

BLACK POLITICS

1990

NOVEMBER.

# SA needs foreign capital

ANC

JOHANNESBURG. The economy required large injections of foreign capital to attain the growth rates necessary for a continued increase in per capita income, said ANC's director of International Affairs, Thabo Mbeki, yesterday.

Speaking at a South African Chamber of Business (SACOB) conference here, Mbeki said it was necessary to create conditions that would attract foreign investors.

The goal of ending inequalities should also be explained to such investors so that it formed part of their investment decisions.

He said the process of political change required rapid progress in identifying common national economic objectives.

Mbeki added SA had two worlds existing within its borders, the First and the Third World.

"The central socio-economic development challenge the country faces is to bridge the gulf between the two worlds by uplifting the Third World and transforming it into one First World...in essence raising the living standards of the black majority so that we end the reality whereby being black means to be poor."

Mbeki said the First World economy was the engine to rely on to achieve the necessary economic upliftment of the impoverished majority.

There could thus be no suggestion from the ANC of weakening or destroying the economy the country depended on to address the central problem of development, he added. — Sapa

CHA-TWP 1/11/90

# Meeting today on Khayelitsha

**Staff Reporter**

A DELEGATION of ANC and UDF executive members will meet the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, at 8am today to discuss the crisis in Khayelitsha.

The ANC convener in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, said the meeting would be about the provision of services and the administrative "mess" of the Lingelethu West Town Council.

The crisis needed to be resolved through the "removal of the town council", he said.

He said CPA representatives asked that Lingelethu West councillors also be present at the meeting but the ANC/UDF refused this.

"Khayelitsha needs a political solution and that's what we need to discuss. The people have indicated they do not want the council. It is time the CPA takes notice of this."

## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

## Albie hits back

ANC legal expert Albie Sachs lost his arm to alleged SA Defence Force infiltration into Mozambique. This experience led him on a course of personal liberation, breaking away from the "party line" and returning to his "own source".

"The Soft Vengeance of the Freedom Fighter" is the title of Sachs' book. The title, he explains, came only towards the end. "I found I kept using the phrase; that was my self-vengeance. It arose out of a note I got from a comrade while still lying in hospital.

"It said, Albie you will be avenged. I wondered what he meant. I thought the real revenge would be a real moral quality — freedom, justice in South Africa.

#### Vengeance

"The real vengeance is to rise above the tactics and the philosophy of the racists. I found out while I was writing the book that each good thing that happened during my period of recovery, each act of love and solidarity that I received — to me, that was vengeance."

"Writing the book was a very active experience; I converted the energy of this trauma into something positive."

Sachs says the "terrible experience to the psyche" had made him eager to tell the story of being close to death and being blast into the air, semi-conscious.

"I tried to give it literary quality and aesthetic shape. It is a way of respecting one's experience.

"We use to have a vision of the hero based on a great freedom fighter, it gave us a lot of courage to identify with people like that, but I sometimes wonder whether it did not reduce the range of focus of true courage.

#### Heroes

"The narrow idea of the hero is somebody who at a particular moment has a total vision, just thinks of one thing.

"Heroes were the people who earned the Victoria Crosses, who killed large numbers of the enemy; maybe they even got killed themselves. That was the way we were all trained. Heroes were people who resisted torture. I still have a tremendous love and affection for those people.

"But I feel the hero of our times is somebody who can cry, who can feel, has tenderness, affection, who acknowl-

*Albie Sachs has been known for his outspoken views on a wide range of issues ranging from culture, law and the family. He recently published his latest book, "Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter", an account of his recovery from a bomb blast in which he lost his left arm. Abduraghiem Johnstone reports:*

edges the range of subjective emotion and feelings that we would like our new citizens to have."

Talking about the early days of the movement, Albie nostalgically reflected: "The left was the centre of vital ideas, being creative, challenging authority. Then I don't know what happened to us.

"We began to officialise the idea of the revolt; we took a lot of its sparkle, effervescence and brightness away.

#### Solidarity

"Maybe I'm just returning to my own source, strange as it might seem. We used to debate everything. Then suddenly everything was given, that is, like a line on everything.

"I'm sure that corresponded to a certain phase of terrible repression when we just had to link arms. It was appropriate to put a tremendous emphasis on solidarity and a united front of thought as good politics.

"We have made so many gains and advances, we are opening up a lot more. I've been very pleased."

#### Encourage

Speaking about the paper he published earlier this year against struggle as a weapon of struggle, Sachs continues:

"I was actually encouraged by Barbara Maseleka to write it and encourage debate at an ANC workshop. In that sense it wasn't written for the underground in South Africa; it would have been banned in South Africa.

"But it's been pleasing to see it caused not only ripples; I'd say it's cause waves. But that's good, as long as we respect one other and don't try and knock each other down.

#### Debate

"We must listen to one another, debate, argue. We don't have to be convinced, don't have to support one other. We don't need unanimity on everything.

"I don't sense there's anything substantially and fundamentally wrong in the paper, but maybe today I wouldn't actually make the statement that we should ban art as a weapon of struggle.

"It raises too so much confusion. And some people might think I'm being anti-political.

"The paper has produced its desired affect already — to encourage people to think — not just to feel comfortable. So I might phrase it in a different

way.

"The main difference is that, since coming back home, I've seen the tremendous amount of work people in community and arts organisations are doing. It's encouraging and heartwarming to see. "If I were doing the paper today, I would reflect on the meaning of that and enrich the text with those reflections.

#### Culture

"But I'm still concerned about the cultural imagination and that insufficient attention has been given to it. I mean tapping into, or allowing oneself to be almost flooded by, the huge reservoirs of culture, mythology and sensibility that are in the people, to enable a South African vision and personality to evolve.

"The choice to me is not between the small projects in the townships and high art on stage. Ideally there should even be a continuity between these.

#### Ballet

"I went to ballet one day and to Jazzart the next. It was so extractive to sense the difference.

"We can't ban ballet in South Africa, that's what Verwoerd wanted to do. Now we as the ANC must deny our people the right to participate in world culture? That would be terrible.

"We want to open the doors of a new culture. Why must we simply import our high art dancers? Can't we create high art dancers with a strong South African fusion, not a decorative folklorish thing, in which

our culture, personality, experiences and struggle emerge naturally.

"I saw hundreds of hospital workers on strike, dancing. It's a very Southern African phenomenon. That does not mean you must replace ballet with toyi-toyi.

"Toyi-toyi belongs on the street and shopfloor, and at conferences.

"It has a lot of wit, body language, expressiveness and unity. There would be a big future in South African ballet if we can conceive it with these elements in it."

How does Sachs see cultural organisations acting as vehicles to ensure the continuity from the toyi-toyi to a more refined ballet form?

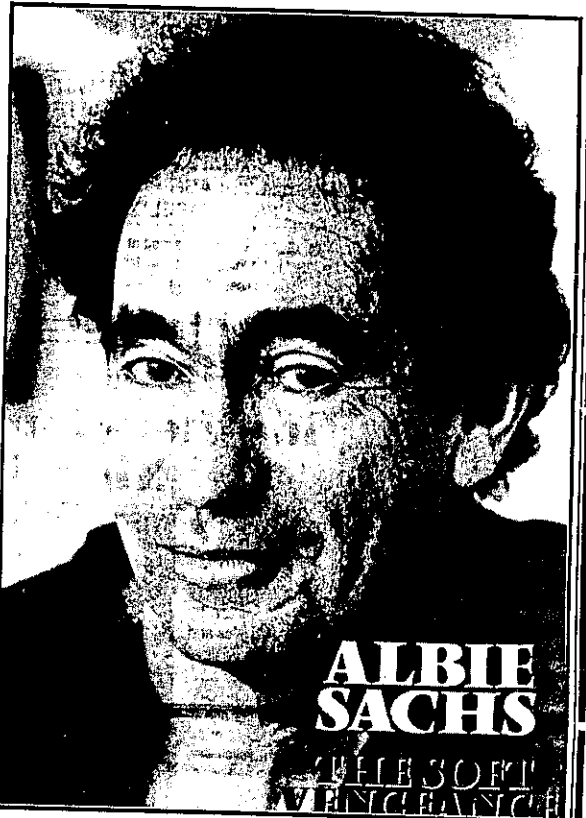
#### Bourgeoisie

"I think it's a question of opening up our horizons and imagination and not being intimidated by high art. We should not hand high art over to the bourgeoisie or big companies but open it up in terms of accessibility.

"We have to open up dance and create opportunities for our dancers — whether professional or the thousands of party dancers.

#### Imperialist

"After I spoke at a private meeting at the University of Cape Town on the paper on culture, a young woman came up to me, put her arms around my neck and said: 'Oh thank you, Com Albie! I'm a dancer, I love tap dancing and for years I've felt tap dancing was bourgeois, corrupt, imperialist,



euro-centred or America-centred.

"I felt so ashamed of my love for tap dancing. Now that I've read the paper, I feel I can tap dance. My dream is one day at an ANC function to jump out of a cake and tap dance."

"That was wonderful. But if people feel they must dance more like a soldier than a dancer, it's not going to work."

What does Sachs feel about cultural appropriation by multinationals and other institutions?

"The multinationals have robbed us of so much that they have a duty to pay reparations

in terms of culture. So they are not doing us a favour or being generous.

"We should not have any qualms about demanding participation. It is one thing to participate, it is another to control and determine. We should not be dependent on multinationals. There should be generous state support — not state control — of the arts.

"We simply cannot accept the idea that whoever pays the piper calls the tune. The people who work in the field of culture must call the tune."

What about the many angry people in South Africa calling

for retribution?

"It pains me very much. If we lose our humanity, what is it all about? The struggle is for the right to express our humanity.

"Sometimes we censor our humanity, thinking that this is virtuous and makes us a better comrade."

Albie Sachs might have lost his arm but his heart is still pumping warmly. As a catalyst, critic and "cultural worker revolutionary", he is a vital part of processes taking place in the country.

To use the yiddish word, Albie has khutzba.

# ANC 'won't delay negotiations'

STA-1/11/90 (109) (3/11/90)  
Staff Reporter

The African National Congress would cause no delays in negotiation with the Government, ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki told a business conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the annual convention of the South African Chamber of Business, Mr Mbeki strongly denied rumours that the process of negotiations had been jeopardised by an ANC decision to postpone a full-scale conference scheduled to take place in December.

He hinted that the ANC might be close to easing back on

pressures to maintain international sanctions on South Africa.

The ANC intended to review its stance on sanctions at a national conference next month, Mr Mbeki said.

High on the agenda would be discussions on how the ANC intended to approach negotiations on a new constitution.

"There will be no delays in negotiations caused by the ANC," he said.

"Both constitutional affairs and policies towards sanctions will be debated next month.

"The ANC is aware that there are a number of issues too

pressing to delay decisions about.

"The agenda may be restricted only because there are all manner of questions that still need discussion."

One item certain to be on the agenda was the ANC stance on sanctions.

"We are aware it needs to be reviewed," he said.

"It must be remembered that sanctions were an important part of pressures to bring about change in South Africa.

"Given the changes now taking place, we have decided we need to review the issue," Mr Mbeki added.

# Mandela (11A) award row

FROM PAGE ONE

dents. South 1111-211190

The ceremony will no longer take place in the university's main hall but outdoors to allow more people to attend.

Representatives from mass democratic movement organisations are to be invited and the event will be open to the broader community.

This week, UCT staff began frantically contacting cultural organisations when students demanded there be a cultural event as well.

"We have definitely transformed this ceremony, and we hope Comrade Mandela's acceptance speech will deal with the transformation of UCT as well," Bucwa said.

"We want this ceremony to set a precedent for a peoples' graduation ceremony at UCT."

The only remaining stumbling block is who will confer the degree.

Sansco and the TGWU are consulting their members to put forward alternatives to Oppenheimer.

A meeting has been scheduled for Friday for all organisation involved in planning the ceremony and to discuss the controversy.

The registrar of UCT, Mr Hugh Amoore, said the administration had been battling to get students to participate in the ceremony for months.

# Govt says no to Communists

SACP  
11/11/90

THE Government and the police warned yesterday that they would not tolerate the SA Communist Party or other organisations forming "private political armies" under the guise of self-defence units.

They were reacting to a plan for an elaborate structure of township self-defence units published in the latest issue of the SACP journal *Umsebenzi*.

If said discussion was still being held on whether the units would be armed with firearms licensed in the normal way or whether they should demand that the Government allow them to carry weapons of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

SACP interim leadership group member Chris Dlamini has been quoted as saying that the issue had been raised at discussions of the Government/ANC working group discussing the practical implementation of the

## FOCUS

ANC decision to suspend armed actions.

The SACP argued that its proposal for self-defence units was not inconsistent with South African practices.

### Weapons

The Government allowed Inkatha to carry "cultural" weapons and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had told the AWB there was nothing wrong with self-protection provided it did not attack anyone - and the SACP did not intend to attack anyone.

Government and police sources said today the SACP plan was "absolutely intolerable" and that no SACP plan had been raised in the working group.

Police sources said no

political party could have a private army. It was the role of the SAP, assisted if necessary by the SA Defence Force, to defend township residents.

"There is no need for self-defence units as we are protecting them and we will continue to protect them from attack."

"The trouble with self-defence units is that they can easily become offensive units."

The problem of the AWB's self-defence units had been raised by Law and Order Minister Vlok in a meeting with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche. It was not true that he had told Mr. Terre'Blanche it was all right to have self-protection units.

He had only told him it was all right for indi-



TERRE'BLANCHE

viduals to protect themselves. This was different.

The sources said the ANC had also been told that police were disarming Inkatha. The SACP plan contradicted the ANC's view expressed in the working group, the sources said, without elaborating.

They dismissed the is-



MINISTER VLOK

sue of how the units would be armed and said the whole point of the working group was to reach agreement on disarming people.

They believed the SACP plan was a "political trick" and could not be meant seriously. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

# The right to self-defence

11A

Sowetan 11/11/90

Own Correspondent

THE African National Congress was presently involved in discussions with different communities about forming self-defence units to protect people in the townships, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed.

Responding to enquiries about an article in the latest issue of the South African Communist Party's mouthpiece, *Umsebenzi*, detailing plans for the creation of self-defence structures, Marcus said the ANC had always insisted on the people's right to self-defence.

This, she said, in no way conflicted with the organisation's

suspension of armed action and related activities in terms of the August 6 Pretoria Minute.

The article said the need for an organised and disciplined force, guided by political leadership to protect township residents, had been necessitated by the recent violence in which hundreds of people were killed.

Just as the Government permitted Inkatha Freedom Party members to carry "cultural weapons" and the Afrikaaner

Weerstandsbeweging to maintain its self-protection commandos provided they attacked nobody, so too were the people entitled to protect themselves. The self-defence units would also not attack anyone.

Marcus said although the ANC fully supported the formation of such self-defence units, it had no intention of arming them.

Marcus told *Sowetan*: "The whole question of self-defence is being discussed at the moment. The ANC has repeatedly stated that the people have a right to self-defence. The contribution of the SACP article is to try to make the

ideas and suggestions more cohesive.

"We are not talking about arming our people but about their right to self-defence. There is certainly no decision to arm them. What we have said, however, is that the demand for arms from our people has been increasing tremendously and we would have to take that into consideration."

Marcus said Umkhonto weSizwe was now a legal part of the ANC and the organisation would therefore back the inclusion of MK cadres in the units.



## SOWETAN BUSINESS

# Mixed economy is key to future - Dlamini

**ECONOMIST** Dr Siphso Solly Dlamini (29) is back in South Africa after 23 years because he wants to research and help the ANC and PAC with their economic policies.

Dlamini, a specialist in economic analysis, also came home because he wanted to unite his family and relatives. While in exile he says he felt like "a rootless tree, a motherless child and a blindman searching in the dark."

Arriving at the Jan Smuts Airport he experienced problems which he has never had before. He claims he was interviewed for hours by the South African authorities and during that time lost a substantial amount of money which he carried with him from Kenya where he worked for the

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

Development Bank as an economic adviser.

He said he desperately wanted to meet members of the PAC but was taken to the home of a senior official of the ANC in Soweto after the tiring interview.

He claims he worked in the economic department of the ANC while looking for his sister who lives in Natal and other relatives.

It was during this time that he was tipped for a senior position in the ANC's economic desk. Dlamini became the centre of a controversy in political controversy when it was reported that he crossed the political divide to the PAC, where he is presently working in the economics division.

Dlamini was born in White River, near Nel-

spruit, and left the country in 1970 at the age of six with his parents who settled in Swaziland.

The family did not leave the country for political reasons, but wanted to go on an African safari.

Dlamini's safari included Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda, where, at the age of 27, he became the youngest African to obtain a PhD in Economics.

After obtaining his degree he helped the clandestine Zambian opposition draft its economic policy which is their basis for the opposition to the one-party state.

## Struggle

He was working for the Kenyan Development Bank as an economic analyst at the time.

Dlamini says he was not politically motivated, but sympathised with the South African liberation struggle.

"I could not affiliate to either the PAC or the ANC because they were

friends," he told *Sowetan Business* this week.

Dlamini was also interested in the unbanning and release of South African political prisoners, especially the ANC's leader, Nelson Mandela, because he did not understand why they were incarcerated.

"I felt I should do something for the struggle of Africans against oppression and exploitation by the foreign minority," he said.

He finally came to South Africa in August and was taken to the ANC's executive, Mr Andrew Mlangeni's home in Soweto. During this time he came into direct contact with the ANC's structures.

After attending many ANC meetings, he said he realised that the movement did not consult with grassroots membership, but enforced decisions from top down. He was unhappy with the ANC's approach to the struggle and after protracted ef-

orts joined the PAC as a member. This was confirmed by PAC in Johannesburg.

He said there was no indication of how the ANC intended to uplift poverty in the African community, however the PAC had some guidelines.

Addressing the contentious nationalisation issue, Dlamini said it had short-term solutions. If South Africa wanted to have lasting economic solutions, then it had to embark on export-led mixed economy.

## Future

"It is no use taking the existing cake and dividing it into smaller pieces among the masses. We have to produce more goods which can sell overseas. It will take the country about 10 years to achieve a mixed economy," he said.

The future government should facilitate investment opportunities by way of tax incentives to



SIPHO DLAMINI

those starting industries and thereby creating job opportunities.

"It is a myth that only the African communities lack the necessary skills to run their countries. In South Africa, for instance, 30 percent of the white community have no skills that can measure up to international standards.

"Upgrading of skills should be done uniformly so that the country's potential can be realised through an educated workforce," he said.

Meanwhile, the ANC has strongly denied that Dlamini was ever a member of the organisation or that he worked in their economic policy department.

11A  
Sowetan  
1/1/90

# ANC veteran Gcina buries another son

South 1/11 - 7/11/90  
From MONO BADELA  
JOHANNESBURG. — Veteran Eastern Cape woman's activist Ivy Gcina returned home from Tanzania this week with the ashes of her 24-year-old son who was given a full military burial by

the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, last weekend.

The ashes of Mzowoxolo Gcina, 24, will be buried in Port Elizabeth on Saturday.

Mzowoxolo is Gcina's third son to die while serving in

ANC structures. (11A)

Two other son's, Mzimasi and Mthetheleli, died while engaged in skirmishes with the South African security forces.

Mzimasi died during a shootout with the police in a moving train outside Aliwal North in 1983.

While Gcina was in detention last year, Mthetheleli was shot dead by police while on a "mission" in Cape Town.

Mzowoxolo followed his three brothers into exile in July 1983 while a pupil in Zwide.

He died two weeks ago following a freak accident in which he fell off a tractor which ran over him. He died in hospital in Dar-es-Salaam two days later.

His body was cremated and Gcina brought back the ashes from Tanzania on Sunday.

Mkhululi, the eldest of her four sons who went into exile in 1976, is still in Lusaka after he could not be cleared by immigration officials in South Africa.

Gcina now wants to locate the grave of her son, Mzimasi, who is believed to have been buried by the police in Burgherdorp.

"I must bring back his bones so that I can give him a decent burial."

# 'Nuremberg trial possible for SA'



From LOUISE FLANAGAN <sup>11A</sup> ~~103~~  
EAST LONDON - South African Communist Party (SACP) general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo has warned of possible Nuremberg-type trials in a new South Africa. *South 1/11 - 7/11/90*

Slovo was speaking in Umtata last weekend at the launch of the Transkei region of the SACP. With him were Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, now a member of the Transkei SACP interim structure, Numsa's Mr Moses Mayekiso, and party stalwarts Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Raymond Mhlaba.

"We in the ANC, in the Communist Party, in Cosatu are committed, if possible, to achieve a people's democracy through the process of peace.

"But the danger to the peace process comes not from us but from the other side," said Slovo.

### Indemnity

"Too many of them want to use the negotiating table as a terrain of struggle to destroy people's organisations."

Slovo warned of possible action in the future against those seen as defending apartheid.

"In negotiations we have agreed that all political crimes committed before October 8 will have indemnity. And they say any crimes political or not after that will not have indemnity," said Slovo.

"But crimes committed by the racists after October 8 will also not have indemnity in a future South Africa."

About 6 000 people attended the launch which was addressed by Slovo, Hani and Mbeki.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, also attended and briefly welcomed the crowd to the rally.

The regional interim structure of the SACP announced at the rally include Hani, senior local ANC officials Mzolisi Mabude and David Ndawonde, and the Border regional secretary of Numsa, Enoch Godongwana.

They also include former guerillas Mzwandile Vena who was accused of bombing the Umtata fuel depot in 1985.

# Death

*South 1/11 - 7/11/90*

**FRAMED:** The general-secretary of the SACP, Joe Slovo is enthusiastically welcomed at Umtata's Independence Stadium last weekend at the launch of the Transkei branch of the party. Here he leads a procession followed by veteran ANC and SACP leader, Govan Mbeki PIC: TJ LEMON

# Uncle Zeph a great leader

*Sowetan 1/1/90*

*(11A)*

*(11A)*

SIR - The death of Uncle Zeph, as we familiarly knew him, is a great tragedy for our party, the PAC, for our country and for Africa.

I knew him personally for only a short period when he visited London for medical treatment. But what an impact he made wherever he went.

My vivid impression of him was of a leader of

sterling qualities who could not be trifled with on matters of political principles.

He came out of prison, despite the great suffering he endured, an unbroken man.

Sick as he was, he immediately threw himself into the struggle, and particularly to building the party he loved, the PAC, a task in which he played

a great role.

We can be grateful to him that the PAC has emerged inside Azania with growing momentum. He himself knew he had a date with destiny and he overworked himself to achieve as much as he could for the PAC.

We will miss his clarity of vision, his firm commitment to Pan-Africanism and

Socialism.

His name will remain in the annals of our history as a great liberation fighter and leader who laid the foundations of a new Azania and Africa.

He joins the ranks of similar giants like Makhandu, Dinga, Lembede and Sobukwe.

**IZWE LETHU!**  
**BENNIE BUNSEE**  
London NW1 9TL

# Row over award to Mandela

By REHANA ROSSOUW

A MAJOR row threatens to disrupt a ceremony later this month at which the ANC's deputy president is to receive an honorary doctorate.

Black student and members of worker organisations at the University of Cape Town are objecting to the doctorate being conferred on Mandela by the university's chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairperson of De Beers and the Anglo American Corporation.

## Capitalist

The organisations involved are the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and campus workers belonging to the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU).

"We will not have our leader bow down in front of a capitalist," vowed Sansco spokesperson, Mr Nqaba Bucwa.

South 1/11-7/11/90 (11A)

"He is a leading capitalist and an enemy of the struggle Nelson Mandela worked so hard for."

The graduation ceremony, planned for November 30, has been marred by controversy since the UCT's administration first offered the doctorate shortly before Mandela's release.

## Opportunistic

Sansco immediately accused the administration of being "opportunistic" by wanting to confer the award on Mandela, saying it was an attempt to seek "credibility".

The student organisation, which regards itself as the voice of the ANC on the campus, met Mandela in April to raise their misgivings.

"We wanted the ceremony to be a special one befitting the leader of the ANC, not with the normal academic pomp at UCT ceremonies," said Bucwa.

After Sansco's meeting with Mandela, the graduation ceremony was postponed.

The ANC internal leadership group and Sansco agreed to continue discussions on the format of the ceremony.

During the past five months, the administration, university organisations and the ANC have been holding joint meetings to discuss the ceremony.

The administration has acceded to numerous demands put forward by the stu-

**TURN TO PAGE THREE**



**FAR EAST:** ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela shakes hands with Japan's Socialist Party chairperson Takako Doi in Tokyo this week

From MONO BADELA  
JOHANNESBURG. — Police face claims of nearly R2-million following the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry which found that their actions in the Sebokeng shooting on March 26 were "unjustifiable".

This was confirmed this week

## Police in multi-million law suits

South 1/11-7/11/90  
by two Johannesburg firms of attorneys who are confident the police will settle the claims instead of going through a lengthy and costly court action.

One firm is acting for the families of 11 people shot dead when police opened fired on a crowd of 50 000 Sebokeng residents.

Lawyer Mr David Dyson said his firm was representing between 80 and 90 people injured when police opened fire indiscriminately on the marchers. (251)

Dyson said his clients were claiming amounts totalling more than R1-million in damages arising from injuries, loss of earnings and other incidental expenses.

The biggest claim totalling R84 951 is by Mrs Florence Kgaile, wife of David Kgaile.

In his findings, Mr Justice Goldstone said the conduct of the policemen who shot live ammunition into the crowd merits the attention of the Attorney General.

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Addressing business . . . Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of international affairs, speaks at the Financial Mail conference yesterday. Picture: Karen Fletcher.

## End to sanctions may have little impact - Mbeki

Even if the ANC called for the immediate lifting of sanctions, it was doubtful that this would have any real impact because there had still not been sufficient political change in South Africa, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Addressing a two-day conference organised by the Financial Mail in Johannesburg, he urged the international business community to prepare to participate in a post-sanctions South African economy.

He denied press reports that he had hinted in a speech on Wednesday that the ANC might be close to easing pressure to maintain international sanctions.

Mr Mbeki said he did not want to prejudge the sanctions discussion that would take place at an ANC conference in December.

He admitted that decisions on sanctions were likely to be taken at the conference.

### Disagree

The Government and the ANC disagreed on how significant, or irreversible, political changes had been over the past year, Mr Mbeki said.

He urged the Government to speed up the process towards a non-racial democracy.

Without this, he said, there could be neither stability nor peace.

"Indeed, even if we called for the lifting of sanctions tomorrow, it is very doubtful that this would make any significant impact if we have not, in fact, changed our country along the political lines we have already indicated."

Mr Mbeki said it was the ANC's belief that foreign investments would not return to South Africa until there was reassurance about change, stability, security of investments, and so

on. "I do not have the power to prejudge it.

"But certainly in the context of the changing situation in South Africa, we would believe that it would be correct for those sectors of international business that are interested in South Africa . . . that they prepare to intervene in the South African economy."

Mr Mbeki said the ANC hoped an end to sanctions would come soon.

"We are confident that the process leading to a negotiated settlement is on course," he emphasised.

"There is a process that is taking place in the country . . . perhaps too slow, perhaps somewhat hesitant, but there is a process.

"It therefore seems to us necessary that we should have a look at everything concerning the strategy in which we have engaged, including the question of sanctions.

"I don't want to prejudge that, but it would seem to us that it is necessary to achieve as quickly as possible movement forward to a situation where it is no longer necessary to apply those pressures, so that it no longer becomes necessary to have sanctions.

