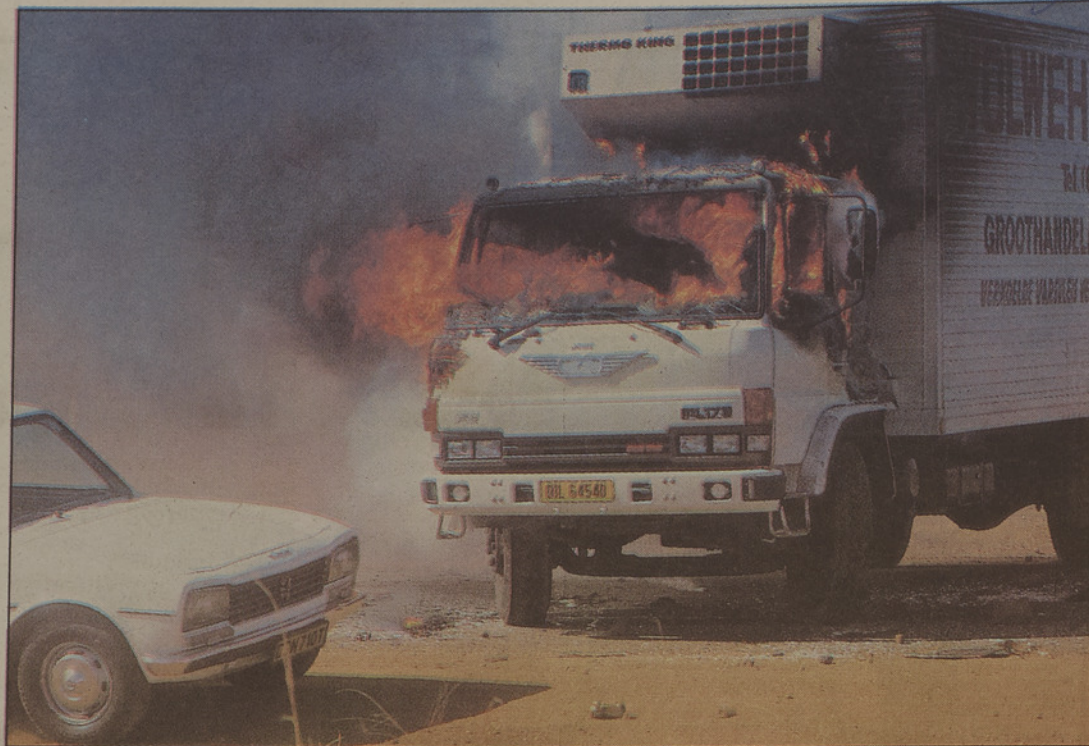
- to put into place a new, efficient and workable system of distribution which will increase sales for both big and small businesses

- to establish bulk-buying for stokvels, spaza shops, taverners and other economically viable operations

- to rebuild bridges between the township traders and financial institutions so that banks could ease their present stringent position on loans

- to form a lasting network between big business and black traders in overcoming the common problems facing them.

Among those attending the workshop will be Moses Mayekiso, president of the South African National Civic Organisation, government representatives, security firms, youth organisations and insurance companies.



Pic by Kordridge Mathabane

## All you wanted to know about franchising

AN international conference taking place in Sandton next week will provide local entrepreneurs and investors with opportunities to learn about the latest accounting, financial, legal and tax developments relating to franchises.

The conference will also investigate and evaluate master, regional and area franchise licence rights and joint venture partnerships.

There will be special in-depth workshops conducted by franchise-holders from the United

States and other countries.

Representatives and licence-holders of successful US and international franchises will be on hand to offer profitable business opportunities to South Africans in areas such as fast foods, vehicle maintenance and repair services, restaurants, and industrial and residential cleaning and home services.

Franchise specialist, Phumzile Sithole, told *Sunday Nation* that black entrepreneurs, who were interested in franchising, could benefit in many ways

from international enterprises.

"At last year's conference, a local black entrepreneur bought a master franchise licence from Coverall, a leading carpet-cleaning company.

Sithole said although few black people had the capital necessary to secure a franchise "there are many ways of getting into the business, like the formation of syndicates".

● For more information on the conference contact Phumzile Sithole on (011) 789-3141

## Trade expo a stunning success

A resounding success which generated close on R250-million in revenue - this is the general view of the South African International Trade Exhibition (Saitex) which ended in Johannesburg last week.