"We believe — I can say this with confidence — that . . . the international business community should certainly, if nothing else, prepare to participate in a post-sanctions economy of South Africa."

If white South Africa needed to be reassured about its political future under the new constitutional dispensation, black South Africa needed to be reassured about its economic future in the context of an economy which had, up to now, been seen as exploitative and geared to benefit the white sector of the population at the expense of the black, Mr Mbeki said. — Sapa.

## Miner killed in rockslide

One miner was killed and four were trapped 2.5 km underground yesterday after a mild earthquake on Wednesday caused a rockslide at Anglo's Western Deep Levels East mine. Rescue operations were under way to try to reach the missing men.

## R500 000 snatch

Ten armed robbers yesterday made off with cash and cheques worth more than R500 000. The incident occurred after four Coin Security employees, who were on their way from Soweto to Langlaagte, were stopped by two men dressed as traffic officers. Six to eight armed men then joined the imposters in the robbery.

## Suspect shot

A suspected motorcycle thief was shot in the back when he ignored warnings to stop while being pursued by police in Kempton Park on Wednesday. The wounded man, aged about 30, is in satisfactory condition in Tembisa Hospital.

## Teamwork nets 4

A combined operation between the East Rand and Maritzburg murder and robbery squads has led to the arrest of four men in connection with the hijacking of a truck with a cargo of tea near Heidelberg earlier this week. Two men were arrested in Maritzburg and two others at Kameeldrift in Pretoria.

## Charges dropped

The State has withdrawn charges against Elizabeth Sibeko (50), who allegedly abducted Natasha Harms (17) in Johannesburg when she was a toddler in 1976.

## Shock payout

Car dealer Daniel Nomcoiya, of Ikageng in Potchefstroom, who claimed he was electri-

# Azania will be a free nation

11A

Sowetan  
2/11/90

**THE SOWETO UPRISING**, Comrade Chairman, was neither an isolated act nor a spontaneous event.

The uprising was the logical outcome of the principled and sustained struggle waged by the people of Azania. This fact was borne out in Bethal 18 secret trial, the only political trial held in secrecy in South Africa.

I was accused number one in that trial. The London Guardian Newspaper correctly reflected the reasons for that trial when it said that it was an indictment covering PAC activities between 1963 and 1977 inside South Africa and in three foreign countries.

The trial, the charges and the sentences imposed by the settler courts all testify that the June 16 uprising was an integrated part of the unfolding programme for national liberation and self-determination.

Observers of the Azanian political scene, however, can legitimately raise the question: Why was the uprising sparked off by students?

Allow me here to comment. In 1953, as a school teacher and president of the Transvaal African Teachers Association, when campaigning against the introduction of the diabolical Bantu education system, I told the TATA conference: "The aim of the ideas of the ruling class is to enslave the African child perpetually and make him feel inferior so that he might become easy victim of easy exploitation."

The June 16 uprising

As a tribute to PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, Sowetan today publishes a shortened version of an address he gave at the United Nations last year on the 13th anniversary of the June 16 student uprisings.

was inevitable. The regime's aim at inculcating an inferiority and defeatist mentality among the youth of the oppressed was already dealt a crushing blow by the launching of the status campaign by the PAC in 1959.

That campaign launched the revolution for mental liberation, an important pre-requisite for any successful revolution. The March 21 1960 positive action campaign against pass laws called for and led by the PAC, led to the people losing their fear of the enemy's prisons.

## Campaign

That historic campaign resulted in the following;

- \* The rejection of passive resistance as a principal method of struggle;

- \* Formation of the first guerrilla army, POQO of the PAC;

- \* The institution by the minority regime of the Justice Snyman Commission which recommended measures which led to the first laws of detention without trial;

- \* The declaration of the first state of emergency and the banning of the PAC and the ANC;

- \* A flight of capital thereby threatening the total collapse of the apartheid regime's economy.

The next major uprising in South Africa was the June 16 uprising.

The racist state, during the Bethal 18 secret trial alleged:

- \* That at least five organisations subscribing to PAC ideology, ex-Robben Island prisoners and students were involved;

- \* That since 1963 cell committees were formed in prisons and in the community to plan for the next event;

- \* That a well organised courier system was developed between the internal and external wings of the PAC.

This major national uprising, when the settler regime once more reacted with brute force and mass killings, led to our people losing their fear of the enemy's guns.

For my role in the June 16 national uprising the regime sentenced me to two fifteen-year prison terms.

Last November the illegal regime, because of internal and international pressure, was compelled to release me. It is true that I am now out of the enemy's dungeons but the dungeon of apartheid remains unaltered.

The legitimate demands of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania is not merely for civil liberties. They struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

The people are determined to wage a sustained and principled struggle to realise their legitimate aspirations. They have consistently demonstrated this will

and determination.

There exists a fallacious notion that the demise of apartheid can be realised by a change of heart on the part of the racist regime. No oppressor in history has willfully abdicated!

Equally the notion that apartheid can be reformed is based on deception. On the other hand there are some who are peddling the line that the racist army can sustain the system indefinitely. Greater empires have fallen!

Our people are convinced of the truth that the apartheid regime is operating from a susceptible economic base, which is incapable of sustaining a strong army for any length of time and that the ruling class is divided as never before.

## Apartheid

Since apartheid has been correctly described as a crime against humanity, the international community has a very important complementary role to play.

The most effective weapon the international community can utilise is effective sanctions.

Countries that continue to invest in apartheid South Africa are accomplices in the crime against humanity. The multi-national corporations operating inside South Africa are there for reaping super profits.

The super profits come from apartheid legislations and naked exploitation. The often heard argument that their withdrawal will hurt the Africans more than the oppressors has no basis.

Another arena the international Community can play a valuable com-



ZEPH MOTHOPENG

plementary role is to save Uppington to death using the infamous and discredited "common purpose" law. Currently nearly 60 Azanian patriots are awaiting execution.

The PAC in consultation with the International Red Cross, has launched a campaign that all political prisoners must have access to medical checkups twice a year for tuberculosis. Lack of sunshine, damp prison conditions, poor diet and stress have made political prisoners susceptible to tuberculosis.

The saga of Sharpeville and Soweto have steeled our people to resolutely struggle for their inalienable right to their land, country and self-determination as a free and United African Nation.

We have no doubt that with the demise of apartheid a new Azania will emerge where everyone owing his or her allegiance to Africa and accepting African majority rule will be considered an African in a free and democratic Azania. This new Azania will emerge in our lifetime.

Izwe Lethu!

## Azapo meeting

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation will this weekend discuss international finance and its role in influencing the Government's views.

The organisation said yesterday its second national council, which will be held tomorrow and Sunday at Ginsberg location outside King William's Town, will be led by Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala when it begins at Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's grave.

Ginsberg location was Biko's hometown.

Mosala and Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley, who have both interrupted international tours to attend the council, will make reports on their assessment of the international community's attitude to financial aid.

"We will make a thorough assessment of the relationship between international aid and the present negotiations package of the De Klerk regime," Mosala said.

Mosala will address a rally at the University of Fort Hare today.



# Azapo gives pledge on negotiations

By Sowetan Reporter *Sowetan* 2/11/90

11A  
THE Central Wits Region of Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) has pledged to expose "the sham of negotiations" and explain the organisation's stand regarding talks with the Government, spokesman for the branch this week.

Mr Ashraf Jooma said a resolution adopted at the region's council meeting in Soweto last weekend condemned the signing of agreements with the local authorities.

The organisation said this move was "a dis-

guised form to perpetuate the exploitation of residents in the townships and to water the demands of the masses".

He said: "We still maintain that despite negotiations, the struggle is to intensified amongst the oppressed who are their own liberator," Jooma said.

He said the regional council meeting preparing for the national council meeting to be held in King Williamstown on November 3 and 4.

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THE ANC AND CHANGE  
FIM 2/11/90

# RELEASE NELSON MANDELA

The ANC is simply not fulfilling expectations. It is obviously a long way from delivering what its followers and camp-followers might wish to see in the new SA — jobs, security, a redistribution of wealth. But that isn't really the problem. As the months wear on, its dilemmas are starkly exposed by new political conditions.

The problem is that it seems incapable of creative responses to developments. The upshot is that not only is its credibility and authority increasingly coming into question, in some ways it is positively hampering the achievement of the goals for which it stands.

It seems stuck in the past. The confusion which has surrounded its economic policies is one example. While the issue of nationalisation has been as conveniently forgotten as Pretoria has forgotten privatisation, the congress persists in a wilful misunderstanding of markets. Witness the latest soundings on the statutory diversion of investment funds into social programmes. With all the evidence flowing in of the utter failure of such policies elsewhere, the ANC's prescriptions on this issue are several decades out of date and they will, in any case, reduce the amount of funds available for investment of any kind.

Like educational boycotts or the demand that utility services should be "free," they amount to eating the seed-corn of prosperity. Foreign capital will not return if this is the way the money will be depleted — unless such funds are construed as charity.

And as his latest fund-raising trip abroad has shown, Nelson Mandela is the sole figure in the ANC capable of eliciting such charity — and then only in some parts of the world and mainly in the form of pledges.

The Japanese puzzlement as to why Mandela should simultaneously be calling for sanctions and investment (admittedly through the sole channel of the ANC) reflects an almost universal sense that the ANC leader is out of step with developments in his own country. Precisely for the sake of its credibility and authority, the congress should be unifying and strengthening its structures and its membership; not wearisomely pleading for outside aid on yesterday's issues.

The extent to which Mandela has become identified as the sole flag-bearer of black aspirations in the outside world is a measure of the ANC's internal diffuseness and incompetence. It has postponed proper elections to its leadership, partly because it has been incapable of seriously beginning the repatriation of exiles. It still has been unable to say how many there actually are.

With Mandela more or less permanently abroad, it is hardly surprising that, as time goes on, even the ANC's initial semblance of cohesion is waning. Into this political vacuum flow ideas which are the equivalent of Mandela's long march for funding. Not least is the idea of an interim government — predicated on the theory that the current government has no legitimacy and must at once suspend itself in favour of a constituent assembly.

In the words of Walter Sisulu — who himself went abroad this week, to the Soviet Union "on holiday" — the interim government is the precursor to "nothing but the transfer of power from the minority government to the people as a whole ... The demands for a constituent assembly must reverberate everywhere, including in the corridors of power.

Only then will the Pretoria rulers sit up and listen."

Should this represent the opening salvos of a populist campaign, it is possible to see the demand for an interim government interfering with what amounts to the formal offered route to power — negotiations on a new constitution, which could have begun this year had the ANC got its act together.

In fact, Joe Slovo might have given the game away when, speaking on the same platform as Sisulu, he said that if the people "stopped their clamour" the ANC faced becoming "mere beggars at the negotiating table."

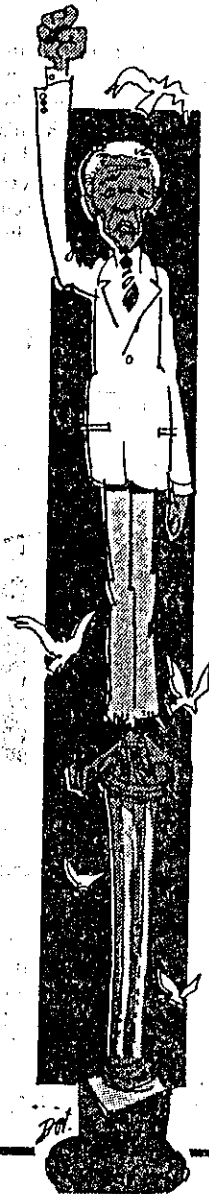
This verges on a statement that the ANC wants all or nothing — the oldest stalling and spoiling tactic in the book. How many other obstacles will be found to divert attention from its possibly eroding power base and its apparent unwillingness to actually get down to business? The ANC is aware that there are many other claimants to a place at the negotiating table.

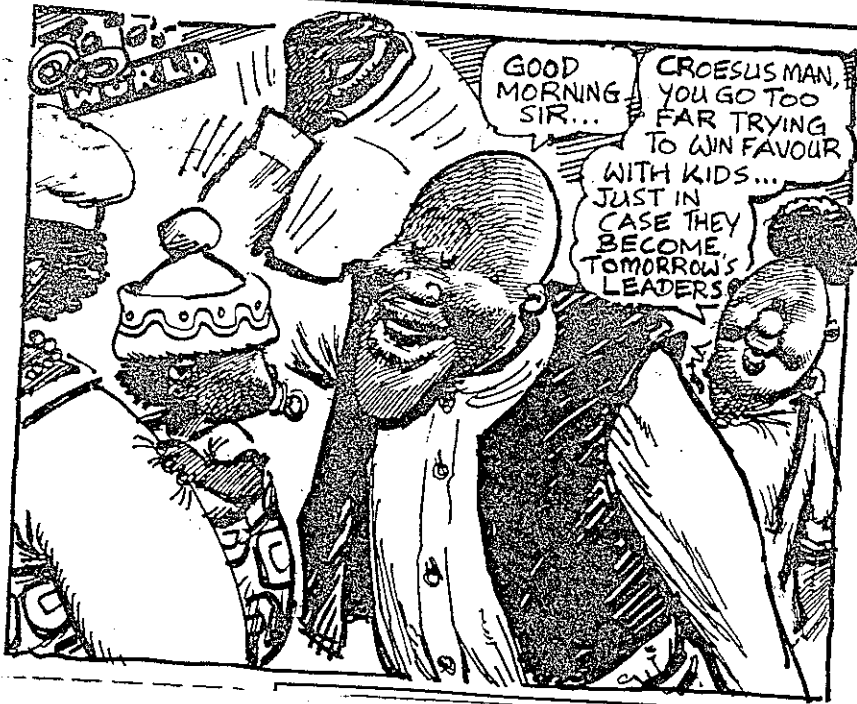
The fact is that an "interim government" requires a contact group or a UN agency to monitor and ratify any electoral process leading to a constituent assembly. That process would signify an abandonment of the right of South Africans to determine their own destiny.

No one stands in such a position in relation to SA, as SA did in relation to Namibia or Britain to Zimbabwe. Who would keep the peace?

The fact is that we already have an interim government — which any honest comparison with the current administration's attitudes and those of its predecessor should illuminate. The ANC must begin to organise as a legitimate political party; but first it has to recognise that this is what it must become.

Mandela cannot forever be sent abroad to increasingly muted acclaim — only to return to an ill-organised and confused movement, the various components of which seem increasingly set to fly apart. ■





# Reader's plea to Nelson Mandela

11A

Sowetan  
2/11/90

SIR - The tried and trusted strategy of the communists has been to intimidate and demoralise the local populace and to generally break down and discredit the system and the rule of law wherever and whenever possible.

The confusing and conflicting statements made by Mandela over the recent spate of town-

ship violence makes me wonder whether Mandela is not again being led astray by a white communist as was the case with Braam Fisher many years ago?

Resulting from this previous indiscretion, Mandela spent many wasted years in jail and South Africa was denied his undoubted political

and diplomatic skills during his period of incarceration while a large number of South Africans found the perfect excuse to run into their laagers.

Mr Mandela, political, economic and social attitudes, opinions and developments have undergone radical changes since the Rivonia debacle, so

please don't allow certain elements within your party who only have their own interests at heart to try to promote outdated and outmoded socio-economic philosophies and strategies that could put the reform process into neutral, if not reverse.

**G B NORTON**  
Cramerville

# Get ready for the lifting of sanctions, says Mbeki

8 Day 2/11/90  
11A  
THE international business community should prepare itself, if nothing else, to participate in a post-sanctions SA, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Mbeki said the ANC would reassess its call for sanctions at its conference in December.

The process towards a negotiated settlement was on course and foreign investors should prepare to intervene as soon as sanctions ended, which the ANC hoped would be soon.

However, sanctions could be lifted tomorrow but would make no significant impact without political change, he said.

The ANC accepted that government's commitment to change was irreversible, but this did not mean the process itself was irreversible. Government had to move urgently to create a climate for negotiation by removing the remaining obstacles.

These included freeing political prisoners and detainees, the return of exiles,

ending political trials and scrapping all remaining legislation that limited political expression.

In the excitement since February 2, it was often forgotten that SA was still ruled by a minority government and that the overwhelming majority of South Africans were excluded from participation in government at any level.

Mbeki said the ANC had never been a socialist or communist party and had not based its ideology on Marxism. It was intentionally avoiding linking itself to a specific economic model.

The extent of poverty in SA had to be recognised. Objectives and strategies to achieve them had to be worked out before possible models in the rest of the world could be looked at.

The ANC was interested in engaging the business community to reach a common agreement about steps to restructure SA politically and economically.

TANIA LEVY

### Police urge ANC to look at own policy

**LINDEN BIRNS**  
THE SAP reacted to ANC calls for a police code of conduct "acceptable to the community" by urging the organisation to examine its own policy.

Police also issued an assurance that any sworn allegations of police misconduct would be examined.

In a statement yesterday, SAP Public Affairs chief Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said the police were bound by rules instituted by law. These and were applied where police members were suspected of committing offences.

The ANC should look at its own code of conduct, which stated that "no-one should be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial", he said.

"The SA Police apply the principle that a person is innocent until proven guilty." He was sure the public was "satisfied" with steps taken when police members broke the law.

He said it was policy that dockets on investigations involving police members were forwarded to the Attorney-General, whose prerogative it was to initiate prosecution.

# Security forces sent to Cape townships

*B/day 2/11/90*



**LESLEY LAMBERT**

CAPE TOWN — Police reinforcements from Pretoria and between 100 and 200 soldiers were deployed in Cape Town's townships yesterday after Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok declared Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads unrest areas.

A 9pm to 4am curfew — the first in 30 years in the western Cape — was imposed last night, a few days after the worst of the violence, which erupted last week, had died down.

Police sealed off entrances to the townships and searched houses for weapons in the part of Khayelitsha where a recent attempt was made on the life of Western Cape Civic Association leader Michael Mapongwana. No incidents had been reported by late yesterday.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said that while the violence which erupted in Khayelitsha last week had died down, police had acted on information "of further planned violence coupled with intimidation, forced stayaways and protest marches".

In last week's violence two people were assassinated, scores more killed and more than 100 homes gutted by fire.

The unrest appeared to have quietened down this week, although Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring said in an interview that a city council refuse van had been petrol bombed yesterday morning.

Political commentators say the western Cape unrest is rooted in the conflict

between government-recognised local authorities and anc-aligned civic organisations.

Matters came to a head in Khayelitsha last week after the assassination attempt on Mapongwana. His wife was killed in the attack.

In Old Crossroads, supporters of Mayor Johnson Nxobongwana and breakaway headman Jeffrey Nongwe, who is supported by the ANC, have been involved in running battles for many years.

DP MP and Western Cape Unrest Monitoring Committee chairman Jan van Eck said the primary cause of conflict in the two townships was government's unwillingness to abolish — or at least suspend — the "totally rejected and illegitimate black local authorities".

Van Eck, who was barred by police from entering the the unrest area yesterday, said the imposition of a curfew would make no positive contribution towards resolving the causes of the conflict.

Earlier in the day Meiring agreed, at the request of an ANC and UDF delegation, to investigate ways in which he could accommodate requests for the suspension of councillors and officials of the Lingeletu West City Council who faced murder charges.

The delegation, represented by ANC western Cape publicity secretary Trevor Manuel, called for the meeting to discuss the crisis in Khayelitsha.

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# Winnie fined R200 over UIF

By Adam Gordon

Winnie Mandela was fined R200 or 10 days' jail in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday for failing to pay unemployment insurance for her fish-and-chip shop workers.

Mandela (54) pleaded guilty of failing to pay a premium of R127,74 to the Department of Manpower and of failing to submit an insurance statement on behalf of employees at

her shop in Empire Road.

Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, produced a Department of Manpower Unemployment Insurance Fund receipt showing that the arrears from January 1 to August 10 had now been paid.

Mandela was meant to appear in court on October 25.

Mr Ayob said the summons had been received by an employee and the media had alerted Mandela.

The magistrate accepted this.

Sowetan 2/11/90

# SACP writer slams Jordan over claims

A MEMBER of the editorial collective of the South African Communist Party's mouthpiece, *Umsebenzi*, has dismissed ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan's accusation that the SACP leadership had fostered political intolerance over the years.

In a paper entitled "The Crisis of Conscience in the SACP", Jordan wrote that "the political culture nurtured by the SACP's leadership over the years has produced a spirit of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its membership."

A member of the *Umsebenzi* editorial collective, Jeremy Cronin, has refuted these allegations in an open letter to Jordan in the latest issue of *Umsebenzi*.

Cronin said no clear instances of intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling could be singled out in the pages of the journal.

For Jordan to make such serious allegations which could not be substantiated was "surely to come very close to indulging in precisely the petty intellectual thuggery" he was attacking. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

# Proviso set for release, indemnity

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government has announced that ANC political prisoners and exiles who have been involved in serious crimes such as violence will be released or indemnified only when the ANC has fully complied with its undertakings to pursue peaceful negotiations.

This emerged yesterday when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced the guidelines for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The ANC's Matthew Phosa said last night that the ANC had not agreed to this arrangement and demanded the immediate release of all prisoners.

## Synchronise

Mr Coetsee disclosed that the Government had decided to synchronise the release and indemnification of political offenders with progress made by the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the implementation of the ANC's decision to "suspend armed actions and related activities".

Mr Coetsee said difficult cases — especially offences involving violence — would be considered when it was clear the ANC was sticking to its commitments to peaceful negotiations.

Observers believe this means

that the ANC will have to agree to stop training cadres for its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Phosa said the ANC had never agreed that "phased release" had anything to do with degrees of violence committed by political offenders. But he said the ANC agreed in general with the guidelines.

Mr Coetsee said that:

- Those already sentenced, serving or awaiting execution of sentence, liable to prosecution, awaiting trial or in detention would qualify for pardon.
  - Anyone could apply for pardon and indemnity if they committed themselves to peace.
  - The guidelines did not mean Attorneys-General had to discontinue prosecutions.
  - Unconditional indemnity would be granted to people who left SA without valid travel documents and those who left SA at a place other than a legal port.
  - Individuals would have to furnish full details, including the offences for which they required pardon or indemnity.
  - Specified categories needed to supply their names and addresses only.
  - Applicants abroad would also have to satisfy the requirements of citizenship and the right to stay in the country.
  - No information obtained for the purpose of indemnifying exiles would be used against them in court.
- Mr Coetsee said there were 250 to 600 political prisoners, excluding minor offenders.



## WOMEN'S POWER: *Despite fine resolutions women get women's work — even in politics*

**A** WOMAN'S place is in the struggle — but are we all agreed exactly where in the struggle women belong?

Let's start by listening to some of the rhetoric.

The African National Congress says that "women's right to democratic participation in all decision making must be there in principle and in practice".

The Congress of South African Trade Unions' resolution on women tells us to "promote confidence and experience among women workers so they can participate fully at all levels of the federation".

The Transport and General Workers Union announces that "women workers can truly come alive now and talk about women's problems and put their demands into the Worker's Charter".

What does all this mean?

Depressingly little if women workers are to be believed. The statements, the announcements, the resolutions — they sound great, but so far seem to have been only lip service.

"Women have got senior positions within the organisation but I think it is very much at a functionary level," says Jesse Duarte of the ANC, where a national executive committee of 38 has three women members and there are no women on the political committees.

"Traditionally women get women's work even in politics. Here, the women carry the second tier of the organisation technically, we're the back-up staff, the people who do the typing and the phoning and the keeping of appointments."

Some women, like Barbara Hogan, secretary to the PWV region of the ANC, keep away from the second tier by actually refusing to learn administrative skills. She feels that all too often typing leads to typecasting.

"It would be very useful for me to be able to type," she admits, "but I know the minute I can type, I would be doing everyone's typing."

Social tradition has determined in South Africa that men — the decision makers — are in charge. Many men and women feel that this old order needs to be challenged. But both sexes are going to have to alter their thinking.

"There's a tradition here," says Duarte. "I mean women tend to vote for men and they might not even vote for the competent women in their own ranks."

Veteran politician Helen Suzman feels it goes beyond social customs. "Women are often ungenerous to each other, they don't really give credit you know," she says. "They're a bit jeal-

# Political women still typecast into traditional roles

Women do have a place in the struggle — it's behind typewriters, the switchboard and the filing cabinet.

EMMA GILBEY reports

ous, you can't rely on them."

At the recent PWV regional elections of the ANC, two women were elected to the executive, even though roughly 50 percent of the delegation was female, and despite the tactic used by 12 women members of standing on one ticket.

So how are women supposed to get more involved in the decision-making process? And will men take those decision-makers seriously?

The TGWU is an example of a union that has worked to mobilise its women members but it still has a way to go. Of 45 000 signed-up members, one third are women. This is not remotely reflected in the leadership at branch or national level. There is one woman national office bearer in the union and of 32 branch executive officers, three are women. To try and combat this, the union has established its own women's forum but it's still at the level of more roots than grass. Some branch forums are yet to be set up and women in the union are still nervous to speak up at meetings, let alone accept nominations to leadership positions.

"We needed to mobilise female membership to find a way of integrating them into the activities of the union," says Jane Barrett, one of the union's national co-ordinators and a former general secretary of TGWU.

The idea is that women can gain in confidence at the branch level meetings of their own sex. Ideally, the leaders which emerge from here will eventually be incorporated into the general activities of the union.

The regional branches of the ANC Women's League have also been slow to mobilise. The Women's League has its own budget and lack of funds is said to be a real problem. According to Ruth Mompoti of the league, those branches that have been set up are not yet able to function effectively.



Women struggle to get beyond the second tier of political organisations

Some women work from home, many are unpaid volunteers. There are telephones but little money to pay the phone bill. Some women actually subsidise the work they do.

"Women have always been the last to be attended to — we are on the bottom rung of the ladder so we start from there. It is a very long way to go," says Mompoti.

Women's organisations tend to be perceived as of secondary importance, tagged as dealing only with "women's issues". But are women's issues really supposed to be confined to health, safety, education, housing and sexual harassment? Is this a convenient way of

sidelining issues regarded as belonging solely to women? Shouldn't it be more a question, as Mompoti says, of asking "what doesn't affect a woman?"

Women in leadership positions are concerned that the patronising perspectives they perceive create blind alleys for women. Herding women into their own organisations can be an effective way of keeping them out of the mainstream.

Suzman managed to avoid being assigned "women's issues" in her political life by a determination that her focus should be racial discrimination.

"I can't say that women's rights were my major priority — they weren't," she says. "But I did take part in the debates on women's issues because it is another form of discrimination."

"I had to make a decision between looking after women's issues exclusively or (being in) mainstream politics," says Hogan. "I would be very disturbed if women saw the only scope for their activities being the Women's League."

Another method increasingly being considered to combat sexual discrimination is affirmative action, whereby the number of women voters would be more adequately reflected in the number of women office holders.

"There is good reason to go for things like quotas," says Barbara Klugman, a lecturer in social anthropology at Wits University. "Unless there is formal and enforced inclusion of women on decision-making structures it won't happen."

Suzman agrees. "I don't think the parties make it particularly easy for women candidates to get nominations. I suppose they'd like to keep it as a male preserve if they could."

But affirmative action could degenerate into yet another form of tokenism. A minimum number of women have to be in decision-making positions so the minimum, no less — and certainly no more — get appointed. And, although the positions may appear to be high-level, the workload could remain more administrative than decisive.

Those who have made it think that ultimately women have to believe in themselves to succeed. At the moment, they might have to be a bit smarter than men, more aggressive than they would like, they might have to risk being unpopular, to put up with being patronised or harassed — but it is possible to succeed in this particular struggle.

And, as Duarte says, it is all part of the same big struggle.

"If you want to fight apartheid in its true form, you have to fight sexism as well."

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# HOW IT ALL WORKS



David Lazar is an active member of the ANC's Association of Economists. Born and raised in SA, he has lectured at the University of London and is currently based at the African Studies

Institute, Wits University. Here he comments on the ANC's recent "discussion document" on economic policy.

SA has experienced a decade of low economic growth while its population continues to rise at an alarming rate.

The government is caught up with the fight against inflation and has no credible solution to the massive unemployment problem. Clearly, we are in the midst of a severe socio-economic crisis, as the understandable expectations and anger of black people come up against the failure of the economy to deliver the means to meet even quite basic needs for millions of citizens.

The National Party has played the major role in causing this crisis: it has ruled repres-

sively for over 40 years and squandered scarce assets on its crazy schemes for racial separation and the accompanying agencies of repression and destabilisation.

What perturbs me, however, is the inability of the ANC, as the probable future government, to produce a credible economic policy.

Where does the ANC's current discussion document go wrong? What policy framework should the ANC adopt? Let us look at each question in turn.

The ANC's economic document is fatally flawed: First of all, the ANC's proposals are statist: they assume the central State can do most of what needs to be done. The ANC may be defensively backtracking on nationalisation, but the core of the document is still about a desire to "plan" economic development. It is apparent there are still people who have failed to come to terms with the terrible failures of so-called "planning" — "so-called" because the State planners, in fact, have or had no real control over the economy.

I suggest that those who advocate this direction for ANC economic policy should pay visits to Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia,

the USSR and the former GDR territories and ask the unfortunate inhabitants what they think of "planned" economies.

Second, there is a lack of understanding of how markets are central to successful economies. This indicates a failure to grasp the full complexity of economic processes. It is claimed that "market relations are an essential component of a mixed economy," but the inclination is to override market processes whenever they seem not to accord with the "national development plan."

Markets are far from perfect institutions, but — with judicious government intervention — they have proved themselves to be far more effective than grandiose and (almost invariably) repressive plans.

The misunderstanding in the ANC document of financial markets — "paper chases paper in a scramble for short-term speculative profit" — is particularly disturbing. It is essential that ANC economists grasp what stock markets do and why they are necessary. State influence over investment choices may be desirable in a limited number of instances. However, a stock exchange is essential in order that investment decisions

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heed market signals. Moral outbursts about "speculation" and calls for further controls on investment flows are not persuasive, given that stock exchanges are being re-established in a number of countries which previously abolished them.

Third, the ANC document suffers from a lack of economic realism. The costing of proposals against available funds is of fundamental importance. How will the "massive injection of finance" to meet basic needs be funded? How much would it cost to set up new State-owned financial institutions?

The ANC urgently requires a practicable policy, sensitive to the economic and political realities which face SA. I suggest the following guiding principles:

First, it is wholly irrelevant whether a workable policy accords with any particular economic nostrums, of whatever ideological hue.

Second, appropriate criteria for acceptance are these:

- Are the policies likely to deliver real (though modest) improvements in the living standards of the majority of South Africans?
- Are the policies based on careful costing



Free ... now for a practicable policy

and a close study of productivity and profit potentials? and

- Will the policies empower impoverished people — that is, give them more control over their lives?

What, then, should be the main concerns of ANC policy? Black South Africans have already suffered under excessive State

"planning." The future democratic government must allow ordinary people the freedom to make their own opportunities as far as is possible.

We need a market-led mixed economy. The State has many legitimate economic roles: for instance, management of some infrastructural industries, support for small business, rigorous policies to deracialise the economy, interest rate policy, development partnerships with private businesses and non-governmental organisations.

Development policies which assist the very poorest — the landless, the squatters, the unemployed — to help themselves should be fundamental.

The aim should not be the pseudo-planning of the whole economy with ceaseless attempts to control private capital and the market. Instead, the emphasis should be on multifold partnerships with the private sector and a wide range of organisations and community groups to help deliver houses, services, health care and decent education to the millions who are the victims of the National Party's four decades of failure and oppression.

# PAC leader for Heroes Acre

Sowetan 2/11/90

11A

By SONTI MASEKO

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng will be buried tomorrow at a newly opened section of Avalon Cemetery in Soweto to be reserved for dignitaries.

This was disclosed yesterday by Mr Carter Seleke, a spokesman for the organising committee for the funeral.

Diplomats, dignitaries, and political activists from the various liberation movements are expected to be among the thousands of people from all over the country who will pack Orlando Stadium to pay their last respects to Mothopeng, who was affectionately known as the "Lion of Azania" and Uncle Zeph.

Speakers who will pay tribute at the funeral include Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation Dr Itumeleng Mosala, Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa and assistant general secretary of the African National Congress Mr Henry Makgothi.

Mothopeng's corpse will be

brought home today for a night vigil, which will be held at Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West.

Tomorrow mass will be said at the same church from 7.30 to 9am when the cortege will proceed to Orlando Stadium.

The masters of ceremonies at Orlando Stadium will be Mr Dikgang Moseneke and Mr Mahlubi Mbandazayo. Prayers will be conducted by Father Peter Lenkoe.

## Tribute

Activists also expected to pay tribute to the late PAC leader are Nactu president Mr James Mndaweni, PAC acting president Mr Clarence Makwethu, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, a speaker from the PAC's external mission and one from the New Unity Movement of South Africa.

\* Buses will leave from various points in the East Rand, Alexandra and Soweto to transport mourners to Orlando Stadium. All the buses will depart at 8am to be in time for the funeral service at the stadium.

- Buses will leave from:
- \* Munsieville in Krugersdorp, next to Phathudi Higher Primary School;
  - \* Diepkloof, Soweto, next to Baragwanath Hospital;
  - \* Pimville, Soweto, next to Mayibuye Garage;
  - \* Tshiwelo, Soweto, next to Tshiwelo Community Centre and Chicken Licken;
  - \* White City, Soweto, next to Thabathe Shopping Centre;
  - \* Rockville, Soweto, next to Paradise Shopping Centre;
  - \* Mohlakeng, Randfontein, next to the NG Kerk;
  - \* Bekkersdal, Mohlakeng, next to Molete Shopping Centre;
  - \* Dobsonville, Soweto, next to Kopanong Community Centre;
  - \* Kagiso, Krugersdorp, next to Esso Garage;
  - \* Alexandra, next to Pan;
  - \* In Johannesburg, outside Lekton House, in Wanderers Street;
  - \* Emdeni, Soweto, next to the bus terminus;
  - \* Naledi, Soweto, next to Dry Hoek;
  - \* Watville, Benoni, next to Nkomonde Store, Dube Street;
  - \* Daveyton, Benoni, outside Lionel Kent Centre;
  - \* Katlehong, in the East Rand, next to Mobil Filling Station/Natalspruit Hospital;
  - \* Tokoza, in the East Rand, next to Tokoza Stadium;
  - \* Tembisa in the East Rand, next to Tembi Shopping Centre;
  - \* KwaThema in Springs, next to KwaThema Civic Centre;
  - \* Duduza in the East Rand, next to Duduza Freedom Square;
  - \* Witbank, next to Fourway Stop in Lynnville;



ZEPH MOTHOPENG ... many to pay tribute

● See Page 6

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

### SMALL IS BIG

(11A)

FIM 2/11/90  
The ANC intends moving local government issues on to the national agenda and including them in national negotiations.

Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's constitutional committee, says government is trying to separate national negotiations from local negotiations, with the aim of securing privileges at local level. How the city government rules, the question of the vote, services and the tax base are all aspects of local government that should be dealt with at national level, says Skweyiya.

The formation of a national body of civic associations early next year will provide the impetus to give greater power to local government issues.

Skweyiya points out that "civics" are independent of the ANC and of formal local government structures. He says they represent a major powerbase, articulating the desires and demands of communities.

The ANC is furious that central government has failed to take action to prevent the CP making a mockery of the removal of the Separate Amenities Act and has questioned government commitment.

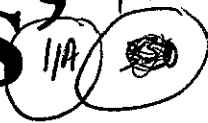
Meanwhile, the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council has agreed to assist the three councils of Greater Soweto and of Alexandra with R154m to cover essential services. The RSC will finance these until March 1991, on condition that consumers pay the minimum projected amounts of electricity consumed by them based on the rates agreed in the Soweto Accord.

Eskom will also consider introducing a new residential tariff, applicable to dormitory towns and cities, which should effectively reduce the tariff by approximately 15%. ■

# New deal for exiles and 'politicals'

CAP TMS

2/11/90



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The political negotiation process takes another step forward today with the way opened for the release of political prisoners and indemnity from prosecution for exiles and others.

This follows publication at 6am of the joint government/ANC working group report on political offences.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said last night the process would proceed in a phased manner, and stressed the time scales for releases and indemnity would be determined by the progress on questions related to the suspension by the ANC of armed actions.

The government was bent on achieving success, and he visualised "a common approach" (with the ANC) to the issue of balancing progress on the armed action talks and the prisoner and indemnity process.

In the one major departure from the Pretoria Minute, Mr Coetsee announced that the guidelines and procedures set out in the report would apply to members of all political groups, not just the ANC.

Sources indicated that this move was encouraged and supported by the ANC.

Mr Coetsee estimated there were about 250 to 300 prisoners who clearly fell under the definition of political offence. This figure could rise to about 600 with "a wide, liberal interpretation of the definition. Not counted in this figure were prisoners convicted of "minor offences like throwing stones".

The report sets out two categories of unconditional indemnity — for people

UMTATA. — Four ANC exiles are due to arrive here today accompanied by nine journalists from the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

This will be the first group of returning exiles, and according to a spokesman for the Transkei Council of Churches, they will stay in the Transkei capital until Monday.

"The families and friends of the returnees must be aware that some of them are not what they used to be. Two are blind, while another is in a wheel chair, and they need assistance from their families. Some have been injured in guerilla warfare," the spokesman said. — Sapa

who left South Africa without valid travel documents, and those who left without going through an official border post.

The report provides for the identification of further categories of offences which would allow cases to be dealt with more expeditiously. This was the issue which caused conflict between the ANC and government three weeks ago, and over which a compromise has since been reached.

The report also covers people awaiting or undergoing trial. Mr Coetsee said it was up to them and their legal advisers to decide whether to apply for the stopping of their prosecution.

A "consulting body" will be set up to advise the State President and his executive in cases of dispute.

Mr Coetsee said people applying for indemnity would have to "search their consciences" in notifying the government what offences they believed they had committed. Such statements would be kept confidential and not used in a court of law.

# MK guerrillas take the lead in Transkei's new SACP team

By LOUISE FLANAGAN: East London  
THE Transkei regional branch of the South African Communist Party has elected an interim committee dominated by Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani is on the 10-member committee, along with ex-guerrillas Mzwandile Vena, Phumzile Mayaphi, Dumisani Mafu, Pakamile Pongana and David Ndawonde.

According to evidence in several Transkei trials, Vena operated underground in Transkei for a lengthy period. He was eventually captured in Cape Town, where he had been sent by MK to lead its Western Cape structure after Lizo Bright Ngqungwana was jailed. He was subsequently extradited to Transkei, to stand trial on charges related to the blowing up of the Umtata fuel depot in 1985, but was freed after the African National Congress was unbanned.

Mayaphi was released earlier this year after spending time on Transkei's death row, for the bombing of the Mzamba Wild Coast Casino in which two people died.

Mafu was mentioned in several Transkei political trials. Those on trial were variously accused of assisting Mafu for periods between 1985-1987 and asking him to assassinate security policemen.

Several of the committee are also senior local ANC members.

Ndawonde is the vice-chairman of the ANC in Transkei, Mayaphi is the vice-secretary of the region, and Mzolisi Mabude heads the Umtata South branch of the ANC.

Also on the committee are Border regional secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa Enoch Godongwana, South African Democratic Teachers' Union member Nandipha Madalane, and Sansco activist Lindiwe Msengana.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo paid tribute to other guerrillas from Transkei who were members of the Party and died during shootouts.

He mentioned Mazizi "Mpilo" Maqhekeza, gunned down by a hit squad in a Maseru hospital bed after operating in Transkei for several years, Zola "Jabulani" Dubeni who died in a shootout with police in Port Elizabeth, Lungisa "Don" Qokweni and Inkululeku Njongwe. — Elnews

## PE taxi ranks calm again

By SHADLEY NASH and XOLA SIGONYELA: Port Elizabeth  
THERE was calm at taxi ranks in Port Elizabeth this week after intervention by the Mass Democratic Movement put a swift stop to clashes between rival operators. *W/M 2/11-8/11/70*

Violent clashes last week followed a dispute between rival groups, but the MDM intervened and ordered a week's suspension of all taxi services. This was due to end on Wednesday, but at a mass meeting last weekend, the two rival taxi associations, Uncedo and the SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta) agreed to end hostilities and work towards unity.

The suspension was called off after the accord, and taxi services have been running again since the start of the week.

Last week's clashes followed a dispute over the use of the Strand Street taxi rank in the city centre, and later spread to other taxi ranks around the city. Police intervened when about 200 people clashed at Kwazakhele. An undisclosed number of people were injured when taxis were attacked and scores of mini-buses were damaged.

## Squabble over 'failure of socialism' rages in latest SACP publications

By GAVIN EVANS *11A*  
THE family squabble over whether socialism has failed, and if not why not, rages in the latest editions of the South African Communist Party's two official publications, which appeared this week.

In issue number 123 of the *African Communist*, hardline SACP national interim leadership group member Harry Gwala begins his critique of his party leader's pamphlet, "Has Socialism Failed?" by accusing "those who open their writings with the denunciation of Stalin" of nihilism.

Quoting Stalin favourably, he notes that the Bolsheviks were "the first to establish a Marxist state on earth in a very hostile environment", and adds that "dialectical laws demand that we look at things from all sides and not be one-sided in our approach".

Gwala concedes that "no doubt there were many excesses committed during the time of Stalin", but asks, "who is not wiser after the event?"

He goes on to criticise Slovo for "not telling us about the objective conditions" which led Lenin to the false prediction that socialism was about to collapse after 1917, and for giving the impression "that Lenin was engaged in speculative and not dialectical thinking".

*W/M 2/11-8/11/70*  
He concludes that the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat "cannot be abandoned".

A contribution from Explo Nani Kofi of the United Revolutionary Party of Ghana, disputes that there is such a thing as Stalinism, saying "some of the attacks on Stalin are just an attempt to look at history with hindsight", and goes on to warn against an "absolute faith in multi-partyism".

In a markedly different tone, the more flexible SACP journal *Umsebenzi* runs an open letter from central committee member Jeremy Cronin to African National Congress information chief Pallo Jordan, in response to Jordan's recent critique of Slovo's pamphlet.

He warns that "waving the banner of anti-Stalinism doesn't guarantee any of us against falling into Stalinist habits", and refutes Jordan's point that *Umsebenzi* has been guilty of "intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling among its membership".

He notes that he too has not agreed with all *Umsebenzi* articles, but "that's a completely different matter, isn't it?"

The article is signed "Yours in the struggle (including the struggle against anti-democratic behaviour within our broad ranks), Jeremy Cronin".

# 'Operation Vula' has significance beyond the cloak and dagger story

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban  
w/m out 2/11/90 8/11/90  
DOCUMENTS produced by the state so far in the "Operation Vula" case, have all the ingredients of a spy story.

However the trial has a significance beyond the courtroom and it could provide a testing ground for relations between the African National Congress and the government.

The state wants to prove that the eight accused were involved in a plot to overthrow the government. The ANC says the state should stop the trial as it has now suspended the armed struggle, and all the alleged offences were committed before that suspension.

If some compromise is not found, it could strain links between the two parties, and some ANC officials are already describing the continuation of such trials as being "a flagrant violation of the Pretoria Minute".

Among the accused is ANC executive official, Umkhonto weSizwe and South African Communist Party member Mac Maharaj. Others in the dock are also high-ranking members of these organisations.

Although the original charge sheet reflects nine names, only eight people have so far appeared in court. The missing face is that of Billy Nair. Like

the rest of the group he was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, but he was later hospitalised and eventually underwent a serious operation before being released from detention without any conditions imposed. Now police are unable to find Nair to arrest and charge him.

All eight face charges of terrorism and alternative charges relating to the illegal possession of arms, ammunition or explosives.

It is alleged they conspired with SACP officials Joe Slovo and others to create a national underground network, the task of which was to recruit, train, arm and lead a "revolutionary army" to seize power from the government by an armed insurrection in an operation codenamed "Vula".

The state claims they brought enormous sums of foreign money into the country to finance the clandestine operation, that they set up a sophisticated communications network using computers, modems, tape-recorders and key-tone pads and that they rented or bought a number of "safe houses" from which to operate in several parts of Johannesburg, La Lucia and Durban.

It is expected that an application for bail will begin today.



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# On assignment - and under fire

W/Mail 2/11-8/11/90

119

WAS shot at in Bekkersdal earlier this week while interviewing African National Congress supporters in the parents' home of one of the "comrades".

Unknowningly I was in a section of the township referred to as an Azapo stronghold.

There have been ongoing clashes between Azapo and ANC supporters in the strife-torn township in recent months and many have lost their lives. Local Azapo leaders say at least seven of their youths have died since February, while the ANC claims a death toll of six.

At midday on Tuesday I was standing with a group of people in the doorway of the parents' home of ANC activist Right Mpetsheni, when his younger sister suddenly screamed. Seconds later we were

bombarded by a hail of bullets. We panicked and tried to run for cover, frantically scrambling behind doors, under beds and tables with the "crack, crack" sound of bullets ringing in our ears. Younger members of the family crouched under a bed, whimpering in fright while older youths drew knives and manned the doorways. A bullet grazed the leg of one of the men I was interviewing, Thapello Seoka, the local ANC leader.

Miraculously — and rather surprisingly — no one else was injured. The telephone was out of order and

'Now you know what it is like here,' a youth told reporter **PHILIPPA GARSON** after what was meant to be a routine assignment in Bekkersdal township turned into a day of terror — with a gunman opening fire on the house where she was interviewing ANC comrades.



for about 20 minutes we huddled panic-stricken in silence, waiting for the attackers to break into the home. The second onslaught never came but an attempt was made to set alight the *Weekly Mail* car which was parked in the driveway.

When the police finally arrived we shakily emerged to find the car window had been smashed in; a petrol bomb lay smouldering next to it. Several bullets, which had grazed or penetrated the door and surrounding wall were found on the scene.

One of the children living in the home saw the culprit: a youth armed with a handgun a few metres away, who fired from the next-door garden.

The police then escorted us out of the township and took down our statements at the Westonaria police station.

A normal day in the life of Bekkersdal residents? Bullets flying in broad daylight with little children running about, parents coming home to find

their terrified youngsters crouching inside and an armed youth outside waving a gun in their direction...

"Now you know what it is like here", said Thapello Seoka, local ANC leader who spent 12 years on Robben Island for terrorism and then returned home in 1987 to find the location had become an Azapo "stronghold".

"I am not political, I don't want this," said a worried Ben Mpetsheni (the father of Right, Bekkersdal youth leader), whose house was targeted this week.

Right Mpetsheni has been forced to leave his home in the wake of the factional violence. He felt it was safe however, to come home briefly to glean some information from his parents.

"We are sorry", he says. "It was my fault, I should have known..."

Another comrade adds, "don't worry we will revenge this tonight..."

And the pattern of violence continues, with gun-wielding youths

caught up in a cycle of revenge and retribution, spouting the rhetoric of their organisations and behaving like gangsters.

Supporters of Azapo and the ANC blame each other for the wave of violence which began in late February and has claimed at least 12 lives.

Police were unable to confirm reports that three youths died this week in continuing factional violence. However, they say barely a week goes by without an incident, an assault or a murder linked to the clashes.

ANC supporters in the area claim the violence started after the launch of the Bekkersdal Youth Congress branch on February 24.

"The launch was in the local hall and some of our members were attacked by Azapo. Two of them were injured in the process", said Seoka, adding that the attacks continued on individual ANC members, who then sought revenge.

Seoka claims there have been repeated attempts to restore peace in the area but blames Azapo supporters for their unwillingness to hold a peace rally.

Local Azapo leader, Father Ratsoeu, said this week's shooting attack on the ANC members came in the wake of two murders of Black Consciousness Movement supporters, Japie Mpati (17) allegedly killed last week, and Michael Montsiwa (18) allegedly killed at the weekend. He apologised for the attack in which I was unwittingly involved, saying there was no personal grievance against me. He added that the culprits had been ordinary students who decided to take the matter into their own hands, not disciplined members of the Azanian Students Movement.

"The question is no more black consciousness against the ANC, it is the community against the ANC, because of its malpractices", he said, adding that peace attempts had been thwarted by the Beyco supporters.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said there had been an agreement between the two organisations not to supply the press with reports of the factional violence.

He added however that the violence — which had also occurred in several other townships — was the result of political intolerance of ANC supporters in the area.

Moodley said his organisation encouraged its Bekkersdal members to defend themselves. "No one has the right to prevent people from choosing which organisation to belong to," he said.

# ANC slams Vlok's Western Cape 'bully-boy' tactics

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town (11A)  
MINISTER of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok's declaration of Crossroads and Khayelitsha as unrest areas has been condemned from several quarters.

The African National Congress said yesterday it was a "high-handed, bully-boy" approach to solving the problem and a violation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Western Cape ANC publicity secretary Trevor Manuel was speaking after an ANC delegation met with Cape administrator Kobus Meiring, at the ANC's request, in a bid to bring peace to Khayelitsha.

The root cause of problems in both Khayelitsha and Crossroads was widespread anger at the way their respective town councils administered the townships, Manuel said.

The ANC had gone to Meiring with the request that Khayelitsha's Lingeletu West town council be disbanded. Meiring had agreed to investigate and report back next Friday, Manuel said.

He said the delegation was not previously informed about plans to declare Crossroads and Khayelitsha unrest areas, although the Groote Schuur Minute provided for the formation of joint committees geared to halt violence.

Police began "pouring" in to Khayelitsha early yesterday, setting up roadblocks and conducting searches, according to residents.

Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck, who was told yesterday by the Western Cape Commissioner of Police, General Flip Fourie, that he would not be allowed into Khayelitsha, slammed the move.

"Instead of taking a bold political initiative the government has, as was the practice during the PW Botha era, merely opted out of a situation which its own policies have created," Van Eck said.

W/Man/2/11-8/11/90  
Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok announced late on Wednesday night he was declaring both Crossroads and Khayelitsha unrest areas, citing recent deaths and "extensive damage caused in rioting" as major reasons.

Police had information of "further planned violence coupled with intimidation, forced stayaways and protest marches", Vlok said.

Police had been empowered under the Public Safety Act to "restore law and order in a discreet manner", he said.

A 9pm to 4am curfew went into effect yesterday.

# Train atrocities suspects seek bail

THE first of five men allegedly involved in two separate train massacres in September yesterday claimed police at the Brixton Murder and Robbery squad tore up a statement in which he had proclaimed his innocence.

Martin Ngcobu (47) appeared with Basi Nkosingondle (27), Mmengela Magabane (54), Solomon Khumalo (33) and Mabinela Majosi (23) at the start of their bail application in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

The men are alleged to have killed 21 people in train massacres on September 6 and September 15 this year.

## COURT REPORTER

Although no formal charges have been laid the men are likely to be accused of 21 counts of murder, 49 counts of attempted murder and illegal possession of arms and dangerous weapons.

Mr Ngcobu claimed to know nothing of either massacre.

He claimed police had torn up his original statement and written another one which they forced him to sign. He told magistrate Mr J van Heerden he had been tied up, beaten and given electric shocks

on his private parts.

"I know nothing of the killings and would not have signed the statement if I had not been tortured," Mr Ngcobu said.

He admitted owning a gun which he had bought this year to defend his cattle in KwaZulu.

He could not explain how he could defend his cattle while he and his gun were in Johannesburg.

The State Advocate said one of the major reasons for opposing bail was the possibility the men could commit further atrocities.

It was therefore in the public interest that the men remained in jail.

# Mandela warns killings may provoke ANC

NELSON Mandela warned in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, yesterday that the spate of killings in black townships, which he blamed on police "death squads", could provoke his African National Congress (ANC) to take up arms again.

"We are hard put to restrain our followers from retaliating if the Government fails to adopt appropriate measures," Mr Mandela, who is visiting Malaysia, told a rally at an indoor stadium.

## Repudiated

And in Johannesburg yesterday Mr Mathew Posha of the ANC said that the training of African National Congress fighters will continue and was not precluded by the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Mr Posha, a member of the joint ANC-Government working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, repudiated reports that the ANC had agreed to stop training its fighters as part of the deal concluded between the two sides.

Mr Mandela told his Malaysian audience: "We fervently hope that the circumstances will not compel us to take up arms again in self-defence," he said.

Mr Mandela alleged that right-wing elements of the security forces had trained black criminals for an indiscriminate killing spree to discredit the ANC and to derail the South African peace process.

Police blame rivalry between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party for the violence.

"We are convinced that the right-wing elements in the security forces are acting in collusion with these criminals. We cannot but conclude that the right-wing fanatics seek

## STAFF REPORTERS, CORRESPONDENTS

to exploit our suspension of armed struggle to advance the cause of white domination," he added.

Earlier, in an interview with a state-owned television station, Mandela described President F W de Klerk as a man of integrity, but said this was not enough to guarantee that changes sought by the blacks would succeed.

"We cannot work out a strategy on the integrity of an individual no matter what position he holds in government," Mr Mandela said.

Malaysia agreed to provide aid to the ANC after talks yesterday between Mandela and Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad.

The amount of monetary aid has yet to be decided and Malaysia would also give assistance to build houses and provide job training for ANC exiles who have returned to South Africa, a Foreign Ministry official said.

Yesterday Mr Posha told journalists at a news briefing that the ANC army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or MK, will continue to "train and upgrade" its fighters.

## Joining up

But, he added, the question of whether guerillas would be trained inside or outside South Africa was under discussion by a working committee on which Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, served.

"People are still joining MK in great numbers," he said.

Mr Posha reiterated that the ANC had not agreed that progress in the release of political prisoners and the return

# Mandela

## FROM PAGE 1:

of exiles should be linked to fulfilment of the ANC's agreement to suspend its armed struggle.

He challenged the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, and officials of his department to produce a document where the ANC agreed to the link.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said in a television programme yesterday that there would be no permanent peace in Natal until the ANC and Inkatha as well as the Conservative Party and Government all got together for talks.

The police, he said, were going ahead with plans to establish a further 24 temporary police stations in the Natal unrest areas in an effort to bring peace to

the region. Speaking on a national phone-in "House Meeting" broadcast on M-Net during lunch hour yesterday, Mr Vlok said the Government had for some time been "trying hard" to arrange for the four parties to get together to find a solution to the problem of unrest in Natal.

Mr Vlok said that in spite of incidents of unrest countrywide having declined from 252 in July when the state of emergency was lifted to 110 in October, the situation was still urgent enough to warrant peace talks.

The majority of viewers who participated in the one-hour broadcast which was paid for by the NP, were white South Africans who expressed concern about the wave of lawlessness they perceived to be spreading through the country.