Saitex was the first and biggest trade exhibition to be staged in this country since the imposition of sanctions against South Africa by the international community.

According to the Johannesburg City Council's director of commerce and industry, Colin Wright, 80 percent of the 40 000 local and overseas companies who took part in the exhibition

described it in glowing terms as "good" or "excellent".

"The exhibition was a stunning success and we achieved our objectives," said Wright.

Many exhibitors stayed on to conclude deals with local business people and to look for further investment opportunities and potential partners.

Wright said that the majority of representatives at the expo said they would attend Saitex II next year.

A study by the city council showed that for every 10 foreign visitors who came to the exhibition, one direct or indirect job would be created.

# Culture feast

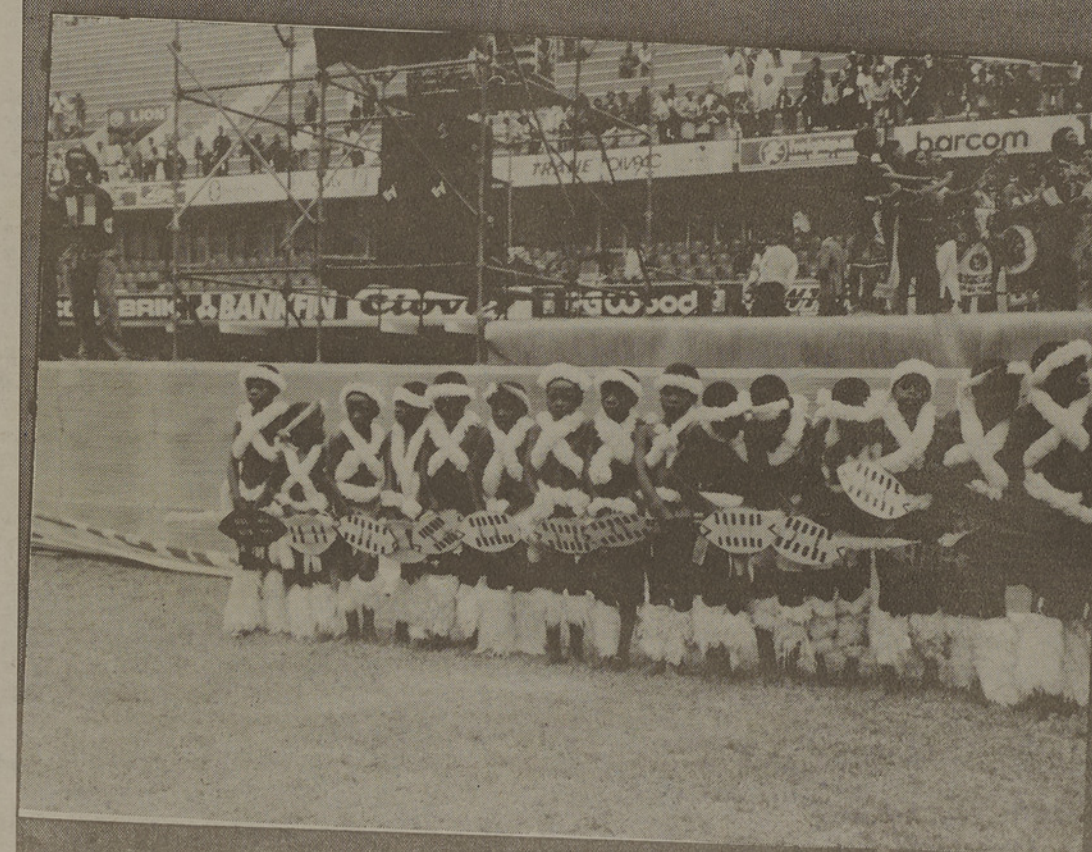
Pictures:  
Lena  
Slachmuisjder


**HAIL MANDELA . . .** These Hindu dancers (left) seem to be saying at the ANC's Sonke festival last Sunday at King's Park in Durban.

□ While on the right, Nelson Mandela and ANC NEC member Jacob Zuma (in traditional garb) enter the stadium.



**TAKE THIS . . .** Traditional dancers (right) provided lively entertainment at the festival



**THIS ONE'S FOR YOU CHIEF . . .** ANC Southern Natal chairperson Jeff Radebe (right) appreciating the performance by these youthful dancers (left) at the Sonke festival



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## BUSINESS briefcase