CANC-1975  
aturday, November 3 1990

# ANC rejects talk of 'time scales'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday rejected talk by Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, of time scales in the granting of indemnities and freeing of political prisoners, saying this was not part of the ANC-government working group arrangement.

An ANC member of the working group, Mr Matthew Phosa, said yesterday that the ANC expected the flow of political prisoner releases to start immediately for all prisoners who qualified.

He said the organisation would next week supply the government with a list of more than 3 620 prisoners' names the ANC considered were political offenders.

Many of these prisoners qualified for immediate release in terms of the indemnity agreement in which one-third of each sentence plus one year had been written off.

Applications of indemnity for people still on trial for politically related offences should also have the immediate effect of postponing or suspending their court cases.

The ANC members being charged for involvement in



Mr Kobie Coetsee

Operation Vula, the alleged plot to overthrow the government, clearly fell within the political offences ambit.

Time scales for the release programme were never the subject of the working group discussions and the ANC challenged the government to produce documented proof that they were.

"The only determining factor for the release of prisoners is whether or not they are impris-

oned for political offences," Mr Phosa said.

Another ANC working group member, Mr Penuell Maduna, agreed Mr Coetsee's comment that government recognised 250 to 300 definite political prisoners and possibly as many as 600 in a wider interpretation, differed considerably with the ANC's figure of more than 3 620.

Mr Coetsee had however made it clear his figures did not include minor political offenders and therefore government's figure could be a lot closer to the ANC's number, Mr Maduna said.

Mr Phosa said that despite small differences with certain of Mr Coetsee's comments, the ANC was essentially satisfied with the working group report released by the Minister of Justice on Thursday as it accurately represented what was discussed.

The working group would be maintained until all political prisoners had been released and the way had been cleared for exiles to return unhindered and without fear of prosecution.

The ANC would start visiting prisons next week to assist political prisoners in applying for release. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 3/11/90

11A

**Own Correspondent**  
**DURBAN.** — ANC executive committee member Mr Santhyananath "Mac" Maharaj, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Siphwe Nyanda and six other ANC members, allegedly involved in a plot to overthrow the government, felt they were being held "hostage" as part of the negotiation process.

Mr Nyanda, 40, Mr Maharaj, 65, Mr Raymond Lala, 32, Miss Catherine Mvelase, 25, Miss Susanna Tshabalala, 30, Mr Dipak Patel, 26, Mr Pravin Jamnadas Gordhan, 41, and Mr Amnesh Munnesar Sankar, 22, appeared in the Regional Court here yesterday for a bail application.

The matter was adjourned until November 9 as their defence coun-

## ANC men 'feel they are hostages'

sel, Mr Z M Yacoob, was not ready to proceed.

Mr Yacoob also needed time to consider the implication and effects of a statement by Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on Thursday night in which he revealed certain guidelines (defining political offences under which people could be pardoned or granted an indemnity).

He said it appeared the guidelines would have an effect on the way in which the bail application was conducted.

Mr P J Blomkamp, for

the state, had said Mr Yacoob, applied for the matter to be adjourned back to the Durban Regional Court on January 15.

This seemed pointless and the accused, who had made applications for indemnity, were disturbed about it. They felt they were hostages as part of the negotiation process and regarded it as unjust and thoroughly unfair.

Mr Yacoob said the matter ought to be adjourned to the Supreme Court, where it belonged, after the bail application had been disposed of.

Mr Blomkamp said the intention to adjourn the matter to January 15 was because no Supreme Court was available to hear the trial this year. He denied the accused were being held as hostages or being used as "bargaining pawns".



# ANC to probe shooting of Jeff Wabena

THE ANC has launched an investigation into the killing of Jeff Wabena, a prominent trade unionist and activist who was shot dead during an ANC branch meeting in Mdantsane township on October 12.

Pamphlets were later distributed justifying the killing by accusing Wabena and others of being police informers.

One of the other men named in the pamphlet, Vusumzi Msauli, was shot dead at his home in March. According to police, the bullets were fired from a Makarov pistol and six empty cartridges were found.

Six hours after Msauli was killed, a third man named in the pamphlet, Ndikho Mnyute, was injured together with his wife when a hand grenade was thrown through a window of their home.

Wabena's death has come as a shock to those who knew him and who have testified to his warm, likeable nature and his commitment to the struggle against apartheid.

The ANC's Border convenor, the Rev Arnold Stofile, said he thought the vendetta against Wabena could only have been the work of Askaris - former ANC members turned security force agents.

He narrowly escaped



**Arnold Stofile ... blames Askaris.**

violent death three times before. Unknown gunmen launched a hand-grenade and machinegun attack on Wabena's home in January.

He was shot in a leg in the incident and sustained lacerations from shards of flying glass. His car was damaged by shrapnel and bullets.

On Christmas day 1988, two women were shot dead, and Wabena, another unionist and ANC regional spokesman Hintsa Siwisa were injured when a gunman sprayed Siwisa's car with AK-47 rounds outside the same house. - Sapa

THE RISE - AND FALL - OF SEBOKENG HOSTEL'S HATED 'ANC' OPERATOR

# 'He's taking our money!'

## Outraged families tell of curfew and assaults

**Reports by CHARLES MCGALE**

A MAN who claims he represents the ANC is demanding payment of R20 from Sebokeng hostel residents - and refusing to say why.

The "collector" is Sello Morake, a former candidate in community council elections.

Morake told *City Press* every family in the hostel block was expected to pay the money.

According to enraged residents, those who do not pay are accused of siding with Inkatha. They are also allegedly threatened with eviction.

Morake has also been accused of:

- Imposing a hostel curfew;
- Restricting operating hours for shebeens;
- Barring participation of women in ANC activities; and
- Leading a clan of vigilantes which assaults those who fall foul of his rules.

He has denied these allegations. The ANC has distanced itself from Morake and his actions.

"He is definitely not a member of the ANC and does not represent us," ANC Press officer Jill Marcus said this week.

"There is no such thing as the ANC demanding money from people and he can't be doing it in our name.

"We will look into the allegations urgently because they are serious. Whatever he has been doing, it is definitely not in the name of the ANC," she said.

Residents said on two occasions money was collected in the hostel to "help with funerals" of people killed in the war between Inkatha and residents.

They said they believed ANC officials were not aware of the harassment meted out in the name of the organisation.

A resident too scared to identify herself said: "This is the third time we are being asked for money and the story is that undertakers are still owed money for their services after the last massacre - in which about 40 people were killed."

Another resident, Modiehi Phakwa, said when she questioned the donation, she was told it was for "mshesha-phansi" (underground purposes). She was not given further details.

Confused residents said those caught walking, drinking or with

their lights on in the complex at night were assaulted.

Sickly pensioner Kgaji Lekone said his family was assaulted viciously when patrolling vigilantes caught them with their lights on at about 9pm two weeks ago.

"They came into my house and tore into us with spankbooks. As they were beating me, my wife and I pleaded that they should stop because I am sickly, but they would not listen.

"I am very upset, because at that time I was only relaxing with my family. I was running a licensed tavern, but at that time I did not have any clients," he said.

"I run a tavern because I can't work. I had to stop after their harassment and now that I do not have any income, they are expecting me to pay R20. Where do I get this kind of money from?"

The controversial Morake told *City Press* he was a member of the ANC who headed block committees in the hostel under the umbrella of the organisation.

"The people behind all these accusations (against me) are women who are giving us trouble. They are not co-operative," he said.

Asked about "mshesha-phansi", Morake smiled and said: "I will not talk about that."

He denied there was a curfew, but agreed shebeens had been ordered to close at 6.30pm.

"We are trying to avoid a repeat of what happened in the past when



**Kgaji Lekone ... assaulted for having his lights on at 9pm.**

an attack against us was launched while many men were drunk.

"When they are killed, they then become a burden to us. We can't allow that to happen again. In fact, we expect all men to be out in the streets patrolling at night and not drinking and making merry."

Asked if people were assaulted if they refused to co-operate, Morake said: "It has never happened. I have never witnessed that situation."

Vaal Council of Churches (VCC) organising secretary Reverend Isaac Kolokoto said as far as he was concerned, funeral debts were the responsibility of his organisation.

"There used to be a joint committee of 10 - comprising five members from our organisation and five from the Mass Democratic Movement - which was responsible for running funerals. We collected some money from various quarters, including businessmen and residents," he said.

"When the money stopped coming in, the VCC, which was the chief negotiator in the process, undertook to settle the debts."

An undertaker who was owed money had sent a bill to the organisation.

"He is the only one I know of who has not been paid. If anybody else is owed any money, that would have been an arrangement unknown to us."

## Vicious vendetta against solitary doctor

THE only medical doctor at the Sebokeng Hostel, which has more than 10 000 residents, has been banished by a mysterious gang called the "Vietnam Committee".

On two occasions recently, gang members raided the doctor's surgery - first to deliver an "eviction" note, and second to throw him out physically, except he wasn't there for the latter "visit".

Dr Ashraf Cassim, who has been working at the surgery for six years, says he is amazed that "whoever is behind this has the audacity to throw out such a vital facility when so many people in the area need medical help".

Cassim said a female colleague who often stands in for him, Dr K Ismael, was in the surgery on October 9 when three youths entered

and forced their way into the consulting room.

"They were rude and aggressive. They refused to identify themselves or tell us who wrote the letter they delivered to me," said Ismael.

"They instructed us to be out of the hostel within 24 hours, or else. When I tried to reason with them, they ignored me and started pulling out the telephone wires."

When they left, she called the police, who took the original copy of the gang's letter.

"We are doctors and we just can't pack up and go because someone does not like us," said Ismael.

The following day a helper at the surgery found a threatening letter which had been shoved under the door. It repeated the eviction war-

ning and was signed "Vietnam Committee".

That afternoon, shortly after the doctor left the surgery, a group of about 18 youths invaded the surgery and ripped off the nameplate next to the front door.

They left a strong warning with people in the neighbourhood that they wanted the doctor out immediately because they had to "reallocate" the surgery.

According to Cassim, he called the ANC Vaal branch and the South African Council of Churches, who promised to investigate.

"Both promised to come back to me, but I am still waiting," Cassim said.

Police are investigating a charge of intimidation.

## Men bar 'smelly' women'

SEBOKENG Hostel dwellers who claim they are members of the ANC have laid down a hard and fast rule for their meetings: no women allowed!

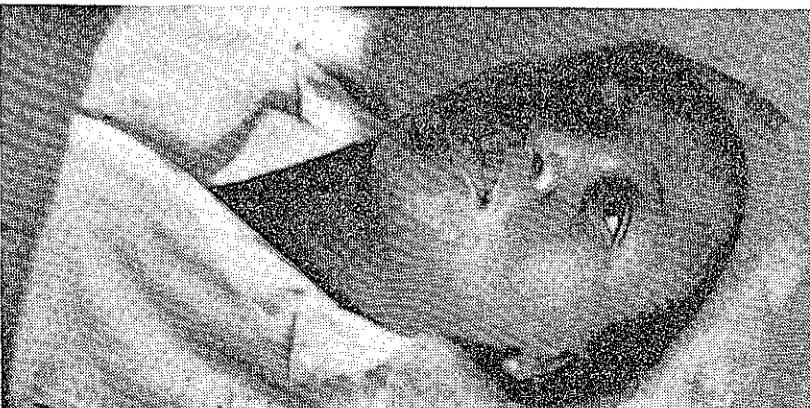
"We simply can't have women in meetings when we talk war," says Sello Morake, who claims to be an ANC representative and who also collects money in the organisation's name.

Hostel committee member Esther Ngenia is outraged and makes no mention of war. She says: "They say we are smelly and their inyanga ordered them to bar us."

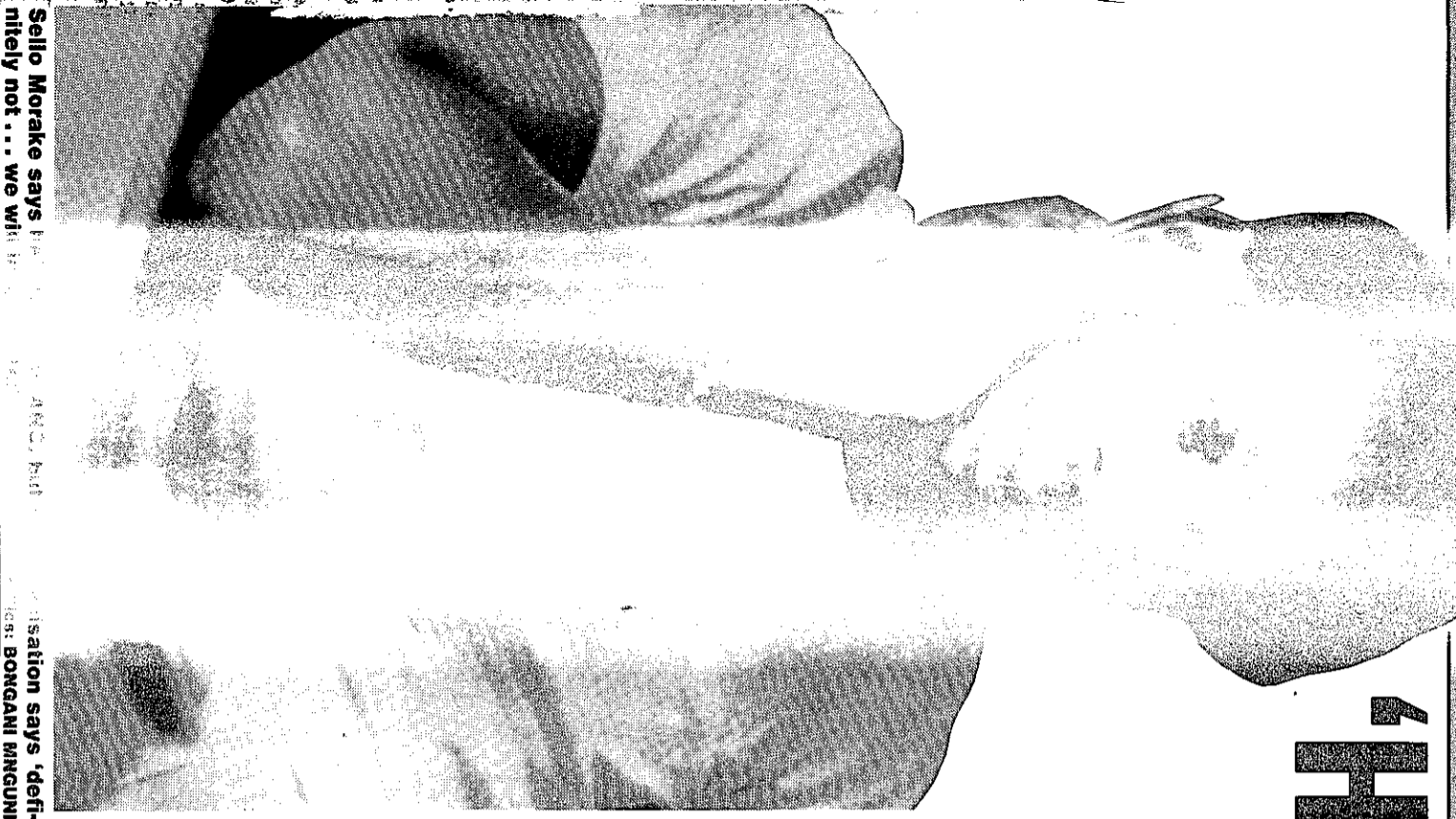
Committee member Mabel Mokgata says women are only allowed at meetings when senior members of the ANC visit the area.

Committee member Modiehi Phakwa adds: "They only come to us when they need money."

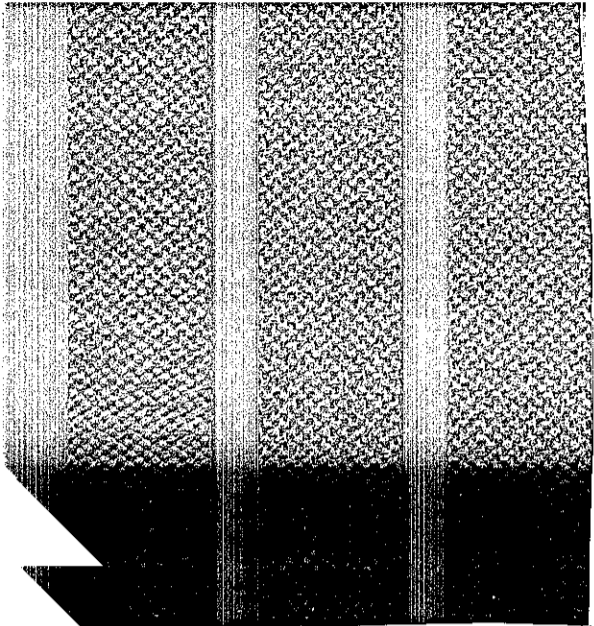
Morake denied the allegations: "We know the people who are going around making these allegations. These are the people who are giving us trouble. Many of them hobnob with Inkatha."



**Mabel Mokgata ... they allow us in when ANC leaders come to visit.**



**Sello Morake says 'Definitely not ... we will ... BONGANI MANGUNI'**



Operation Vula shock: Security forces secretly infiltrated

# HUNT FOR 7 ANC MOLES

S/ Times 4/11/90



By MARK STANSFIELD  
and DE WET POTGIETER

**A SPY hunt is under way in South Africa's intelligence and security forces to unmask seven ANC and Communist Party double agents.**

Security sources this week revealed that the infiltrators were involved in Operation Vula, the alleged plot to overthrow the government by force should negotiations fail.

The moles are believed to be still working within the intelligence community. Only their codenames are known at this stage.

Counter-intelligence officers are desperately trying to gather more information to expose them.

Security policemen came across the "horrific" security breach while decoding intercepted Operation Vula computer data in July. They found seven codenames of men who had infiltrated the intelligence community as well as data on cash payments for their services.

Their alleged "handler" and "paymaster" was a Moe Shaik.

Mr Shaik has been named in the Durban Operation Vula terrorism trial of nine people — including Mac

**THE VULA DOSSIER**  
See Page 15

Maharaj, a member of the ANC's National Executive Council — as part of the elite "international brigade" who allegedly conspired to overthrow the government by force. Mr Shaik is one of several people who managed to escape the police dragnet launched in mid-July to bring to an end Operation Vula plot.

**Miss SA Suzette,  
Chinese charmer**



**STUNNING** Suzette van der Merwe was practising the silky Chinese look yesterday as she prepared to jet off to Taiwan for a two-week visit. Lovely Miss SA is looking forward to returning

**Ambassador  
Schwarz off  
to America**

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent  
**HARRY SCHWARZ**, for years a leading opposition figure and Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, has been appointed South Africa's ambassador to the United States.



HARRY SCHWARZ achieve is now being used. Now that apartheid is going, the crucial question will follow. "Since February the president has been advising policies and procedures which are in accord not with my beliefs but with policies of the party to which I belong," he said.

The posting will have a serious impact on the DP, which is already burdened with dwindling voter support, financial troubles and the surrender of its Handburg seat to the National Party.

Mr Schwarz's appointment — the first time the ruling party has named a member of the opposition to an ambassadorial post — is in line with President De Klerk's moves to create less partisan representation in important embassies abroad.

Official

Mr Schwarz's appointment does not mean that the new South Africa is already here," said Mr Schwarz yesterday, "but I hope it means it is irreversibly and rapidly approaching."

After a political career in which I have always been in opposition politics and opposed to apartheid, I find that what I have fought to

There was no question of his joining the National Party, said Mr Schwarz.

Mr Schwarz, a navigator of the SAAP and RFP in the War Two, has a background in banking and insurance.

He entered Parliament in 1974 as a member of the National Party and was a former member of both the Progressive Federal Party and the Democratic Party.

See Page 2

# NT EC Y MOI

S/ Times 4/11/90

By MARK STANSFIELD  
and DE WET POTGIETER

## Miss SA Suzett Chinese charms



STUNNING Suzette van der Merwe was practising the silky Chinese look yesterday as she prepared to jet off to Taiwan for a two-week visit.

Lovely Miss SA is looking forward to charming the Taiwanese on the trip — but she's a bit worried about the cuisine.

"I've been warned about the snake and rabbit delicacies.

"My most important task will be to make a good impression for the country and to pave the way for South African beauty queens to re-enter the Miss World contest," said Suzette.

Picture: HORACE POTTER

## A SPY hunt is under way in South Africa's intelligence and security forces to unmask seven ANC and Communist Party double agents.

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## THE VULA DOSSIER See Page 15

Maharaj, a member of the ANC's National Executive Council — as part of the elite "international brigade" who allegedly conspired to overthrow the government by force.

Mr Shaik is one of several people who managed to escape the police dragnet launched in mid-July to detain alleged Operation Vula plotters and agents.

The SAP's chief of public relations, Major-General Herman Stadler, said the issue was a "very delicate matter" but declined to comment further.

He referred the Sunday Times to Brigadier Andre Preiss who said: "That's being handled higher up... I am not involved in it."

Security sources also admitted that a major blunder during the Operation Vula crackdown allowed several of the alleged plotters to escape — including three Canadians, a British woman and a Dutch citizen.

## Elusive

The non-South Africans who escaped are believed to have been part of an international network which Dutch activist Klaas de Jonge vowed to recruit after he was allowed to walk free from his controversial, asylum-seeking stay at the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria three years ago.

De Jonge — who passed through Johannesburg on Friday on his way to Transkei to make a TV documentary — denied recruiting operatives for Vula.

According to intelligence sources Operation Vula was exposed in early July when a security police spy in Durban uncovered a plot to smuggle arms and highly-trained operatives into South Africa.

Few details were known at that

□ To Page 2

# Operation Vula: hunt for 7 moles

□ From Page 1

stage but all the resources of South Africa's intelligence network were utilised and by July 12 specific details of the plot were known.

Then came the big blunder. Durban security operatives began arresting alleged plotters on July 12 but failed to inform their Johannesburg counterparts who were attempting to trace the addresses of "safehouses" where caches of arms, in-

cluding ground-to-air missiles, had been stored.

Johannesburg security police began their crackdown only on July 16.

The alleged Johannesburg Operation Vula agents had four days grace to make good their escape because of the co-ordination blunder.

Many of the Johannesburg operatives fled, leaving carefully-modified cars, expensive furniture, clothes, arms, food and computer hardware and software behind in five Johannesburg flats and

houses.

Security police specialists analysing the captured computer data came across the codenames of the seven ANC/SACP operatives who had infiltrated South Africa's intelligence community.

The bail application for the Operation Vula eight appearing in Durban was thrown into turmoil on Friday following an indemnity announcement by Justice Minister Kobbie Coetzee. Instead of going ahead with the bail proceedings for

the eight being held at Westville prison, defence advocate Zac Yacoob called for an adjournment to give them time to consider the implications of the indemnity guidelines.

Before the court were: Sathynathan (Mac) Maharaj, 65; Siphwe Nyanda, 40; Raymond Lala, 22; Catherine Mvelase, 25; Susanna Tshabalala, 30; Dipak Patel, 26; Pravin Jandas Gordhan, 41; and Aminesh Munnesar Sankar, 22.

## PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK  
37 winners collected a dividend of R40 333.80. Numbers: 1, 7; 10; 9; 1, 2; 8; 4.

GREVILLE  
There were 15 winners with each collecting a dividend of R26 066.60. Selections: 1, 5; 2; 1; 7; 4; 6; 10.

KENILWORTH  
Only 12 punters managed to collect a dividend of R21 506.60. Numbers: 3; 3; 11; 8; 4; 12.

## Boy drowns

FOUR-year-old Christian Beukes fell in his parent's pool in Goodwood, Cape, and drowned while his mother answered the phone.

# 'Intellectual thuggery' in ANC-SA Communist tiff

By BRIAN POTTINGER

A TOP SA Communist Party official has charged ANC director of information Pallo Jordan of coming close to "intellectual thuggery" in attacking the SACP.

The attack, by SACP executive member Jeremy Cronin, is the latest exchange in an increasingly bitter row between Mr Jordan and the SACP.

It began when Mr Jordan, in an article entitled The Crisis of Conscience in the SACP, accused the SACP of not dealing honestly with its Stalinist past and of producing a spirit of "intolerance, petty intellectual thuggery and political dissembling" which could be seen in the party's publications.

This week Mr Cronin, a member of the editorial collective of Umsebenzi, published an open letter to Mr Jordan in the SACP's mouthpiece.

He dismissed Mr Jordan's

attack as "very fashionable just at the moment" and countercharged that Mr Jordan was himself close to "intellectual thuggery".

Mr Cronin challenged Mr Jordan to give a single example of "intolerance or petty intellectual thuggery" in Umsebenzi.

Copies of Umsebenzi cir-

culated with difficulty in the country while they were illegal, he wrote.

"The majority of our readers have not, unlike yourself, been able to sit down and read the entire series of Umsebenzi at their leisure."

Mr Cronin warned Mr Jordan that "waving the banner of anti-Stalinism does not guarantee any of us against falling into Stalinist habits".

11/11/90  
S/Time  
4/11/90  
CITY OF ...

# ANC banks on promises

STimes 4/11/90  
Political Correspondent

PLEDGES of money for the ANC have come rolling in from countries visited by deputy president Nelson Mandela — amounting to as much as R49-million.

But until the money arrives in SA the ANC is battling to pay its growing operational costs here and provide for returning exiles.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the total of funds raised by Mr Mandela was unavailable.

But published reports reveal that Mr Mandela left India on his current tour with a R12-million cheque.

Indonesia was reported to

have pledged R25-million to be used for educational programmes although there is now some confusion as to whether it is that much.

In June, the Canadian government gave Mr Mandela R12-million.

The SA embassy in Washington estimated that Mr Mandela's US tour in the same month raised R18-million, but the ANC is reported to be in a dispute with the US organisers over the transfer of the money to South Africa.

If this money comes through it will raise the known total to R67-million.

In addition to this, the US government has set aside a R25-million fund to aid previously banned organisations in SA.

Mr Mandela asked that all of this be given to the ANC, but US Congressmen said this was unlikely.

The R30-million pledged by the Australian government to "victims of apartheid" earlier this year has yet to be allocated.

Mr Mandela is expected back in SA on Wednesday or Thursday.

# Bloodshed threatens peace talks

CPress 4/11/90



by S'BU MNGADI

RENEWED violence in strife-torn Natal townships and villages is threatening to scuttle crucial peace talks between the national leadership of the ANC and Inkatha.

Peace efforts in Natal which saw ANC and Inkatha senior officials tour the embattled Hammarsdale township of Mpumalanga last week have not yet filtered through to feuding supporters on the ground.

Local leaders and senior activists on both sides have this week been targets of vicious attacks, with some killed and property destroyed.

There were fears that this weekend may be marred by a renewal of full-scale violence.

Talks between delegations led by the ANC's John Nkadimeng and Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose have paved the way for the much-awaited meeting of their respective leaders.

This meeting, the date of which has not been set, will see ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela come face to face with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the first time.

David Ntombela, KwaZulu MP and member of Inkatha's central committee in Maritzburg, said he was convinced peace lay with the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting.

"They need to share a platform in Maritzburg and tell people that enough is enough," he said.

ANC Natal Midlands chairman Larry Gwala said branches in the region last Saturday expected the Nkadimeng-led ANC sub-committee for a briefing on current talks with Inkatha. Due to short notice, the sub-committee was unable to attend the meeting.

He stressed the region was not opposed to the peace initiative, but since the violence was continuing unabated at the height of talks, The ANC Midlands

## But Mandela, Buthelezi are set to meet at last

branch wanted to consult with the Nkadimeng-led sub-committee.

This week Gwala said ANC leader Walter Sisulu had telephoned him to request that the meeting be postponed until Mandela had returned from his overseas trip.

Empangeni in northern Natal, where the two organisations signed the historic lower Umfolozi peace accord in September, has been the scene of bloody skirmishes with the killing of at least six people in the Enseleni, Ntuze and Nhlanganyuke areas.

However, the process of reconciliation in northern Natal remains firmly on course.

Elsewhere in the province, unrest monitors, human-rights lawyers and activists have blamed the current spate of violence on "warmongers" on both sides.

Observers believe the authority of many warlords - who benefit financially from the war as shacklords or by charging protection fees - is now being threatened by the prospect of peace and stability.

Members of the KwaZulu police (KZP) in KwaMakhutha this week allegedly assaulted 12 residents in defiance of a Durban Supreme Court order which forbids the KZP from assaulting or threatening residents, according to affidavits at the Legal Resources Centre in Durban.

# MK: The guerrillas who went to war . . . to avoid war

**M**K HAS come a long way since the day in December 1961 when, in its very first bomb attack which was against a "dompas" office in Durban, cadres used coffee as one of the explosive ingredients.

Since then men and women who fought in MK have written for themselves a story of considerable bravery in the face of hostile odds and grave setbacks.

Few serious revolutionary struggles have been waged under such difficult conditions - without secure rear bases in neighbouring states, without jungles in which to retreat and against a relatively powerful and well-organised enemy.

Other would-be South African revolutionary groups, loud on claims, have been noticeably quiet on the battlefield.

MK *dared to struggle!* It also took MK many years to overcome its inexperience.

In 1962, another group of Durban MK cadres stole a whole trunk of dynamite from a road construction site, but they threw away a lot of little metal things they found with it, thinking they were of no use. In fact, these were the all-important detonators to make the dynamite explode.

But, through training in Tanzania, Egypt, Algeria, the Soviet Union, East Germany, and later in Angola and Cuba, MK developed into what the SAP described as a "well-trained" foe.

Since the 1976 uprising, MK has trained an estimated 12 000 men and women in the art of war and has been responsible for almost all the 1 412 acts of revolutionary violence which have occurred in South Africa.

Of the 12 000 MK cadres, there are now less than 5 000 in exile in ANC camps. The rest have either been deployed in other ANC structures or have been sent into the country. Over the past 30

years, MK cadres have fought wars in four countries: against the Smith regime in then Rhodesia in 1967/68, against the Portuguese colonial authorities in Mozambique at about the same time, against Unita in Angola in 1983/84 and, of course, inside South Africa.

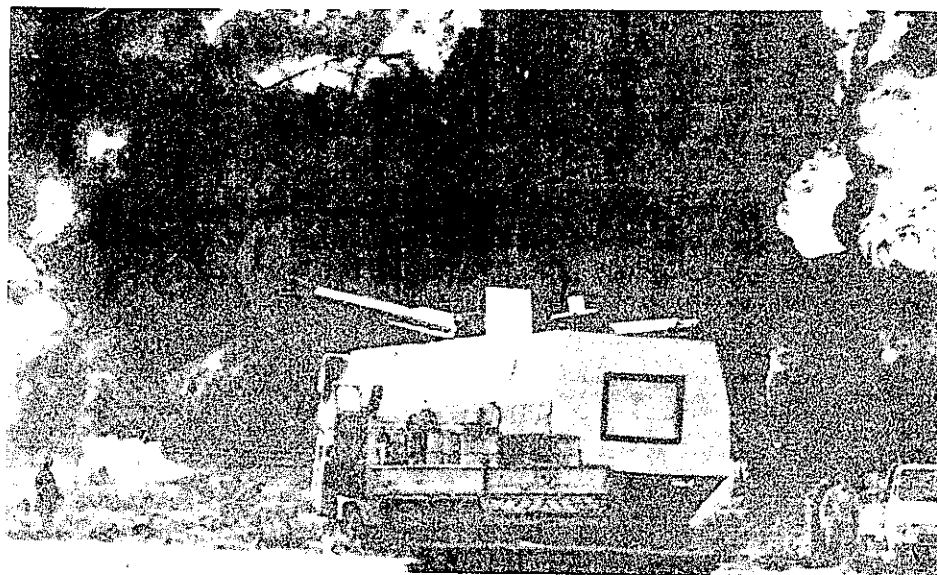
At least 224 MK guerrillas have died in combat with State security forces inside South Africa since 1976, and about 780 have been arrested.

The struggle has produced its legends:

James Masimini, a cadre in the Wankie Campaign of 1967 in then Rhodesia, who, mortally wounded, provided rear-guard covering fire to enable his comrades to retreat.

Abel Muzoora

Howard Barrell specialised in ANC affairs as a journalist from 1981 to 1988, reporting for media in South Africa and abroad, including *City Press*. He is now researching ANC strategy for a doctorate in politics at Oxford University in the UK and has submitted this report after the recent publication of his book *MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle on the history of Umkhonto weSizwe*.



The grim price of war . . . a water cannon stands idle after MK blew the Sasol factory sky-high in a successful attack during 1980. An attack on the Secunda plant in 1985 was a failure.

the original MK high command, Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo.

But appreciating the romance of MK's heroes, like the tragedy of its traitors, must give way sooner rather than later to a serious assessment of MK's successes and failures.

There is enough information to put forward some arguments about MK's armed struggle, its relationship with mass struggles waged since the 1970s and its contribution in bringing South Africa to the verge of a negotiated settlement.

In the MK manifesto of 1961, the high command said MK did not want war. It was taking up arms not just to create conditions of justice nec-

tics show how militarily unsuccessful MK was.

Almost every time MK mounted an attack, one MK combatant was captured or killed by police. (It was far worse with the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army. For each one of the very few actions it carried out, about nine Apla cadres were caught.)

For each handgrenade actually thrown by an MK cadre inside South Africa, about seven grenades were recovered by police. For each occasion during which an MK cadre used a firearm in an attack, about six guns were recovered by security forces.

But, as in any revolutionary struggle, MK's

My argument is shared by a number of people who have served in ANC and MK structures.

The major problem was that MK's armed struggle was conducted, to a large degree, separately from the ANC's broader political struggle.

The ANC needed to create underground political infrastructures inside South Africa to co-ordinate specialised forms of political and armed struggles under a unified command.

This was not achieved and sometimes it was not even tried.

Instead, for most years of the armed struggle, the ANC's operational military structures had their

Without internal underground leadership of a united kind, it was impossible to safely place MK cadres among the masses. It was also not possible to give them proper political guidance on how their skills could best be applied to forward the ANC's political objectives.

Some students of revolution would argue that some sections of the ANC and MK suffered for a long time from a particular kind of "militarist deviation".

But that is an argument that will rage for many years.

What we can say now is that whether or not negotiations succeed, mass





Comrades at arms ... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, right, is surrounded by officials during a visit to Uganda where Umkhonto we-Sizwe cadres had established a command post. ■ PICS: PENGUIN

Obadi Mokgabudi, commander of the huge Sasol sabotage operation in 1980, who was considered "brilliant" by his comrades and who was killed in the South African raid on Matola a year later.

Solemon Mahlangu, a product of the 1976 uprising who set a new standard for a defiant generation when he went to the gallows in 1979 saying: "My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom."

Siphiwe Nyanda (alias Gwebuza), who headed the Transvaal urban machinery of MK for 10 years and who is now on



Obadi Mokgabudi, head of the 1980 Sasol operation.

trial for his role in "Operation Vula".

Chris Hani, MK chief of staff, who always seemed willing to be where the action was and who, like former MK intelligence head Ronnie Kasrils (who is now on the run), seems to have more than a cat's nine lives.

The two greatest legends, the men who set up

arms not just to create conditions of justice necessary for peace in South Africa, but also to avoid war.

But this soon changed. In the face of ruthless action by a powerful enemy, MK soon dedicated itself to the armed overthrow of apartheid.

Militarily, MK did not succeed at this. It did not come near to doing so.

MK and the ANC were not able to develop a revolutionary armed struggle based firmly on the political organisation of the mass of people.

A few available statis-

But, as in every revolutionary struggle, MK's role was never just a military one.

Politically, and this is the real test, MK contributed a great deal towards bolstering a fighting spirit among the people and it strengthened the mass campaigns of the 1980s.

It is these mass campaigns which, if anything, have brought South Africa to the verge of a negotiated settlement.

Political activists and historians will argue for many years about why the armed struggle in South Africa never really took

ANC's operational military structures had their own line of command from outside the country - and the political people had their separate line from exiles.

So, inside the country, you had two almost separate undergrounds, often out of touch with each other - one political, one military.

These two lines of command were very seldom brought together and certainly not until 1987 was any serious attempt made to bring them together under a leadership based inside South Africa.

that whether or not negotiations succeed, mass mobilisation of people will remain the key to the ANC's success or failure in the months and years ahead. People have learned by now that it is no use waiting for others, armed or not, to come across the border to mount a rescue operation.

But, if negotiations succeed, it can be said of the brave men and women who joined MK that they will have miraculously achieved their original aim - they will have gone to war to avoid a war ... and won.

## Don't waste time fighting

WE all know that black people in this country are oppressed and discriminated against.

It is also common knowledge that the ruthless apartheid policies of the National Party have long played havoc with our people, causing us untold suffering.

But the present happenings in our townships challenge one's reasoning, to say the least.

Our own black brothers and sisters seem hell-bent on doing the same dirty things to their fellow black people.

And when one analyses this ugly monster which has firmly rooted in our people, you find it to be, by and large, a product of vanity arising out of a misreading of the political reality.

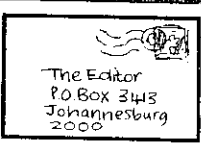
This wicked monster is fed and nourished among our people by petty jealousies, hatred, the keeping of old grudges and our inability to forgive and forget.

We are wasting valuable time when we should be using that time on constructive programmes aimed at equipping us with the necessary skills to run this country. - Thabo Moeketsi, Kagiso.

### PEOPLE'S PRESS

Where City Press readers speak out

Preference will be given to short, neatly written or typed letters. While pen names will be used on request, all letters must include the writer's full name and address.



## Buthelezi no help in Mandela release

I WOULD like to comment on the letter written by Themba Mpanza of Johannesburg, and published in the City Press of 21 October 1990. There are three statements in that letter that I regard as foolish and faulty.

I quote: "Since Mr Mandela was released from prison many innocent lives have been destroyed." However, he implies that Mr Mandela should not have been released from jail. I guess he has forgotten that the government is responsible for destroying lives.

He also forgets that the fighting between township residents and hostel dwellers started long ago, before anyone believed Mr Mandela would be released.

It is nonsense to use expressions like: "There will be no peace unless Mr Mandela stops his dogs from barking at Buthelezi." How can one compare human beings with dogs?

However, it is not true that Buthelezi made it possible for Mr Mandela to be released from prison. I believe there are a number of kind and honest leaders who have contributed toward Mr Mandela's release. - Nhlantla Mpeni, Wits University.

## Time to return to the worship of ancestors

I READ a letter in City Press on October 7 by James Oupa Lekoko under the headline "No to War".

I disagree with him when he says we must stop fighting and ask God to bring peace to our country.

Who is this God he is talking about?

The God we worship

seems to have turned his back on blacks.

The loving and merciful God doesn't rule over human beings regardless of race.

It is the high time we worship our ancestors because it seems like the prevailing violence is a form of punishment for us. - Lefanyana J Nakeki, Sebokeng.

## A day in the life of a freedom fighter

A TYPICAL day in the life of a trainee at an MK training camp in Angola began at about 5am.

If it was one of the larger and better developed camps, he woke up in a bunker-type sleeping unit.

The unit, a kind of underground room, was built about two metres below ground level. The roof was overlaid with logs and other camouflage to protect him and his comrades against attacks by Unita guerrillas or South African special forces. Other protection was provided by surface-to-air missiles.

He would have spent the night on a metal bed and a mattress. The biggest ANC camp had about 500 trainees and some small camps for specialist training had about 40 cadres.

Scattered around the camp, which might stretch over several square kilometres and which had probably once been a farm, were many other bunkers from which other groups of comrades would also be emerging.

Our cadre "gymmed" (ran) for about half-an-hour in track suit and soft shoes, then washed and at 6am had breakfast of at least bread, jam and tea.

He then fell in for an address by his camp commander, who had a staff of about 10 and probably about 25 instructors. There would also be a news bulletin by the camp's information section.

The first class for his platoon of about 30 people started at about 7.30am on a bench under a make-shift shelter, just as the clammy Angolan heat began to cloak the bush.

Instruction was theoretical and practical and he might spend most of some days at the shooting range. Subjects included firearms, explosives, sabotage, battle tactics, map-reading, military drill, strategy and politics.

Depending on the weather, he broke for lunch, the main meal of the day, at

about 1pm or ate it at 3pm when lessons ended.

There would usually be some kind of meat, but cadres always wanted fresh meat, not tinned meat. Sometimes they had what they called "Mao Tse Tung" (Chinese fish) or "Mugabe" (Zimbabwean bully beef).

But in difficult times, meals could consist of rice, rice and more rice, with a little relish and cups of tea - which would make people irritable.

After 3pm, there was a brief rest period, or our cadre would take his place on the duty roster with the rest of his section (usually 10 comrades) to clean and develop the camp, cultivate the camp's fields, or fetch water.

After 5pm he was free and would probably kick a football around with his comrades or rest until supper at 7pm.

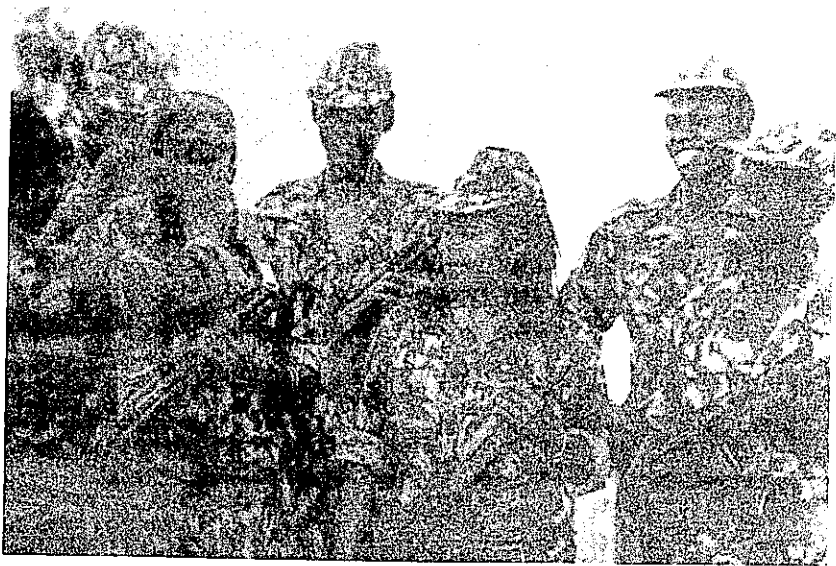
The camp then became a hive of activity. He might do "homework" for his studies, attend special advanced political classes or play board games, of which the favourites were chess, Scrabble and Monopoly.

Lights out was 11pm.

Classes finished by Saturday lunch-time. Saturday nights usually saw a cultural evening and Sunday was the major sports day. A camp of 500 could have 10 football teams - a "Mandela Eleven", a "Sisulu United", and the like.

Basic training usually lasted six months. If selected for more advanced training, our cadre might go to the Soviet Union for anti-aircraft, sabotage skills or special strategic instruction. He might go to East Germany to learn to become an instructor, or to Cuba to learn more about urban and rural guerrilla tactics.

A mood of expectation would sweep through the camp whenever it became known that people were being selected for infiltration back into South Africa.



A group of MK trainees at an Angolan training camp. Training was both theoretical and practical.

## Youth League seeks peace

"THE overall objective of our struggle is to achieve peace in our country - peace that will permeate all facets of life," the newly constituted ANC Youth League says in a statement released to City Press this week.

The League, who blames apartheid as the primary cause of violence in the country and castigates State and rightwing violence, says to achieve peace other forms of conflict had to be resolved.

"It is correct to say that there has been conflict among anti-apartheid organisations which has sometimes resulted in violence.

"This violence had as its source the lack of tolerance of different views among our members or sup-

porters. "This applies to other organisations who cry 'sellout' or 'collaborator' at a switch of tactics by other organisations."

The role of young people is to back the ANC leadership by intensifying the struggle on all fronts, particularly with mass action so that power can be transferred to the democratic majority as fast and smoothly as possible.

To address the problem of political intolerance all the youth of the country, irrespective of political affiliation, should be rallied into united action against apartheid under the banner of a broad anti-apartheid youth front.

The challenge by the Inkatha

Youth League for political tolerance should be rephrased to a call for united action against apartheid.

The Youth League supports the decision taken by the ANC National Executive Committee to meet homeland leaders and the decision to hold discussions with the Inkatha Freedom Party on how violence can be eradicated, the statement says.

However, it is important to "defend our gains and our people from apartheid violence".

This can be achieved by building strong and cohesive political organisations and defence units and committees which will be "adequately equipped".

# Ex-killer cop to new political party

By ELIAS MALULEKE  
**SELF-CONFESSED** ex-killer cop and leader of the Council for Apostolic Churches in Southern Africa, Archbishop Mzilikazi Fanie Masiya, says he will form a political party by the end of the year.

Masiya, who was an anti-sanctions campaigner for multinational companies and who claims he has a religious following of more than three million people, will call his organisation the United Christian Party.

A self-confessed killer and convict who served time from 1977 for stealing arms before he escaped, Masiya received extensive training at the SAP anti-terrorism Maloskop camp "which turned me into a killing machine", he told *City Press* last year.

He staged one of the biggest jail breakouts in the history of Pretoria's maximum security prison. He and other dangerous criminals used blankets to scale the walls after forcing their way out of cells on June 25, 1977. Masiya was due to face 14 further charges relating to robbery, murder and theft.

It was reported how, after a crime binge lasting several months in Bophuthatswana, he was recaptured in February 1978 and jailed until 1981. After turning to the Bible, which was to become his tool after his release, he used the "Good Book" to fight sanctions and collect funds.

## He's also an archbishop and lobbyist

Masiya, 38, admitted he was a front for South Africa's anti-sanctions campaign. He said the campaign was started by whites and he was brought in "to make it seem like a black initiative".

Last year, after it was discovered his anti-sanctions drive was being funded by big business, he retired to his house in Winterveld, Pretoria, after his offices in the city were closed and his personal belongings confiscated for non-payment of rent and costs.

Masiya's debts have not yet been paid. He claimed he was unable to pay because he could not raise funds as his stationery had been confiscated by the caretaker of the building.

# Home, sweet home!

Alex families band together to build each other houses

HOMELESS families in Alexandra township have joined forces to build houses for each other - helped by funds from an American Christian organisation.

Nine of the houses, built by unskilled residents with a little help from skilled blacks and whites who gave their labour and services free, were opened last weekend in 17th Avenue, Alexandra.

This brought to 14 the number of low-cost three-bedroom houses built since Helen Friedman arrived in South Africa 18 months ago.

She is the sole representative here of Habitat for Humanity International, an ecumenical Christian non-profit organisation based in Georgia.

More than 100 people are daily building the houses of neighbours before they start on their own, and it is hoped more will join in as soon as land is available.

Alexandra Habitat for Humanity is an affiliate of Habitat for Humanity International.

The organisation is operating in 300 American cities and in 70 countries in the Third World.

"It is not a charitable



Helen Friedman and community worker Joyce Dube at the opening of the nine houses in Alexandra which were built by poor families with help from America.

### CP REPORTER

organisation, and helps build pride and dignity in the home-owner because he has obtained his property by his own endeavour and payments," says Helen.

Prospective home-owners have to put in 500 hours of labour on other homes before they can have their own built. They are taught basic

skills, including how to use the machine that makes concrete building blocks.

The houses are sold at cost to families who earn less than R1 000 a month. The family pays 25 percent of gross monthly income for the house.

The houses cost about R15 000, compared with at least R38 000 for a similar conventionally-built house.

Because no interest is charged, average monthly payments of R150 will pay off the R15 000 in eight years.

The owners' monthly

repayments are used to buy land and materials. Fresh capital is obtained by donations and interest-free loans.

Several smaller South African companies have also contributed and some hardware and building material companies have donated materials.

Among the happy new home owners is Regina Mabizela, 50, who has five children and whose family lived in a yard in Alexandra for 15 years.

Because her husband only earns R216 a week, she never dreamed she would ever have her own

home.

Her friend Maria Mkabane, 47, who earns R138 a week as a packer in a chicken factory, has been helping her build since February this year.

She has not yet completed her 500 hours to get her home, but is working towards it.

She lives in a back yard with her three children - she has no husband - and shares a shack with her sister who has five children.

"I cannot wait for us to have our own home," she said.

## Time for a radical change

### PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

South Africa's present crisis were to be reasonable and humane.

It is now the duty of traditional Afrikaners to reconcile themselves with the other inhabitants of the country - who for centuries have been discriminated against politically, economically and socially, Van Jaarsveld said.

NJABULO Ndebele is a very talented man, *Vrye Weekblad* said this week, criticising the authorities for refusing the Lesotho-born author and academic

### MONEY TALK

## Gencor plan shakes up big business

BIG business sat up and took note last week at the surprise statement from the Sanlam-controlled Gencor (South Africa's second largest mining house), that it was studying the possible break-up of the group into its constituent companies.

The days of easy slogans are past. Serious thinking is taking place in organisations as diverse as the mining houses, the Stock Exchange and the government on the one hand; and the ANC, SACP and the trade unions on the other.

Key ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki has been urging business to remove its "halo" and to address issues such as the backlog of blacks in management and the redistribution of assets.

Gradually, both business and the ANC are moving closer in their thinking, as both share the aims of economic growth and halting the flight of capital.

Senior Gencor executive Dawie de Jongh said the purpose of the latest study was to realise the full value of the mining house's underlying assets.

He believes the discount price of Gencor shares on the Stock Exchange arises from the perception by investors that it is more valuable to hold shares directly in the constituent companies than through the conglomerate itself.

De Jongh suggested if conglomerates in South Africa were to be broken

BETTER LIVIN



Merry Christmas

Azapo.

Mokae said: "He wanted to know what his position in Azapo would be and whether he would be allowed into the fold. We told him his past record was unacceptable."

Masiya is also known to have tried forming links with civic structures in Bophuthatswana and the ANC, but was also snubbed.

Masiya said there are not enough political parties in South Africa. "For instance, take the ANC and the South African Communist Party. Many people do not go along with communism."

John Dem

"Change is the core of history, and he



Offen 4/1/90 (11)

# Ex-killer cop to form new political party

By ELIAS MALULEKE

**SELF-CONFESSED** ex-killer cop and leader of the Council for Apostolic Churches in Southern Africa, Archbishop Mzilikazi Fanie Masiya, says he will form a political party by the end of the year.

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Azapo has described Masiya as a political maverick and opportunist who is in a confused state.

He was ordained a bishop by the United Apostolic Ministers' Council in Africa (Uamca) in 1987 after he promised to raise funds overseas for its churches as leader of a peace crusade movement.

Uamca booted him out for making unauthorised statements on its behalf and for attacking leaders like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, so he formed his own "church".

Uamca president and leader of the United Emmanuel Assemblies of God, Archbishop Joseph Selekisho, said Masiya has no congregation of his own. He dismissed Masiya's organisation as "a one-man show" with no support.

Masiya has already suffered his biggest blow after the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), on which he had been banking for support, gave him and his new party the thumbs down. The ZCC, with a membership estimated at three million, said it had no interest in joining a political party.

Observers believe the snub by the ZCC sounds the death knell for Masiya and his party because he has no known following, contrary to his claims of commanding millions. Masiya staged a "mass protest march" in Pretoria in August 1988 against US support for sanctions - 35 people turned up.



Ex-convict... Archbishop

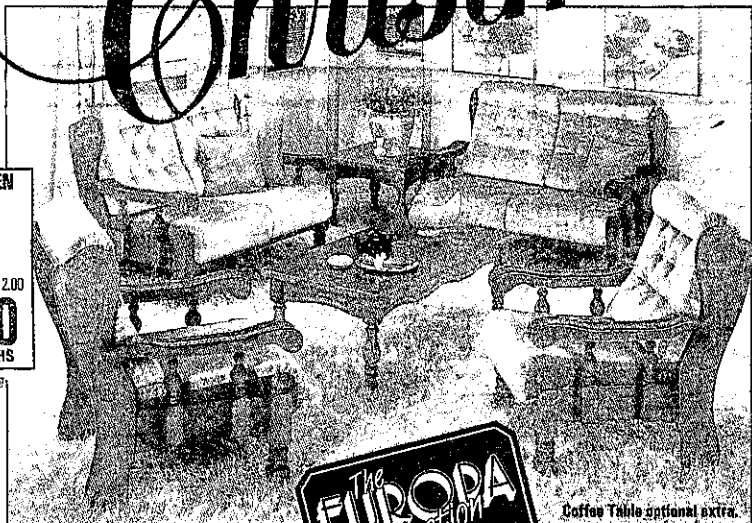


John Gogotya - claims his Democratic Alliance has

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# SACP 'smeared' claims Joe Slovo

STimes 4/11/90

111A

By DOMINIC JONES

OPERATION VULA was an ANC project and was not planned by the South African Communist Party, said the secretary-general Joe Slovo.

Mr Slovo this week accused the government of distorting the facts for its own political ends.

In so doing, he said, the government had breached the spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements.

"The impression has been created that Vula was a private venture by leading members of the SACP like myself, Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils — nothing could be further from the truth," Mr Slovo said.

"Vula was authorised by the national executive committee of the ANC and in that sense every member of the NEC is a co-conspirator.

"The interesting thing is that they deliberately omitted references to these key co-conspirators and restricted their references to people who could be construed as being communists."

Mr Slovo said ANC president Oliver Tambo was in charge of Vula and this was known to the police.

"It is also well known to



**JOE SLOVO**  
Crude abuse of justice

the authorities that when Mr Tambo took ill, Alfred Nzo was in charge of Vula."

He said the operation was planned before the ANC suspended its armed struggle at its summit with the government on August 6.

"It was launched during a period when we were engaged in military activity and this is part of the reason why the regime is talking to us.

"It did not depart from the basic strategy of the ANC which is public knowledge.

"I'm not arguing about the legalities of the case. The law, no matter how horrific and unjust, is the law. But I believe the pursuit of the people in the Vula case is a crude abuse of the process of justice in light of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minute.

"It was fully understood by the regime when they talked to us in Cape Town in May that we have an underground, that we have weapons and that we have armed cadres. This, however, did not stand in the way of reaching the Groote Schuur accord.

"It was also fully understood in Pretoria, when we decided unilaterally to offer a suspension of the armed struggle, that we still had weapons and armed units. That is why a working group was set up to look at the issue, and it was that issue that was up for discussion between us.

"Therefore the persecution of the people in the Vula project is not only politically motivated to smear one sector of the movement in a false way, but is in breach of the spirit of our discussions."

# ANC accepts SADF offer

S Times

4/11/90

11A

By RHEINER WEITZ  
Lusaka

JOE MODISE, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, said yesterday that he would accept an invitation from Defence Minister Magnus Malan to inspect military installations in SA.

Mr Modise, who was reacting to media reports that General Malan had invited him to inspect SADF installations, told the Africa News Organisation: "I have not received the invitation officially but I will accept it when it comes."

"Soon soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe will be occupying those installations. I will accept and organise a delegation of Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers led by me."

However, he said he would not make a reciprocal invitation to General Malan.

"There is no way we would

ask Malan to inspect our military installations because there are sanctions against South Africa imposed on our initiative."

Mr Modise said countries where ANC military installations were located would not allow this since they would be breaking these sanctions.

He described President F W de Klerk as an honest man who could be believed.

"For Mr De Klerk to accept publicly that he would serve under Nelson Mandela in a non-racial South Africa was a statement from a noble statesman," said Mr Modise.

"It is a patriotic attitude — it will go a long way to burying the racial differences brought about by apartheid."

"I believe this is a positive attitude — I hope he (De Klerk) will succeed in convincing his colleagues to follow in his footsteps."

Mr Modise said he regretted that apartheid was still in place despite the cosmetic changes that were taking place.

On the issue of black-on-black violence, he doubted whether a solution would be found as long as the police "collaborated" with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkhata with the aim of destroying the ANC.

"Our organisation has demanded from President De Klerk to control right-wing elements within the police."

"If this violence does not come to an end we will have no alternative but to call upon our people to defend themselves."

©/Pro 4/11/90 (S) (11A)

## PAC officials gag journalists

PRESS censorship by PAC officials was evident at PAC president Zeph Mothopeng's funeral service at Orlando stadium in Soweto yesterday, reports Sapa.

PAC officials repeatedly tried to stop photographers from taking pictures of Inkatha Freedom Party flags flying alongside PAC flags.

When a portion of the crowd attacked and beat a man they accused of being an Askari (police agent), journalists were forcibly held back by marshals.

Two photographers had their cameras hit and *Vrye Weekblad* reporter Pearlie Joubert was grabbed by the chin and told to look the other way.

The Press were told not to move around the stadium, and not to take photographs or speak to people.





# ANC rejects linking prisoners release to progress

THE ANC has rejected the Government's linkage of the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners to progress made in the organisation's undertaking to pursue peaceful negotiations.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee last week told a Press conference in Pretoria the Government was now ready to "proceed in a phased manner" with the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to individuals in accordance with the guidelines for political offences and the norms and mechanisms devised in terms of paragraph two of the Pretoria Minute.

However, he said time scales within which indemnity could be granted and prisoners released would be

determined by progress made under paragraph three of the Minute, the clause in which the ANC undertook to suspend all armed action and related activities.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the Government had tried to establish this linkage in discussions with the ANC and the organisation had rejected it.

The Government now had to proceed with the implementation of the release and indemnification process without introducing new points of disagreement which the ANC would not accept.

Responding to Coetsee's announcement that anyone applying for par-

don or indemnity had to fill in questionnaires, Marcus said the ANC was not opposed to this development. She said the ANC had agreed to the filling in of the questionnaires after it had been assured that the new form did not require sensitive information like the one the Government first suggested.

Marcus said unlike the Government, the ANC took the view that prosecutions had to be halted once a political offender had applied for indemnity pending the outcome of the application.

She said Coetsee's statement made no reference to a mutually agreed upon point.

11A

5/11/90 (11A) (12)

# ANC: we would close nuclear power stations

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC would not support the use of nuclear power as an energy source and would close existing nuclear power stations if it came to power, ANC environment spokesman Stanley Sangweni said at the weekend.

He was addressing a conference on "The Environment for a Changing South Africa" at the University of the Witwatersrand, at which representatives from the PAC, ANC, Cosatu and

Nactu discussed future environmental policy.

Apartheid was blamed for many of South Africa's environmental problems and it was agreed that a future policy would have to be devised at grassroots level.

"For the majority of black South Africans whose aspirations are dictated by the struggle for survival, environmental considerations are regarded with indifference or hostility," said the PAC's Barney Desai, whose speech was read in his absence.

11A

# Guns, scuffles at PAC funeral

*by Day 5/11/90*  
PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, 78, was buried in Soweto on Saturday after a funeral service at Orlando stadium attended by about 3 000 people chanting "one settler, one bullet".

Representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC, SA Communist Party, Azanian People's Organisation, church groups, and several foreign governments attended the funeral to pay tribute to the late PAC leader.

A scuffle broke out at midday when about 50 men dragged a suspected police agent across the football field, kicking and beating him.

Guns were drawn in anger and PAC marshals and officials forcefully kept journalists and photographers away from the scene.

Two photographers were manhandled and a reporter was grabbed and told to look the other way when the scuffle broke out.

PAC officials also repeatedly tried to prevent photographers from taking pictures of Inkatha flags waving among PAC flags in the crowd, telling reporters to remain in the stadium or risk being refused re-entry.

Newsmen were told to focus their attention on funeral proceedings and not to move around the stadium.

White journalists were continuously bombarded with shouts of "one settler, one bullet." The same chant greeted SACP general secretary Joe Slovo. — Sapa.

# Press harassment 'not PAC policy'

CAP-TRIA 5/11/70 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Harassment and restriction of the press by officials and marshals at PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng's funeral on Saturday was not official PAC policy, a PAC spokesman said yesterday.

At the funeral Pan Africanist Congress officials repeatedly tried to prevent photographers taking pictures of Inkatha flags waving among PAC flags in the crowd, telling reporters to remain in the stadium or risk being refused re-entry.

The press were told to focus their attention on funeral proceedings and not to move around the stadium.

## Journalists challenged by crowd

When about 50 men dragged a suspected "Askari" police agent across the football field, kicking and beating him, the press were forcibly held back by PAC marshals and officials.

Guns were drawn in anger.

The cameras of two photographers were hit and Vrye Weekblad reporter Pearlle Joubert was held by the chin and told to look the other way.

White journalists were repeatedly challenged by PAC supporters at the funeral chanting: "One settler, one bullet".

Mr Mahlubi Mbandazayo, the PAC's education secretary, explained that the chant was a slogan and not a policy or principle of the PAC.

"We definitely cannot condone such untoward and unfavourable behaviour towards anybody. We see them as human beings, as journalists. That is the official thinking of the PAC," Mr Mbandazayo said.

On PAC policy towards the media, Mr Mbandazayo said the movement had no stereotypes.

He said the press were hostile towards the PAC. "But we don't own the press so we can't determine their attitude. Fighters don't cry."

Mr Mbandazayo said the incident in which two Red Cross officials were assaulted by alleged PAC supporters would definitely be investigated and the culprits severely dealt with.

Among foreign dignitaries were English, Canadian, Swedish, Dutch, Japanese and Zambian representatives. Two Iranians from the Iranian Interest Section also attended.

PAC and Inkatha supporters in the T-shirts of their respective organisations sang together in the

JOHANNESBURG. -- There was a "good chance" of a future alliance between the Pan Africanist Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, Inkatha Transvaal youth leader Mr Themba Khoza said on Saturday.

He and other senior Inkatha officials were present on the stage with PAC officials at the funeral of PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, where flags of the two ideologically disparate organisations were carried high in the funeral procession.

On the stands the new IFP flag waved and supporters of the party and PAC sang and danced together in the T-shirts of their respective organisations.

Mr Khoza said PAC, Inkatha and the Azanian People's Organisation were closer to each other than to the African National Congress.

ANC international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki, deputy general secretary Mr Henry Makgothi and SA Communist Party head Mr Joe Slovo were also present at the funeral.

PAC education secretary Mr Mahlubi Mbandazayo said his organisation had no formal plans with the IFP, "but we cannot rule out the possibility of aligning ourselves with anybody in the future, including Inkatha". — Sapa

stands.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, after paying tribute to Mr Mothopeng, said that to shoot a "settler" was to kill two birds with one stone.

"You destroy the oppressed and oppressor at the same time, there remains a dead man and a free man."

"Arm the people," he shouted, and the crowd roared back: "Liberate Azania."

"In the past they made history of us, in the future we will make history of them," he said.

Acting PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the PAC was fighting for the complete overthrow of white domination and dispossession and for the return of land.

The funeral procession later moved slowly to the Avalon cemetery, accompanied by a sea of Inkatha and PAC flags and running youths.

Grim-faced police with machineguns watched while youths streamed past shouting "One settler, one bullet". — Sapa

Mangena advocates seizures for redistribution

# Repeal of Land Act is insufficient: BC

11A  
23/11/90

THE intended repeal of the Land Acts was not a sufficient attempt by the regime to placate the land hunger of the dispossessed black people in this country.

And as blacks were dispossessed of their land by deceit, plunder, force and seizure, it was utterly unacceptable that black people were now expected to pay for the return of their land.

This is the standpoint of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) on the thorny issue of black land ownership.

BCMA chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena told *Sowetan* in an exclusive interview in Harare, Zimbabwe, that his organisation believed that land seizure and "other methods" were the only way to redress the present imbalance in land ownership.

## Formula

"Land will have to be seized from private owners and distributed among the people in a formula still to be worked out.

"Whites who presently own it or to be even more precise, possess it, got the land in a non-democratic and non-economic buying scheme.

"They seized it from our people and we will seize it back," Mangena said.

Turning to the BCMA's standpoint on negotiations, Mangena said his organisation had agreed with Azapo that a constituent assembly, elected on a one-man-one-vote system with no colour bar, was the only body that could formulate the future constitution of this country:

While his organisation was not willing to enter into negotiations with the De Klerk regime over the constitutional dispensation for South Africa, it was, however, willing to meet the Government and negotiate the mechanisms of setting up the constituent assembly.

These negotiations would have to take place outside South Africa and not "under the threats of the regime's forces with temporary

FOCUS

By MATHATHA TSEDU

indemnities that are withdrawn at the whim of the regime," he said.

The constituent assembly negotiations must be chaired by an independent and impartial mediator.

These talks would not deal with anything except the "modality to bring about the constituent assembly", he added.

If the Government was to reject this demand, the struggle would intensify in all its forms - economic sanctions, armed struggle, mass mobilisation and disruptions of economic activity to bring down the regime.

Mangena said it was "absurd" for the De Klerk regime to claim that it was a legitimate government that should be left in charge of the running of the State with no need for the creation of a constituent assembly.

## Talks

"De Klerk's regime is illegitimate as it oppresses the people and was not democratically elected. It only represents whites and cannot claim legitimacy.

"It is the main party in the conflict and cannot claim the right to convene, chair and decide the outcome of the process of liberation," Mangena said.

He said the struggle has always been waged to liberate the oppressed. It will continue for as long as this objective has not been realised.

Turning to the involvement and inclusion of bantustan leaders in the process, Mangena said this group of "Government puppets" had always been part and parcel of the State machinery of oppression and exploitation.

"They belong with De Klerk and should attend as part of De Klerk's delegation. They are frauds and the liberation move-



MOSIBUDI MANGENA

ment should continue to shun them," he added.

Asked whether his organisation had also been pressurised by Frontline states to enter into negotiations with the regime, Mangena said this had not happened.

Although Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda had urged the PAC to enter talks, the BCMA, which is not recognised by the OAU, had "received no message from any government urging us to go and negotiate.

"Our interactions with parties and governments in Africa have revealed instead an appreciation of our stand and it is found to be reasonable.

## Military

"For those parties like ZANU (PF) that actually waged war, they do not understand how military commanders of a people's army can rush home now when all we have is new words from the regime," he added.

Mangena said the BCM, as a political family, believed in a "fully-fledged democracy in Azania with one man, one vote on a single voters' roll and in a unitary state, the repossession and redistribution of land and the redistribution of wealth."

The BCM also wanted these aspects to be enshrined in a new constitution to ensure that the new economic system, which has to be

socialistic, grants workers ownership, control and full participation in wealth creation and distribution.

Although the organisation was committed to participating in peaceful processes that have the potential to achieve genuine freedom, "De Klerk's refusal to negotiate on land redistribution, a radical alteration of the economic system, one person one vote in a unitary state, and his insistence on group rights, closes the door to real negotiations.

"For the BCM to negotiate under these circumstances would be a betrayal of the confidence and trust our people have placed in the movement", he added.

It was for this reason that the main BCM formation inside the country, Azapo, was instead calling for a consultative conference of all liberation movements and workers organisations to solidify and unite the efforts of the oppressed.

The Government's selective and individual invitations to black organisations is intended to be divisive and reveals De Klerk's continuing efforts to drive deeper wedges between people's organisations.

"He can therefore never be seen as a liberator of black people as only the oppressed have the capacity to free themselves," Mangena said.



Thousands of PAC supporters and mourners who attended the funeral of Mr Zeph Mothopeng on their way to Avalon cemetery on Saturday. *Sowetan 5/11/90 11A*

# Unity is spoiled by shooting

*Sowetan 5/11/90 11A*

By DON SEOKANE

THE spirit of unity that prevailed at the funeral of Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zephania Lekoama Mothopeng was spoiled by shootings at the ensuing vigil at the weekend.

At 12.30 on Saturday morning a youth, Leroke Hlatswayo, was seriously wounded when police opened fire at the crowd

attending the night vigil. Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said police opened fire at a mob near a church in Orlando West when they were prevented from disarming a man carrying a gun. Mariemuthoo said the man, aged 22, was taken to Baragwanath Hospital.

●To Page 2

INSIDE

## Shots spoil PAC vigil

*Sowetan 5/11/90 11A*

●From Page 1

Hlatswayo, who was wounded by police fire, was also allegedly mauled by police dogs as he lay defenceless on the ground.

Mariemuthoo said police were investigating the incident.

The funeral service held at Orlando Stadium, attended by at least 15 000 people, displayed an aura of unprecedented unity with leaders from a wide spectrum of political organisations.

The flag of Inkatha

Freedom Party was evident on the grandstands with its supporters wearing white shirts. When Inkatha delegates Mr Themba Khoza, Mr Humphrey Ndhlovu and the Reverend Jeff Mthethwa were introduced, they were greeted with the slogan: "Peace among the Africans. War against the enemy".

The ANC was represented by Mr Thabo Mbeki - head of international affairs - and assistant secretary-general

Mr Henry Makgothi while Azapo was represented by its former president, Mr Nkosi Molala.

The service was also attended by blind singers Babsy and Bigboy Mlangeni and Steve Kekana, representatives from the Iranian mission, the German, Netherlands, Japanese, British and Canadian consulates, by the Transkeian Military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the Reverend Frank Chikane of the SACC and delegates from the ruling Botswana People's Party.

The only embarrassing

moment came when a man dressed in a yellow T-shirt believed to be an Askari threatened to evict leader of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, from the podium he shared with other delegates.

PAC security men defused what might have been an explosive situation.

Paying tribute to Mothopeng, acting PAC President Mr Clarence Mlakwethu said when his health deteriorated Mothopeng did not give up the fight saying "we should rather be condemned for what we did than for what we failed to do".

# Mandela gets pledge of R13-m

KUALA LUMPUR - The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela left Malaysia for Brunei yesterday after obtaining a pledge of R13-million from the Malaysian government.

Mandela was seen off at Kuala Lumpur International Airport by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad after a three-day visit. *Guelfan 5/11/90*

Mandela, on a fund-raising tour of the Asia-Pacific region, said late on Saturday Mahathir had told him

Malaysia would give R13-million in cash to the ANC.

Malaysia initially said its help would be mainly in the form of housing and job training.

Mandela has obtained pledges from India (R17.9 million), Indonesia (R26-million) and Australia (R39 million). Japan said it could not give money directly to political parties.

Brunei is the last stop on Mandela's six-nation tour. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

# Civil protection units slammed

Sowetan 6/11/90

(11A)

THE United Democratic Front and the ANC yesterday condemned the decision to allow black local authorities to form "civil protection units" which would be activated during the disruption of essential services or in the event of an influx of refugees.

Slating these units, which would be formed in terms of the Civil Protection Act, as "a legalised vigilante force", both organisations predicted an escalation of tension and conflict in the townships.

The ANC said it was significant that such "protection" units were being created at the same time as the Government had expressed its opposition to self-defence units.

"This measure is designed to create vigilante groups to prop up those discredited community councils that are still operating and to act against the people who are daily protesting against the callous actions of the authorities." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



# MK man fears alleged policemen

Star 6/11/90

(11A)

Political Staff

A member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK), says he fears for his life after numerous visits to his home in GaRankuwa by people who claimed to be policemen.

Bachana Mokwena (33), a trained member of MK who recently returned to South Africa on an indemnity, said he had not gone home last week out of fear of harassment and abduction.

He was appointed treasurer of the ANC Youth League last Sunday.

In another development, a recently returned MK cadre was kidnapped last week from his brother's home in Tembisa by balaclava-clad men who claimed to be policemen.

Mthunzi Nkosi (29) was taken from home around 3.30 am on Monday by 15 men wearing balaclavas. The men, said to be five whites and 10 blacks, alleg-

edly said they were policemen but refused to produce identification.

A spokesman in the office of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Captain Craig Kotze, said if the ANC men were granted immunity, the police would not harass them.

He said "lots of people" could claim to be policemen. If charges were laid the matter would be investigated.

# Cops silent on hunt for 7 ANC spies

POLICE have taken note of the alleged infiltration of at least seven ANC spies into the security forces as part of Operation Vula but would not confirm or deny the infiltration.

This followed weekend reports of a spy hunt in intelligence and security forces to unmask seven ANC and Communist Party double agents.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday such infiltration was "hypothetically" possible but the police were continually on the alert for this kind of activity as were all security agencies worldwide.

He said counter-intelligence was constantly in progress and the police have in the past uncovered several agents infiltrated by the ANC.

The South Africa Police, however, had excellent mechanisms to counter the infiltration of spies.

Kotze said the ANC has never succeeded beyond infiltrating "low-level" spies.

"History is on our side because we have uncovered these low-level spics in the past," he said.

Kotze added that police investigation into Operation Vula was on-going and as more information was uncovered, it would be followed up.

"It is a tribute to black, Indian and Coloured policemen and women, who are often subjected to organised campaigns of intimidation and murder, that the overwhelming majority remained steadfastly committed to the SAP," he said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

# ANC slams decision on protection units



THE ANC yesterday criticised the TPA's

*Sowetan 6/11/90*  
decision to empower black local authorities to form "civil protection units", saying the decision was an attempt to create vigilante groups to bolster discredited town councillors.

The ANC said in a statement the latest Transvaal Provincial Gazette, which empowered black local authorities to form "civil protection units" in terms of the Civil Protection Act, was aimed at propping up the discredited local government system and the town councillors whose "callous actions" had resulted in essential services such as water and electricity being cut off.

## **Hazards**

Consequently hundreds of thousands of people were daily experiencing the hardship and health hazards which accompanied life without water, sewerage and electricity.

The protection units, according to the Provincial Gazette, will be made up of volunteer residents

and would be activated when either an influx of refugees or a disruption of essential services occurred.

"It is significant that such 'protection' units are being created at the same time as the Government expresses opposition to self-defence units created by and accountable to the people," the ANC said.

The organisation said "the confrontational approach" of Conservative Party-led local authorities and "the indifference" expressed by bodies such as Eskom had already heightened tensions in the townships.

The introduction of "a legalised vigilante force into this already explosive situation" was an outrage, and the ANC would hold both the Government and the local authorities responsible for further escalation of violence, death and destruction which were "bound to follow this foolhardy action".

The ANC statement said the organisation would soon be approaching civic associations to discuss the matter further.

- Sowetan Correspondent



# ANC slams brakes on property buy-up

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has put the brakes on a multimillion rand property acquisition drive — fuelling rumours that the movement may be going through difficult financial times.

It was learnt that the ANC initiated preliminary negotiations with several brokers to buy prime residential and commercial properties.

But no deals were concluded and now — two months after the ANC's initial interest — property brokers are wondering what happened.

### 'ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION'

The ANC's head of finance, Mr Vusi Khanyile, said there was an "erroneous" initial impression formed by property brokers that the ANC had "lots of money".

"It is true that we do not have all the money we need. We do not have unlimited resources," Mr Khanyile said.

He confirmed that the ANC was looking for office accommodation and that

it would need space for returning exiles.

Mr Khanyile would not comment on specific property interests, saying the ANC was a "large organisation" and that branches were looking at their own property requirements.

While some brokers have speculated that disorganisation was the reason for the on-off deals, others suspect that anticipated funding for the properties did not materialise.

### SITES OF INTEREST

Among the properties in which the organisation has shown an interest are:

- A R2,5-million smallholding in an elite far-north suburbs area;

- A 6 000-square-metre office block in Johannesburg's central business district; and

- Up to a dozen houses in Johannesburg's grey areas — Berea, Yeoville and Observatory.

Property brokers and estate agents interviewed agreed to provide details of the ANC's approaches on condition of anonymity — and because the deals ap-

pear to have reached a cul-de-sac.

"We're talking to the ANC. In fact they have been talking to every broker in town," said one broker.

He said it was common knowledge the ANC wanted to rehouse its headquarters — presently at an office block in Sauer Street, central Johannesburg.

Its representatives were prepared to buy a suitable building but — unsure of just how big the organisation would be in future — were toying with the option of leasing in the short term.

Said another broker: "The ANC is looking at properties all over the place. We have made a number of submissions on suitable properties to the ANC but until now no deals have been concluded".

Another prominent Johannesburg property broker said: "We are negotiating with the ANC", but he refused to divulge details.

It is understood that ANC representatives twice toured a R2,5-m smallholding in a Johannesburg far-north suburb.

The property was apparently being considered by the ANC for use as a "training centre."

Although the ANC initiated negotiations for the property about two months ago and even took the plans for further study, the organisation's representatives have shown no further interest. The property is still on the market.

An estate agent active in Johannesburg's "grey" eastern suburbs formed the impression that the organisation wanted to provide a housing subsidy to enable senior members to buy homes.

"Another four people who said they represented the ANC came to us. But that was two months ago and since then we have heard nothing."

He understood the ANC was looking for at least 12 houses for its senior personnel on the city-centre's borders.

At least one former exile working for the ANC was able to use the US dollars earned in exile to buy financial rands and purchase a property at a bargain price, the agent disclosed.

Star 6/11/90

(114)

# Black groups join to eulogise Mothopheng

By Montshiwa Moroke and Sapa

Top officials of the major black political organisations will share the platform at the Soweto funeral tomorrow of Zephania Mothopeng, president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

The funeral is expected to be one of the biggest ever held in Soweto.

Representatives from the movement's external mission are also expected to attend.

Mr Mothopeng (77) died last week.

A PAC spokesman said Mr Mothopeng's body would arrive at his Orlando West home at 5 pm today.

It would then be taken to the Holy Cross Anglican Church at 7 pm to lie in state.

The church service is due to start at 7.30 am tomorrow. At about 9.30 am, the cortege will leave for the Orlando Stadium for the main service from 10 am.

Speakers will include Azanian People's Organi-

sation president Itumeleng Mosala, ANC assistant secretary-general Henry Makgothi, and PAC acting president Clarence Makwethu.

● The SA Department of Home Affairs says it knows nothing about a PAC allegation that the Government refused Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda a visa to attend the funeral.

PAC spokesman Philip Dlamini said the Zambian ambassador to Zimbabwe, John Sikaulu, would attend in Mr Kaunda's place.

● Buses are scheduled to pick up mourners from the following points at 8 am tomorrow for the funeral: Phatudi HP School, Munsieville, Krugersdorp; Baragwanath Hospital; Mayibuye Garage, Pimville; Chiawelo Community Centre; Thabethe shopping complex, White City; Jabavu; Paradise, Rockville; NG Kerk, Mohlakeng; Moletsi shop, Bekkersdaal; Kopano Community Centre, Dobsonville; Esso Garage, Kagiso; Pan Africa, Alexandra; Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg; Emdeni terminus; Draai Hoek, Naledi; Nkomonde store, Wattville; Lionel Kent Centre, Daveyton; Vosloorus Civic Centre; Mobil Garage next to Natalspruit Hospital, Tokoza; Tokoza stadium; Thembi shopping centre, Tembisa; and Kwa-Thema civic centre.

APR 1990 6/11/90

# Vula was our plot, claims ANC

Political Staff

OPERATION Vula was an African National Congress operation, fully authorised by its national executive and all trials connected with the operation should be suspended, the ANC said yesterday.

All "so-called offences" committed in terms of Operation Vula had been done before the cut-off date for indemnity for political offences.

"We see the continued prosecution of our cadres as not only persecution, but also a politically motivated smear campaign against the ANC, pursued to try to drive a

wedge between us and our firm allies, the SA Communist Party," the ANC said in a statement.

Such "propaganda" was not in keeping with the spirit of negotiations and its objective was "to create confusion among our people", the ANC claimed.

Mac Maharaj, Sphiwe Nyanda, Rayman Lala, Catherine Mvelase, Susanna Tshabalala, Dipak Patel, Pravin Gordhan and Amnesh Sankar were currently appearing in court in Durban.

Together with Mr Billy Nair and Mr Ron-

nie Kasrils, they were arrested in connection with Operation Vula.

The organisation wanted to place on record that "Operation Vula was an ANC operation, fully authorised by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC.

"President Tambo was in charge of Vula until his illness, when his duties were taken over by Secretary-General Alfred Nzo."

The ANC demanded that the current trial be suspended and that all trialists be released pending the outcome of the indemnity hearing.

6/11/90 (11A)

# Suspend Vula trial, urges ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The ANC yesterday called for the immediate suspension of the trial of ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mac Maharaj and other ANC members in Durban in connection with Operation Vula, and urged the Government to release them on bail pending the outcome of the indemnity hearing.

Mr Maharaj, a member of the SACP's central committee, appeared in court for the first time last week in connection with Operation Vula, alleged to be an SACP plot to seize power in the event of negotiations failing.

A statement issued by the ANC said the organisation, "mindful of the continued propaganda and distortions about Operation Vula being a communist plot", wanted to reiterate that Vula had been authorised by the NEC.

## Deadline

"As such, the entire NEC is responsible for Operation Vula," said the ANC.

The organisation said that during its May and August 6 discussions with the Government it had been "fully understood" that its underground was "fully operational".

The ANC said that since all "so-called offences" in connection with Operation Vula had occurred before the agreed October 8 cut-off deadline, the trial had to be suspended and all eight on trial in Durban released on bail pending the outcome of the indemnity hearing.

Immediate measures also had to be taken against those members of the security forces who allegedly tortured prisoners in detention.

"We see the continued prosecution of our cadres as not only persecution but also a politically motivated smear campaign against the ANC, pursued to try to drive a wedge between us and our firm allies, the SACP," the ANC said.



# De Klerk's position under threat — Mandela

The Argus Correspondent

KUALA LUMPUR. — Black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela has warned that rightwing elements in South Africa could topple President De Klerk to prevent black-white power-sharing talks.

"You have a right wing among whites in the country and they are very strong indeed. If De Klerk makes the mistake of trying to seek a mandate from whites, as he did during the last elections, then his position is under threat," Mr Mandela told a news conference at the end of his three-day visit to Malaysia.

## Township violence

The African National Congress deputy president accused the security forces of inciting the violence in black townships, and said that as a result his coming meeting with leaders of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party was unlikely to end the bloodshed.

"The violence now raging is instigated by the security forces themselves and therefore the meeting may not put an end to the violence," Mr Mandela said.

But he said the meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Zulu-based Inkatha, should be held "because we

Mr Nelson Mandela . . . "white right wing strong enough to topple President De Klerk."



are of the opinion that Inkatha has allowed itself to be used by the security forces".

The meeting is expected to take place when Mr Mandela returns to Johannesburg at the end of his Asia-Pacific tour. He leaves for Brunei, the last stop, on Sunday.

About 800 people have died in violence in Johannesburg's black townships since

August. Police blamed rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha for the violence, but Mr Mandela said the killings were the work of "death squads" trained by the security forces.

He said on Friday that the violence, if left unchecked, could provoke the ANC into resuming its armed struggle.

Asked on Saturday how close the ANC was to this, Mr Mandela said: "If we were close to that possibility, I certainly would not discuss it with the Press.

"We are determined to keep the peace process on track and will deal with the problems as they arise.

## Decision

"But once we reach the position that the government no longer intends to go on with the peace process, we will have to take a decision . . . an appropriate decision."

He said it would be a blow to the peace process if Mr De Klerk fell, but the government must keep to its commitments.

He described his six-nation tour as a success, with the possible exception of Japan, whose government rejected an ANC appeal for \$25 million in financial aid. — Sapa-Reuter.





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WS 6/11/90 (11A)

### **Reaction to ANC's nuclear thumbs-down**

Eskom has reacted cautiously to a statement at the weekend that the ANC was opposed to the use of nuclear energy.

"Future trends in the use of nuclear energy or any other energy source would obviously be subject to constraints applicable at the time decisions are made," an Eskom spokesman said yesterday.

"Eskom's approach to the supply of electricity is based on using the best available means.

This not only included the best available technology but also analysis of future trends of resources. — Staff Reporter.

# 2 000 ANC cadres on the alert

11A  
~~11A~~

Sowetan  
7/11/90

**LONDON** - An estimated 2 000 ANC cadres have been given military training by the PLO in Libya over the past five years, according to Front File, a newsletter devoted to Southern African affairs.

According to Soviet, French and American experts attending a recent

conference on global terrorism near Versailles, France, some of the cadres were given a consignment of Semtex (plastic explosives) when they left Libya.

### Cadres

United States intelligence sources said these cadres entered Southern Africa through Botswana from where they made their way to

the Transkei.

According to the same speakers, the Umkhonto we Sizwe groupings in the Transkei were placed on alert in order to be able to move into action at any moment.

This was said to have been confirmed by Nigerian sources who allegedly have a hand in the MK military build-up in the Transkei. - *Sowetan Foreign Staff.*

## Mandela jets into London 11A

LONDON - ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela flew into London yesterday for talks with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The two men were expected to meet for lunch during Mandela's brief stop-over in London, ANC officials said. *Sowetan 2/11/90*

Mandela arrived at Heathrow Airport from Malaysia on his way home to South Africa after a tour of the Far East.

A spokesman for Mandela said it was unlikely that he would be meeting Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was also in London yesterday.

Mandela made no comment before leaving Heathrow Airport. - *Sowetan Foreign Staff.*

# Mandela meets UK minister on surprise visit

Capl. Trak 7/11/90

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — It is in the interests of post-apartheid South Africa to ensure ongoing investment, British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd told ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela when they met over lunch here yesterday.

Mr Mandela made a surprise visit to the British capital on his way home from what he described as a very successful trip to the Far East.

While he originally intended returning to SA last night, Mr Mandela said he would meet another undisclosed head of state today before returning. The leader's identity would be divulged later.

Although Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is also in London, Mr Mandela said he had no plans to meet him. He added that the exact date for the long-awaited meeting between the two would be decided by the ANC's national executive.

After the lunch, which was at Mr Hurd's invitation, Mr Mandela held a private meeting with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Apart from briefing him on his tour of the Far East, Mr Mandela said they

would also discuss Mr Tambo's possible return to South Africa for the ANC conference in December. He believed Mr Tambo would be warmly welcomed by the "masses of the people".

Mr Mandela said that during the "cordial" one-hour-and-40-minute meeting with Mr Hurd, he had briefed him fully on the latest developments in South Africa.

A spokesman for Mr Hurd said Mr Hurd had again stressed the importance of investment to the new South Africa, and had added that "investment can't be turned on an off".

● Sapa-Reuter reports that Mr Mandela will hold talks with French President Francois Mitterrand today.

● Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi is scheduled to hold what has been billed as a "major" press conference in London today to sum up his first European visit since bloody conflicts erupted in Reef townships between Inkatha and the ANC.

A spokesman for Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday dismissed reports from SA that Chief Buthelezi would definitely be calling in at Downing Street on a return visit to London next week.

# ANC bid on Vula fails

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The attorney-general of Natal, Mr. Mike Imber, yesterday rejected an ANC call to suspend the "Operation Vula" trial.

Eight ANC members are appearing on charges under the Terrorism Act in the trial. It is alleged that they were part of a plot to overthrow the government.

Mr Imber said he disputed several points in the ANC call, which also demanded that the prisoners be released immediately.

While the ANC described the trial as a "treason trial" it was in fact a "terrorism trial".

He said the ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, had not been arrested in connection with "Operation Vula".

The issue of bail was for the court to determine.

The trialists are to apply for bail tomorrow.

● ANC rejects military 'alert' claim — Page 2

## Mixed reaction to boycott

Staff Reporter

Spokesmen for businesses in Boksburg and Kroonstad have expressed mixed reaction to the ongoing consumer boycotts in the towns.

The ANC-aligned Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee is demanding the resignation of the entire Maokeng Town Council before it is prepared to discuss lifting the boycott.

According to Kroonstad municipality, Maokeng residents owe more than R1 million in arrears for services, and last Wednesday it went ahead with a threat to cut off the township's electricity and water.

In Boksburg, the Vosloorus Civic Association (VCA) called for a boycott after it failed to reach agreement with the local council. The VCA is demanding that residents pay a flat rate of R50 and the council is demanding R60.

The council has retaliated by switching off electricity at intervals for the past two weeks.

A Checkers spokesman said business in Boksburg had definitely been affected by the boycott, while in Kroonstad it was still too early to assess the situation.

A spokesman for a Pick 'n Pay in Kroonstad also said it was too early to comment.

Think-tank to decide next policy moves



FW-Mandela meeting will influence agenda

SOA 11A

# Cabinet 'bush indaba'



F W de Klerk ... his special rapport with the ANC deputy president will be put to the test.

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Cabinet and other senior National Party officials are to hold a three-day "bush indaba" at a secret venue near Pretoria next week to set the direction of government for next year.

The think-tank session is likely to be influenced strongly by what happens today in talks between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — a meeting set up to break a serious deadlock in clearing the way to formal constitutional negotiations.

## Rapport

At today's meeting in the Union Buildings, the special rapport which has developed between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela will be put to its greatest test as they try to find solutions to problems which ANC and Government officials have failed to solve over the past few months.

Obstacles barring the start of real negotiations are:

- The ANC's view that the security forces are being used in a campaign of violence against black people. The ANC was investigating alleged violence instigated by Military Intelligence and the National Intelligence Service.

- The status of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The Government insists the ANC should stop training and recruiting members to serve in MK.

- The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation — in the form of protests, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts.

President de Klerk calls

special extended Cabinet think-tanks whenever there are important decisions to be made.

It was at a meeting like this a year ago that the momentous decision to unban the ANC and other organisations was taken.

The "bosberaad", as the Government calls it, will take place from Thursday to Saturday next week.

It is likely to focus on plans to broaden the negotiation process into a multi-party forum.

The repeal of the Land Act and the Group Areas Act, which are expected to take place during next year's session, will probably also be discussed.

A technical committee has completed a report on measures to replace the Group Areas Act, and this apparently was presented to the high-powered Ministerial committee on negotiations yesterday.

Apart from measures to maintain physical standards and prevent slums, the committee has also proposed measures "to protect an own community life for those who want it", as Mr de Klerk put it in an M-Net phone-in programme recently.

Some concern has been expressed that this might mean bringing residential apartheid in again by the back door.

But senior Government sources insist they will stick to Mr de Klerk's promise that the Group Areas Act will not be replaced with anything that smacks of racial discrimination.

The 1991 Budget and permission for M-Net to broadcast news are also thought likely to be on the agenda.

● Mbeki's plea — Page 3.



Nelson Mandela ... 'Security forces are being used in a campaign of violence against blacks.'



# SA has fair chance of reaching stability

810 ay 7/11/90

THE Economist magazine, published in London, this week features SA in a 30-page survey titled After Apartheid.

It examines the country's chances of achieving stability and prosperity under a democratic constitution, and concludes that they are fair.

Writer Sebastian Malaby, The Economist's Africa correspondent, says the more President F W de Klerk involves the ANC in the changes already in

## Business Day Reporter

train, the more certain he can be that they will stick.

"As the ANC's leaders accept more responsibility, their followers will start to realise that politics can bring only compromises, not the miracle of liberation that they have been taught to expect."

The survey, supported by advertising from major SA companies, looks at problems caused by violence, the breakdown of black education, and revolutionary attempts to make the country ungovernable.

It says Nelson Mandela is appealing for discipline, "but ungovernability is appallingly difficult to undo".

It estimates that unemployment is close to 50%, and says that an economy suffering slow growth, low investment, declining gold production and AIDS cannot be expected to support the huge expansion of welfare that blacks expect.

Racial justice would not reverse the damage to growth done by sanctions.



Just you dare . . . A policeman next to a minibus with TopSport stickers threatens to shoot Star photographer Alf Kumalo at Zeph Mothopeng's funeral at the weekend.

Star 7/11/90

## Miners down tools over missing worker

By Brendan Templeton

Libanon mine in the western Transvaal came to a standstill yesterday when 6 000 workers downed tools over the mysterious disappearance of a colleague at the mine.

Workers suspect he was murdered underground.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said management had dragged its feet over Mokhameleli Ntoko, who went missing in May.

Mine security, police and army personnel were forcing workers underground at gunpoint, the union said.

This week Goldfields spokesman Michael de Kok denied the charges and said an intensive search for the missing man had been conducted above and

below ground.

"Mine property has been available to protect workers who wanted to work and at no point has anybody been forced at gunpoint to work."

The NUM demanded the dismissal of three mine officials. The union said management had admitted that the day after Mr Ntoko's went missing, he was clocked in by a mine captain after being told to go to work early for repair work.

Mr Ntoko's computerised identity card was found at the mine's crush office and his lamp was discovered underground. They said his tool case was also found hidden underground.

Mr de Kok would not discuss the issue further. "At present, Goldfields are engaged in talks with the union," he said.

Star 7/11/90

## SABC to probe TopSport logo on police van at funeral

By Thabo Leshilo

The SABC is to investigate the use of stickers bearing the logo of the television sports programme, TopSport, on a police minibus at the funeral service of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng on Saturday.

The policemen allegedly hindered the funeral procession and threatened mourners as well as Alf Kumalo, a photographer from The Star.

Kumalo said he was taking pictures of the policemen when one of them threatened to shoot him if he continued. Sensing trouble, Kumalo moved out of the policemen's sight.

The SABC said in a state-

ment: "The SABC is not aware of the fact that TopSport stickers, such as the one displayed on the police minibus, are being used by people who are not employed by TopSport."

"Although the SABC is of the opinion that the stickers were not on the police vehicle to make it appear as a TopSport vehicle or disguise it, the matter will be investigated and also followed up with the SAP."

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the matter was being investigated. However, he could not say much before discussing the matter today with the regional commissioner of Soweto police, General Johan Swart.

## Man jailed for 7 years over sh

Court Reporter

serve an effective seven years. His co-accused, Petrus

# ANC slams defence units

*South Africa 14/11/70*  
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress this week slammed the Transvaal Provincial Administration's (TPA) decision to empower black local authorities to form "civil protection units", saying the decision was an attempt to create vigilante groups to bolster discredited town councillors.

"It is significant that such 'protection units' are being created at the same time as the government expresses opposition to self-defence units created by and accountable to the people," the ANC said.

According to the Provincial Gazette, the protection units will be made up of volunteers.

# Nelson says struggle on <sup>APR 11 8/11/90</sup> Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela has made a call to intensify "the struggle" on all fronts, according to his wife Winnie.

Mrs Mandela said her husband telephoned her yesterday from the home of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in Britain and asked her to convey the message to an Actstop civic organisation meeting in Johannesburg.

He told her, she said, the last stage in the struggle against

apartheid would be the most difficult.

Mrs Mandela called for an intensification of mass action, including protest marches, stayaways and consumer boycotts.

"The suspension of armed action does not mean the suspension of mass action," she said.

"Our right to march peacefully and withdraw our buying power will not be suspended. Mass action will continue in a post-apart-

heid South Africa."

Mrs Mandela, repeatedly hailed as "the Mother of the Nation" by the meeting, called herself a "great Christian" and led the meeting in singing and dancing to what she described as "her favourite hymn", an Umkhonto we Sizwe protest song.

She looked at her watch constantly, saying she was still not used to entering "lily-white South Africa at this time of the night" without a valid pass. — Sapa.

Peace drive may foster anti-white feelings, reports Patrick Laurence

# PAC stumbles on tough

**T**HE Pan-Africanist Congress has set itself the task of ending the bloody and seemingly endemic strife in the black community and of forging black fraternity in its place.

But there is a danger that it may be doing so — perhaps unwittingly — by fomenting an anti-white sentiment as the binding force of black solidarity.

These points emerge from analysis of speeches delivered and slogans chanted at the funeral of the PAC president, Zephania Mothopeng, in Soweto last weekend.

They are conspicuously manifest in two related PAC phrases which echoed around Soweto's Orlando Stadium during Mr Mothopeng's funeral: "Peace among Africans" and "War against the enemy".

The presence at the funeral of high-ranking representatives of Inkatha was greeted with chants of "Peace among Africans".

It was a clear sign that the PAC, aware of the rancour and bitterness caused by the past refusal of black activists to acknowledge Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha as a co-liberation movement, is seeking to heal the breach in black ranks and thereby eliminate a major cause of the conflict that has devastated black townships in recent months.

But the cry at the funeral for peace among blacks was immediately followed by the chorused second half of the couplet: "War against the enemy". The political oratory surrounding the introduction of Inkatha leaders to the crowd left no doubt that the enemy was the "settler".

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander made it clear that "settlers" were the descendants of the European colonists who landed in 1652. Since then, he charged, the settlers had not "for one second" suspended their armed assault on indigenous people.

Mr Alexander went on to laud the "armed struggle" against the settlers as an emancipatory process in which "dehumanised man" resurrected himself.

To shoot a settler, he proclaimed, was to fulfil a dual purpose: to eliminate an oppressor and to liberate oneself. As he said to loud acclaim: "There remains a dead man and free man."

The crowd had by then filled the stadium with the PAC's blood curdling shibboleth: "One settler, one bullet; one bullet, one settler."

It was in that milieu that a section of the crowd began to bay for the blood of the South African Communist Party chief, Joe Slovo. "One Slovo, one bullet," the vociferous minority howled.

Mr Slovo was a guest of the PAC leadership. He had come to pay homage to Mr Mothopeng on behalf of the SACP. With him on the podium were the envoys of all the main ideological tendencies in the black community: the African

National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the New Unity Movement and Inkatha.

But there was one factor which distinguished Mr Slovo from his co-leaders: his white skin.

The outburst against Mr Slovo was blamed on a provocateur and/or a PAC renegade. The demagogue was eventually silenced by PAC marshals. But not before his demagoguery had evoked an angry response from members of the crowd and caused an awkward moment or two around the podium.

There is little doubt that PAC rhetoric, both on the day of the funeral and since the PAC's re-emergence in February, helped render the part of the crowd immediately around the demagogue vulnerable to rabble-rousing.

In the same way, PAC sloganising may have played a role in making PAC members vulnerable to the apocalyptic ravings of the black religious zealot in Durban

last month. The zealot led a band of young black men — all allegedly PAC members — on a stabbing spree against whites on Durban's beachfront.

One man died and seven people were injured. PAC T-shirts and badges were confiscated from the knife-wielding young black men, who were reportedly later identified as misguided PAC members by Bungani Zungu, of the PAC youth movement, Azanyu.

At its best the PAC is a race-conscious movement, seeking to mobilise black people against racial oppression in the land of their birth under the slogan "Africa for the Africans". In its pristine form it is pro-black without being anti-white.

The definition of African is not biologically restrictive; an African, as PAC founding president Robert Sobukwe put it, is a person whose first loyalty is to Africa and who accepts the right of the people of Africa to full equality.

But the dividing line between race-consciousness and racism is thin. They are separated by the thinnest of knife-edges. In moving along the knife-edge it is easy to fall into the abyss of racism. The PAC, hopefully, has stumbled without falling.

It requires a cool head not to fall. It is perhaps for that reason that PAC veteran Barney Desai has counselled the PAC against the slogan: "One settler, one bullet".

Nearly three decades ago, Mr Desai, the last president of the Coloured People's Organisation (CPO), recognised the potential of the PAC as an anti-racist force open to all who pledged loyalty to Africa and its people. He dissolved the CPO and presided over its absorption into the PAC.

Just as he recognised the strength of the PAC then, so he recognises the danger of its "one settler, one bullet" slogan today. □

quest

# PAC to hold national congress next month

Political Staff

Star 8/11/90

11A

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will hold its second national congress in South Africa next month, PAC assistant general secretary Philemon Tefu has confirmed.

The three-day conference will be held at Shareworld, south of Johannesburg, and is expected to be attended by at least 1 000

delegates, excluding political and diplomatic observers.

This will be the second national congress to be held by the PAC since its formation in Soweto in 1959.

A number of important decisions will be made at the congress from December 7 to 9. These include electing as successor to former president Zephania Mothopeng, who died

two weeks ago.


Favourites for the PAC presidency are incumbent vice-president Clarence Makwethu, national chairman Johnson Mlambo, administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and general secretary Benny Alexander.

Other issues to be addressed include responding to the Government's invitation to hold exploratory talks with a view to

getting negotiations off the ground early next year.

The congress, initially scheduled for November, was postponed after Mr Mothopeng's death.

It will be held a week before the ANC's consultative national conference on December 16 — a date on which the ANC's congress, now scheduled for June next year, was to be held.

Star 8/11/90 (11A) 

# Mandela phones Winnie, urges intensified struggle

African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela has called for an intensification of the struggle on all fronts, his wife, Winnie Mandela, told an Actstop civic organisation meeting in Johannesburg last night.

Mrs Mandela said her husband had telephoned her yesterday morning from the United Kingdom and had asked her to convey the message to the meeting.

He had said the last stage in the struggle against apartheid would be the most difficult one.

Mrs Mandela called for an in-

tensification of mass action, including protest marches, stayaways and consumer boycotts.

The suspension of armed action did not mean the suspension of mass action.

The call for intensified unified mass action was echoed by various other speakers, including SA Communist Party central committee member Essop Pahad; president of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, Moses Mayekiso; and Actstop President Sandile Ngidlana. — Sapa.

Star 8/11/90

(114)

## Weekend burial for MK fighter

Political Staff

A member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, who died in a car accident in Zambia two weeks ago, will be buried in Soweto at the weekend.

Sibusiso Mashinini (30), whose guerilla name was Minus Kgossana, died in a car accident in Lusaka on October 20. He will be buried at the Avalon cemetery in Soweto on Sunday.

Audrey Mothlamme, a family friend, said Mr Mashinini's funeral service will start at his parents' home at 152 Adam Street, Orlando West, at 10 am. The funeral procession will leave for the cemetery at noon.

Before leaving South Africa, Mr Mashinini was a pupil at Phuti High School.

He is survived by his wife and three children.



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## **Sansco clarifies position on Mandela award**

THERE is still no clarity on who will confer an honorary doctorate on ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the University of Cape Town on November 30. *South 8/11-14/11/90*

Students and workers on campus objected to the degree being conferred by UCT chancellor Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former chairman of De Beers and Anglo American.

The South African National Students Congress (Sansco), in response to an article published in SOUTH last week, said

it wished to transform the traditional nature of the graduation ceremony — including the programme, venue and the conferrer of the degree. (11A)

However, the organisation did not intend to disrupt the ceremony.

An official planning committee, consisting of students, workers, academics, the ANC and the UCT administration, has been working jointly to organise Mandela's ceremony.

"Certainly there have been various disagreements in the process of planning but

much has been achieved in staging a ceremony befitting the leader of the ANC," the statement read.

"The imminent ceremony at UCT must be seen against the background of the July resolution of the Sansco general students council to transform graduation ceremonies (as part of transforming institutions generally) to reflect the needs of the community in general and the university community in particular.

"It is with this understanding of transformation that Sansco (UCT) is partici-

pating in the planning committee which will determine the nature of Mandela's graduation ceremony, including the issue of who will confer the degree."

Last week, UCT registrar Mr Hugh Amooore said all degrees at UCT were conferred by the chancellor or the vice-chancellor, if the former was not available.

"This issue is not open to negotiation — this rule is in the statute of the university. Mr Mandela knew from the beginning who the chancellor of the university was."

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# PAC hampered by lack of programme

South 8/11-14/11/90 (11A)

THERE are no divisions in the PAC but distinct ideological differences which will battle for supremacy at its congress to be held in December, says Dr Seshi Chonco, a lecturer in the political science department at UWC.

The organisation faces its most crucial period in its history as it plans its first congress to be held inside the country since it was banned 30 years ago.

One of the major issues at the congress will be the debate on negotiations.

State President FW de Klerk has invited the PAC to join the government and the ANC around the negotiation table.

"There is a very intense debate on negotiations taking place in the PAC, both inside and outside the country," said Chonco.

## Strong support

"There is a strong support among the exiled PAC in favour of negotiations. Inside the country there is division between the pro- and anti-negotiations forces.

"The youth in the Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu) have already taken a clear position against negotiations."

Chonco said on the basis of its past performance, the PAC would be better off accepting negotiations as a tactic of struggle.

By doing so, it would not be renouncing its principles as there was nothing in its constitution arguing against negotiations.

The PAC, when deciding on the issue at the congress, should lay down clear terms for its participation — that there be a Constituent Assembly for instance, said Chonco.

## Consulting

Since receiving the invitation from the government, the organisation has been consulting its membership on the issue as well as holding discussions in Zimbabwe between its internal and external wings.

"This must be commended, but it remains to be seen if the grassroots membership will impact on the upper echelons of power in the organisation," Chonco said.

"If it rejects participating in the negotiation process it risks marginalising itself."

Chonco said in the light of the "glasnost" in South Africa, the attitude of Southern African leaders towards South Africa had changed.

The centre of politics in the region was moving towards South Africa, and the PAC had yet to recognise this fact, he said.

The strength of the PAC's military wing, the African People's Liberation Army (Apla) was difficult to determine, but according to State evidence, it had intensified its activities inside the country since 1988.

"This was not on a scale to be regarded as a threat to the state, though," Chonco said.

## Growth

Other historical factors also influenced the growth of the PAC inside the country.

The organisation had always been a mass movement and its strategies based on mass recruitment of membership, said Chonco.

Chonco said the fiercest debate at congress was expected on the issue of leadership.

"While there are no real divisions in the organisation threatening to split it, there are three distinct strands of



FLYING HIGH! Inkatha Freedom Party flag flew prominently behind the hearse of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng

PIC: ELMOND JIYANE

**THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has the potential to become a mass organisation in the tradition of the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s if it is able to produce a clearly-defined programme of action, says UWC political scientist, Dr Seshi Chonco. But it first has to deal with the differing strands of thought among its ranks which he discovered while researching a book on the liberation movement, Chonco told REHANA ROSSOUW:**

thought.

"After the PAC was banned in 1960, its president, Robert Sobukwe, approached Patrick Leballo to constitute a presidential council in exile to organise the launch of a military wing."

While the leadership was in exile, differences emerged over the handling of finances and the policies of the organisation.

## Philosophy

"There are some activists in the organisation who still believe the PAC should retain its philosophy of African Nationalism.

"Others in the organisation believe the organisation should embrace the programme of Maoism."

Chonco said disenchantment set in with the leadership of Leballo in exile and several members supporting Mr AB Ngcobo were expelled.

"There have been difference over the extent of the support members should give Ngcobo," Chonco said.

"These same differences emerged when the Sobukwe Faction questioned the constitutional legality of the present executive committee.

## Sobukwe

"The Sobukwe Faction, which does exist and has support, could shake the congress," said Chonco.

The Sobukwe Faction comprises people who joined the PAC at its inception and argue that the organisation should maintain its African Nationalism ideology.

"They argue that the present PAC executive committee has not been prop-

erly constituted.

"It's a valid argument as the only properly constituted executive committee was elected in 1959. The Sobukwe Faction is now calling on the present executive to resign.

"They also argue that the PAC must move away from the policies of socialism."

Chonco said the debate was not just centred on ideological principles but involved alliances as well.

The Sobukwe Faction, in their definition of Africanism, would regard Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party as an organisation promoting African nationalism as well.

"Buthelezi heads an organisation for Africans and is a firm believer in African leadership.

"He says he supports the concept of an elective system of government based on one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa.

## Alliance

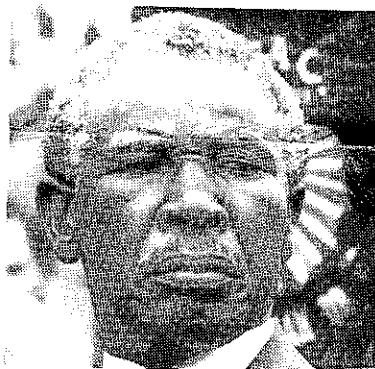
"This, some activists in the PAC believe, makes it possible for the organisation to form an alliance with Buthelezi."

Natal PAC leader, Prince Velekhaya Shange, argues that the PAC should enter into an immediate alliance with Inkatha.

Shange has already accepted invitations to speak on Inkatha platforms.

Chonco said these initiatives had not been condemned by the PAC leadership.

In fact, the PAC had written several letters to Buthelezi before its unban-



MILAMLI MAKWETHU: acting-PAC president

ning this year inviting him to talks exploring the possibility of an alliance.

The talks were not realised because of differences over a venue.

"Buthelezi wanted to know why the PAC wanted to talk to him in Zimbabwe. He wanted to know why there was such secrecy, why the meetings could not take place openly.

"But it seems as if Buthelezi is prepared to form an alliance with the PAC. It will not be an exaggeration to argue that Buthelezi will be prepared to allow the PAC to contest power on a national level while he builds his regional base."

## Statement

Chonco said he had noticed that the PAC had never made a formal statement denouncing Inkatha's role in the violence.

The only statements from the organisation at the height of the Reef violence had appealed to all groups to end the violence.

Chonco said the Sobukwe Forum was definitely coming to congress. He interviewed several of its supporters recently who said they were releasing a position paper on their beliefs.

The Forum challenged the PAC to go back to its roots — that of Africanism.

"The Sobukwe Forum fears that elections at the congress may be rigged, they argue that the PAC has a history of authoritarianism where people are appointed rather than elected.

"Some of the activists in exile feel the organisation is rushing into elections which do not favour them because they

are not acquainted with the constituency inside the country.

"They fear Mr Johnson Mlambo, the chairperson of the exiled movement, may become president without being elected."

Another "strand" in the PAC was the Pan Africanist Movement offshoot who, although Africanist in orientation, used socialist rhetoric.

Unlike the African socialism preached by Sobukwe, this strand favours democratic socialism and was largely associated with the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

Yet the PAC was not divided, said Chonco.

"There is a diversity of opinion but the entire membership is informed by their Africanist consciousness.

"Unlike other political organisations, the PAC does not have charismatic personalities among its leadership, and this has lessened the risk of factionalism.

"The organisation is merely suffering from the effects of glasnost in South Africa — just like the Democratic Party, the ANC and the Conservative Party," Chonco said.

"What is going to be decisive for the future of the organisation is whether the congress will arm it with a clearly defined leadership, philosophy and programme.

"Until now, the PAC has succeeded in defining itself against ANC positions on a range of issues. But it cannot deceive itself that this strategy will work in the future.

"The congress must elect a leadership which will give the organisation clear direction and goals."

"On the basis of my studies conducted both internally and externally, the organisation seems to have a lot of support which has not been translated into real membership.

## Programme

"Its supporters have to be offered a clearly defined programme which will make them feel at home in the organisation."

Chonco said the PAC had success in organising in the rural areas because of its emphasis on the question of land.

It had not succeeded in addressing the urban constituency although it had good support in the Cape Peninsula and Soweto.

"But this support is limited if you look at the potential base which exists. The organisation needs to work aggressively towards establishing branches.

"The PAC must stop defining itself against the ANC. If it is creative enough, it has the potential of becoming a mass organisation in the tradition of the Black Consciousness Movement

## Premature

"It is premature for the organisation to prepare for the seizure of power. It would be better off if it concentrated on addressing people's grievances and make them impact on the organisation's programme.

"Even if talks succeed, it is unlikely to lead to a radical transformation of people's lives. It is unlikely to fulfill the long-cherished dreams of people in the black townships.

"It is the task of the PAC to spell out those dreams and create a programme spelling out clearly how those dreams can be realised."

South African boxers are increasingly making a name for themselves as they successfully challenge world-ranked fighters. Many of the boxing stars hail from the Eastern Cape. THABO DANIELS focuses on some of the big names from the "Mecca" of South African boxing:

# Stars from SA's boxing 'Mecca'

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Eastern Cape has become known as the "Mecca" of South African boxing.

On the dusty streets of townships like Mdantsane, boxers like IBF junior featherweight champion Welcome Ncita have honed their skills the hard way.

In nine months, the Eastern Cape has produced three South African champions and a world champion.

Local boxers are dominating the ratings — from junior flyweight to lightweight divisions.

## Greener pastures

Topping the list is Ncita, world-ranked national featherweight champion Jackie Gunguluza, also from Mdantsane, and Uitenhage's Vuyane Nene who recently failed in his bid to capture the IBF super-flyweight title from Roberto Quiroga, after holding the SA junior flyweight title for four years.

Linda Nondzaba (welterweight), Jaji Sibali (flyweight) and featherweight Vuyani Bungu are current SA champions.

Two world-ranked fighters Jerry Ngobeni, a junior lightweight, and wel-

terweight Nika "The Sting" Khumalo (former SA junior welterweight champion), and former South African junior welterweight kingpin Phumzile Madikane made breakthroughs while still in the region before looking for greener pastures in other areas.

The success of the Eastern Cape boxers can be attributed to the input of trainers like Loyiso Mtya, Mzimasi Mnguni, Mike Guwa and Patrick Fulela.

Fulela was responsible for taking Nondzaba, Ngobeni and Phumzile Madikane to the top.

## Diets

He expressed concern about poor facilities. "Most of these champions have been produced in classrooms-cum-gymnasiums. If all our boxers can show more determination and discipline, we can produce more because not all the champions came from best gyms," he said.

Kumalo has testified to the dedication and discipline boxing requires to reach the top.

When he was in the Eastern Cape, there were no sophisticated diets or training methods.

Before a fight Kumalo ate a half a loaf of bread, with a pint of milk. It "made me strong", he said. It also meant getting up early in the morning for roadwork and then training in the evening

again on sparring and physical exercises.

Other local boxers who will soon challenge for national titles are junior welterweight Luvuyo "Rambo" Kakaza, featherweight prospect Luntu Gidana and junior flyweight Ndoda Mayende.

Kakaza, who defended his Cape lightweight title for a record seventh time and who made three unsuccessful attempts to lift the SA title, has moved up a weight and will soon fight Aaron Kabi.

The new SA junior flyweight champion Jake Matlala has agreed to make his first defence against Mayende.

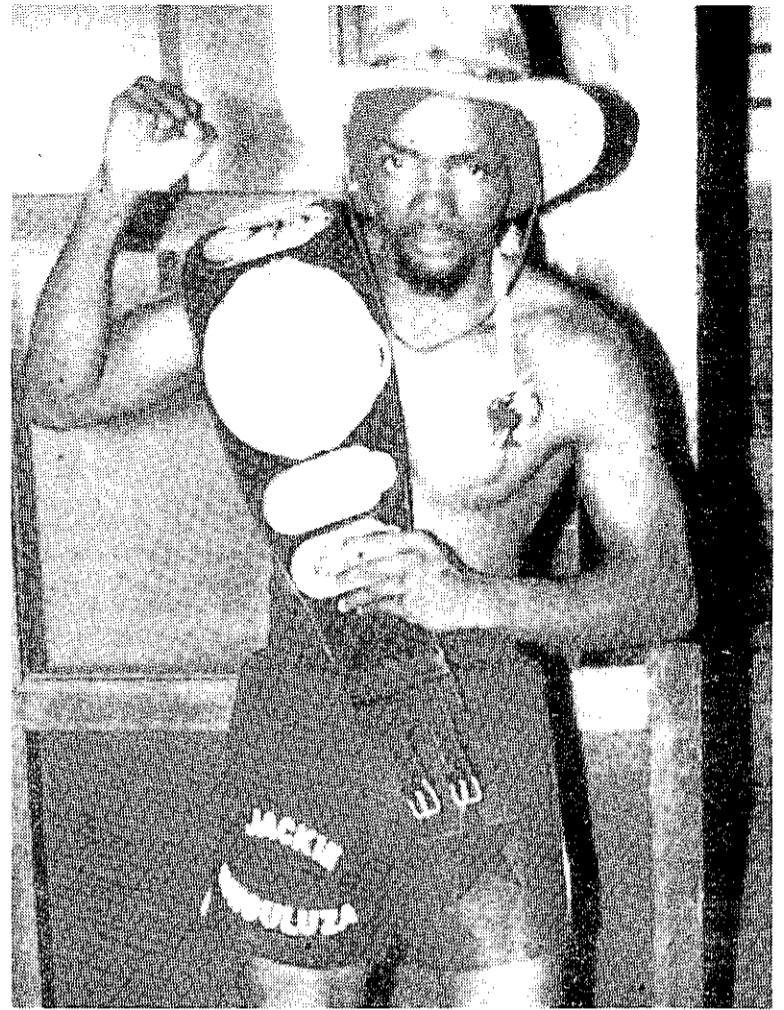
However, Gidana is likely to wait longer because Gunguluza is still at the helm. But rumours are rife that the champion is likely to vacate his crown and campaign internationally.

## Enthusiasm

The bubbling, infectious enthusiasm for the game (specially in Mdantsane) and thirst for success are hallmarks of some of the local boxers.

However, the absence of showbiz promoters, lack of sponsors and poor training facilities and exposure has resulted in some of the stars moving to the Reef.

In a sport where one punch could lead to instant wealth or death, boxers in the Eastern Cape are certainly having a go at the former — and succeeding.



JACKIE GUNGULUZA: SA featherweight champion  
PIC: Courtesy of BOXING WORLD

## 'Never give up' says Rasta Gunguluza

PORT ELIZABETH. — Bob Marley's "Rastaman never give up" is the motto of South Africa's rastaman featherweight champion, Jackie Gunguluza.

He says the song inspires him to fight better. Therefore, before every fight he locks himself in his dressing room and listens to the song on tape.

Gunguluza, 25, who has been defeated only twice in 25 bouts, has had to face adversity but never gives up.

His reign as featherweight champion was shortlived when he won it for the first time in October 1988 on a ninth-round stoppage of Stanley Mathe.

Barely a year later he lost the title when fellow Mdantsane boxer Mthobeli Mhlope stopped him in 11 rounds. He had to dig deep after that defeat, but he took back the title from Mhlope in their return bout.

It is this type of "never say die" attitude of the East Londoner that has taken him to the top of the world's most gruelling sport — and from the days when he used milk and sorghum beer cartons for gloves on the dusty streets of his hometown of Mdantsane in the early 70s.

Now, a decade later, he is on the verge of fighting for the world title against WBA titlist Venezuela's Antonio Esparragoza early next year.

After his gutsy performance against the tough Puerto Rican Nelson Rodriguez last month, he may just have a fighting chance against Esparragoza, considered one of the greatest featherweights ever.

Gunguluza had some trouble reading Rodriguez's style in their fight and he had to take some punishing head blows before finding his rhythm and scoring a points victory.

In Esparragoza, Gunguluza will face a similar opponent — a wily fighter with tremendous punching power.

According to Gunguluza, Rodriguez held Esparragoza to a draw, and he feels he may have the measure of the WBA champion.

## Not meteoric

But Gunguluza's rise has not been meteoric. He started the hard way in Mdantsane in the 70s.

At that time boxing was beginning to blossom in the Border region and the children would imitate their heroes like "Happy Boy" Mgxaji, Tsietsi Marotloane and the late Mzukisi "Wonderboy" Skweyiya who died in exile few years ago.

It was in these "street games" that Gunguluza's father saw his talent and advised him to attend a boxing gym.

He had 65 fights as an amateur and lost only eight before turning professional in 1986.

Gunguluza is a charismatic young man who easily expresses himself during interviews. One of the most striking aspects is the braided dreadlock on his forehead.

"I became a Rastafarian in 1982. I had fully-blown dreadlocks but I removed them because Xhosa custom requires one to cut one's hair before entering initiative school." Gunguluza, unlike most members of the Rastafarian cult, does not use "ganja" (dagga) and believes it is not compulsory.

"Rastafarianism does not compel one to do things one ought not to do. This cult is against hooliganism; what we really need is peace in Jah (God's) land, the whole universe belongs to Jah."

In his second title defence against November Ntshingila last February, he came to the ring wearing a T-shirt which read: "Welcome home Nelson Mandela" at the front and "Intensify our struggle on all fronts."

He wanted to share his joy over the ANC leader's release with the people and also supported the protest against the Boxing Act which took place at the tournament.

He is concerned about the dark cloud that hangs over his prospective world title fight against Esparragoza.

"I support the sport moratorium, but there should be cases where it can be relaxed." He believes that if black boxers are allowed to fight overseas, they could highlight the evils of apartheid and the "atrocious" conditions black people live under.

## 'Bra Mzi' and his boys

PORT ELIZABETH. — There are two fascinating facts about Mzimasi "Bra Mzi" Mnguni, one of the top cornermen in the South African boxing scene.

He's never laced on a boxing glove and soccer was his first love before moving to Mdantsane in 1982.

Today, Mnguni's Eyethu Boxing Club boasts a world junior featherweight champion, Welcome Ncita, and two national title holders Jaji Sibali (flyweight) and junior featherweight kingpin Vuyani Bungu.

The world-ranked welterweight Nika Khumalo won the SA lightweight title while still with Mnguni in 1987.

## Unrivalled

This feat is unrivalled by any trainer in the country, except for former SA welterweight champion turned trainer, Harold Volbrecht.

But the difference between the two men is that Mnguni has nourished his fighters from amateur level while Volbrecht has been boosted by "ready made" material.

Mnguni spent most of his life in Johannesburg and was a keen follower of Moroka Swallows before he moved to Mdantsane.

"The absence of big time football in



FEELING SATISFIED: Mzimasi Mnguni congratulates Welcome Ncita after another successful fight

Mdantsane made me decide to switch to the popular sport in the region — boxing," he said.

He seldom missed a tournament and soon built a friendship with several boxing trainers and was asked by some clubs to help in administration. This taught him a lot about the game.

After completing his "apprenticeship", he opened the Eyethu Boxing Club in 1982. Within a year, one of his charges Mveleli Luzipho went on to win the national title when he outpointed Jacob Matlala.

Such was Mnguni's expertise as a trainer that Khumalo won the SA title from Job Sisanga a month after he returned from the circumcision school in

the bush.

Mnguni always keeps his fighters in the best possible shape.

At the moment he is honing Ncita for his next defence against the No 1 contender Baby Rojas, a Miami-based Colombian, in Texas on December 14.

Despite his successes, Mnguni remains modest. "I'm a keen learner, I observe everything and listen to every piece of advice. My boys have confidence in me and that has produced good results."

Mnguni is one of the strong favourites for the King Korn Man of the Year award presented to top boxing personalities.

"I am not after any special award, but if the people appreciate my work, that's good," he says. — PEN

# Slovo lauds PAC leaders

11A  
South  
8/11-14/11/90



**FINAL TRIBUTE:** SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and ANC leader Andrew Mlangeni stand among relatives of PAC president Zeph Mothopeng at his funeral at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, last Saturday. Mr Slovo was greeted with shouts of "One Slovo, one bullet" by part of the 3000 crowd  
**PIC: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix**

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo says he was not affected by the PAC supporters' jeers at him when he attended the funeral of the organisation's late president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

"I didn't feel terribly threatened because those who shouted slogans against me were in the minority," he said.

### Armed struggle

Slovo's presence on the platform incensed some PAC supporters, who reacted with slogans such as "one Slovo, one bullet" and "every negotiator deserves a bullet".

But Slovo said he had been well received by the PAC leadership.

"As the day wore on I found no hostility towards me, and quite a few young people shouting a few 'vivas' came to me, asking that we resume the armed struggle," he said.

He described the behaviour of the PAC leadership as "admirable".

Meanwhile, the conspicuous presence of Inkatha supporters in the funeral has heightened speculation about a possible alliance between the two organisations.

Mr Themba Khoza, Inkatha's Transvaal Youth Brigade leader, has also not ruled out this possibility, saying there was a "good chance" of a future alliance between his organisation and the PAC.

Young members of both organisations stood shoulder to shoulder in forming a guard of honour as the cortege filed out of the stadium to the Avalon cemetery.

# Inkatha and ANC in vital peace talks

*Sowetan 8/11/90*  
URGENT and crucial talks between the African National Congress sub-committee responsible for liaising with the Inkatha Freedom Party on peace initiatives and three Natal ANC regions were held in Durban yesterday.

This meeting was the result of a decision taken by ANC Natal regions stipulating that "no further consultations with Inkatha should take place without prior consultation with them".

Tensions within the ANC appear to be developing between its national leadership and members.

There is a strong feeling among the rank and file that the ongoing peace talks between Inkatha and the ANC are taking place without any consultation with grassroots members.

It was not clear whether the ANC would make any announcements after yesterday's meeting and whether the meeting placed peace talks scheduled for tomorrow between the two organisations in jeopardy.

## Urgent

The three ANC regions at yesterday's meeting had earlier urged that the meeting be treated with the utmost urgency "in order to restore the co-ordination of all steps relating to peace in our province".

The ANC's midlands, northern and southern Natal regions held consultations on the present peace initiative in Natal and agreed that "a number of very serious oversights were noted". - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# De Klerk's sincerity challenged

11A  
~~30~~

SIR - I appeal to all liberation-hungry Africans not to be fooled by De Klerk.

I believe that the struggle for liberation of Africans in this country should be an entirely African affair.

So I condemn the ANC and other liberation

movements who allow Europeans, the engineers of apartheid, to infiltrate them.

What De Klerk is doing is what the NSL has done to the FPL.

We do not want to be assimilated into the existing apartheid Government Structures, we

want them all demolished.

We do not want to share power with the Afrikaners, to further oppress those of us (Africans) who will not be in Government.

To Africans, liberation is a must, it is not a favour which the whites should grant us. We have

to liberate ourselves without their help.

No white South African should be allowed to deceive us by feigning sincerity and commitment to our struggle, be he De Klerk or whoever.

KM  
Mmabatho

73

# ANC gears up for major conference

CONSTITUTIONAL issues will feature strongly at the ANC's national consultative conference scheduled to take place in Johannesburg next month. *South 8/11-14/11/90* (11A)

More than 1 000 delegates from ANC branches around the country are expected to attend the conference which will examine strategy and tactics for the organisation in the crucial next six months. Details made available this week showed issues

to be discussed are negotiations, an interim government, a constituent assembly and sanctions.

The conference will also examine the state of the ANC, which presently has about 545 branches.

Each branch will be allowed to send two representatives to the consultative conference and branches with more than 1 000 members will have an extra delegate.

The ANC originally intended to hold its national conference in December but last month postponed the national conference until June next year.

The postponement is intended to ensure that exiles and political prisoners are able to participate in the national conference and to give branches more time to recruit members and discuss issues. (11A)

## Transkei funerals for Khaya victims

*South 8/11-14/11/90*

By MUSA NDWANDWE  
EIGHT of the 10 victims of Khayelitsha violence two weeks ago will be buried in the Transkei this week-end.

The bodies include that of Ms Nomkhanyelo Kwaza, 27, who was seven-months pregnant at the time of her death.

One funeral, of 13-year-old Wandisile Nomaxhayi, will take place in Khayelitsha on Saturday and another in Bloemfontein.

Organisers of the funerals, the Khayelitsha Advice Office workers, have not yet finalised the transportation arrangements due to a "difficult financial position".

All 10 victims died during the violence that erupted in the township before the start of the aborted march on the Lingeletu West Town Council which residents wanted dismantled.

Thousands of residents who had gathered at the traffic lights near Site C were told by police to disperse shortly before they opened fire. The march had not been authorised by the Wynberg Chief Magistrate.

Lawyers acting on behalf of the victims' families claim that all residents died during police action. Police subsequently denied responsibility, claiming that only birdshot was used during the action.

A memorial service for all the victims will be held at the Khayelitsha Presbyterian Church on Friday afternoon.

The victims are Mr Themba Sokutu, 27; Mr Mteteleli Mtshana, 32; Mr Wilson Siwanana Chakata, 41; Mr Buyisile Mbali, 22; Mr Lundi Gaga, 20; Ms Nomkhanyelo Kwaza, 27; Mpumlelo Dyantshi (age not known); Mr Phumzile Nyingeni, 19; Mr Petros Malefane, 20; and Wandisile Nomaxhayi, 13.

## ANC slams defence units

*South 8/11-14/11/90*  
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress this week slammed the Transvaal Provincial Administra-

## Campaign to defy restrictions

*South 8/11-14/11/90*  
THE Western Cape region of the African National Congress will embark on a series of protest actions from Friday in defiance of unrest regulations in effect in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads.

The townships were declared unrest areas last Thursday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

A curfew imposed on the townships was withdrawn this week. Police have powers to order anyone who is not a resident of the affected townships to leave the area. (11A)

The commissioner of police in the Western Cape could not be reached for comment. (11A)

The ANC regional executive committee ruled out any prospects of abandoning the call for defiance.

"Our actions will not be suspended by this move," said REC member, Advocate Dullah Ormar.

"Our call goes beyond the curfew towards the total dismantling of the town council," he said.

With leaders of allied organisations, the ANC REC will attend the vigils on Friday of 10 victims of the Khayelitsha violence who died on October 25.

The regional executive will also attend the funeral of Wandisile Nomaxhayi, 13, the only one to be buried in Khayelitsha.

# Former APO president's speeches are recorded

Southern 8/11/90

11A

THE major political speeches of Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, an African Political Organisation leader from 1902 to 1940, have been gathered in a book entitled *Say It Out Loud* and is available from the University of the Western Cape.

Professor Richard van der Ross, former rector of

the university, edited the book of the speeches of the APO's president from 1905 to his death in 1940.

In a foreword to the book, Prof Van der Ross wrote that Dr Abdurahman stood for freedom and the liberty of the individual.

"He spoke up when he saw liberty threatened, as

it was in his time, as it is at all times. Since his passing, many of the liberties of his people, throughout the country, have been assailed and removed. It would have grieved him to have seen this.

## Liberties

"But it would also have pleased him could he have witnessed a movement to restore those liberties and to know that his philosophy is incipient in this restoration of rights; that his words are often repeated, albeit unknowingly; and that his people have risen to his call to resist tyranny and to 'snap the chains the moment we may'." - *Sapa*



# PAC, Inkatha link emerges



**GUARD OF HONOUR:** Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and PAC form a guard of honour at the funeral of PAC president, Zeph Mothopeng

— See page 19

(11A) South 8/11-14/11/90

PIC: ELMOND JIYANE

# PAC still to decide on reply over talks

11A

<sup>Soweto</sup> MBABANE - The PAC leadership was still considering its reply to an invitation by the South African Government for it to join the constitutional talks with other parties.

This was said in an interview in Mbabane yesterday by the PAC's administrative secretary Mr Joe Nkhwanazi, now in Swaziland with two other PAC members of the executive.

Nkhwanazi said, however, the PAC policy had not changed despite the invitation.

He said the organisation had been formed to overthrow the white racist regime of South Africa, not to negotiate with it.

The PAC represented not just its members but all the people of Azania and therefore it would not be drawn into "playing into the enemies' hands".

He blamed the black on black violence on apartheid.

Mkhwanazi said the PAC would be holding its general conference in Soweto early next month.

- Sapa.

# Political groups speak out on strike

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party yesterday expressed concern at what they said was the refusal by Nampak and its parent company, Barlow Rand, to resolve a seven-week labour dispute at Nampak involving more than 4 000 workers.

The alliance's political committee is to meet next Tuesday to decide on "combined concrete action to ensure the speedy resolution of the dispute".

A Barlow Rand spokesman said in a statement yesterday the directors would meet early today to formulate a reply from Barlow Rand and Nampak.

The alliance's statement said union attempts at mediation and negotiation "have

<sup>B (Day 8/11/90</sup>  
consistently been refused or frustrated by the company".

"We call on Barlow Rand and Nampak to reconsider the course they have embarked on. From our side, the tripartite alliance is willing to contribute to ensure the speedy resolution of the dispute."

A Nampak statement said an offer by the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union for a return to work was encouraging in some respects.

"But it is unrealistic of the union to propose a return to the position prior to the strike while the dispute remains unsettled," it said.

The statement said Nampak hoped to see an early resolution of the dispute. — Sapa.

# Guarantee rights or face backlash

CMA Times 8/11/90 114

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Failure to provide minority group rights in the new South African constitution would invite a white backlash far worse than that inflicted by Unita and Renamo on Angola and Mozambique respectively.

This warning was sounded at an international press conference here yesterday by Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi also said he had not ruled out participating in a peace conference being planned by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, despite the fact that Inkatha's Central Committee had warned him against participating because of the archbishop's alleged ANC bias.

**Demonstrators** chanted and waved placards outside as journalists confronted Chief Buthelezi with a barrage of questions.

Among journalists covering the meeting were Ms Jani Allan, a former Sunday Times correspondent. She and a friend, Ms Gillian Faulkner, applauded regularly during his speech.

The chief said whites had to be wooed into a non-racial democracy or there would be "none at all".

## Strong words

LONDON. — Aggressive press questions including accusations of "collaboration" yesterday prompted Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to respond strongly with words like "balderdash", "poppycock" and in one angry outburst: "That's bull—." — Sapa

*Car, 7/10/90*  
**Restraining  
order on SAP**

*UP*  
**DURBAN** A temporary interdict restraining members of the police from assaulting or threatening Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr John Mchunu was made final in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Mchunu brought the application against the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police after his alleged abduction in September. — Sapa

## France promises aid to ANC exiles, ex-prisoners

PARIS — France had responded positively to a request for help in financing housing, jobs and education for ANC members and their families as they resume their lives in SA after exile or imprisonment, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday after talks with President Francois Mitterrand.

Mandela also accused the West of hypocrisy and prejudice in its response to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

Speaking to reporters after the talks at the close of a three-week trip to Asia and Europe, he declined to single out France for criticism in regard to the Gulf crisis, but said: "We reject the hypocrisy of the West."

He said Western governments had made no objections when US forces intervened in Grenada or Panama, and had tolerated the Israeli occupation of Arab territory.

He suggested Iraq was treated differently because its people were "brown skinned". He emphasised he did not condone Iraq's actions and expressed hope that the confrontation could be solved peacefully.

Mandela said he was not worried that SA might be pushed out of the world spotlight because of the Gulf crisis and the gradual dismantling of apartheid.

He said leaders he met on his trip responded positively to his appeal for aid, but he declined to give details.

Mandela reiterated his position that sanctions should remain in effect despite President F W de Klerk's numerous reforms. He said sanctions should end only when the last vestiges of apartheid were gone and the black majority had full voting rights. — Sapa-AP.

# ANC snubs police over 'emergency'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

THE ANC has refused to attend a meeting with the police today to discuss the mini-emergency in Peninsula townships and is reconsidering a planned meeting with the Administrator tomorrow on ways to end violence.

The curfew in Crossroads and Khayelitsha was lifted yesterday but the ANC says it will defy other Public Safety Act regulations still in force.

At a Press conference yesterday, Mr Dullah Omar, a member of the Western Cape ANC executive, said: "Our people are totally opposed ... not only to the curfew, but to the state of emergency."

In a tough statement, read at the Press conference, the ANC said it had come to its attention that "there has been collusion between the Administrator (Mr Kobus Meiring) and police in declaring the emergency".

Because of this, the movement was "reconsidering" a meeting with Mr Meiring tomorrow.

## Wynberg district

ANC Western Cape co-ordinator Mr Trevor Manuel said Mr Meiring had colluded with police over the inclusion of the Wynberg magisterial district in "unrest areas" a day before he met an ANC delegation last week.

"We have been requested to meet the Regional Commissioner of Police, Major-General Flip Fourie, tomorrow. Our response is that we do not

see our way clear to meeting him because our members believe the measures taken were in conflict with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

But, he added, "there may be a future meeting".

Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, treasurer of the ANC in the region, said the movement's demand that the Lingeletu West Town Council should resign still stood.

"We're going to intensify our campaign for the resignation of the council. There cannot be peace in Khayelitsha while they are there."

He ruled out any meeting with the council.

## Athlone meeting

Mr Manuel said ANC members and supporters would meet at Athlone Stadium at 6.30pm tomorrow before leaving for Khayelitsha to deliver flowers, a symbol of peace, to the community.

In Khayelitsha "we will attend the vigil for victims of the violence".

The bodies of nine of the 10 people killed in Khayelitsha on October 25 will be transported to Transkei after the vigil.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday the situation in Khayelitsha and Crossroads had improved, but had not yet stabilised sufficiently for him to lift his declaration of the areas as unrest areas.

● See Page 20.

# The do-all ANC leaves the unions out in the cold

*In theory, there's a three-way alliance between labour, the ANC and the Communist Party. In practice, the ANC decides for the others ... a top-down style that is causing resentment in the unions. DREW FORREST reports*

OPINIONS on the causes and depth of the problem may differ, but insiders agree — the "revolutionary alliance" isn't really working.

With the African National Congress and South African Communist Party struggling to strike root amid violent countrywide upheavals, and Congress of South African Trade Union's formal admission to the alliance only in July, this is not altogether surprising. And there are moves to put flesh on the bones of the partnership. But there is broad consensus that expectations have not been fulfilled.

Rumblings about the ineffectiveness of the alliance have been especially audible within Cosatu.

Steeped in the traditions of mandate, report-back and collective action, unionists are particularly sensitive to the ANC's perceived failure to consult on vital issues. But this echoes broader concerns within the other alliance partners.

At an ANC briefing in August, for example, union leaders are known to have strongly criticised the inadequate consultation over the dropping of armed struggle.

"It's a paper alliance," said one insider. "Each organisation is supposed to play an independent role, but in fact everything has been collapsed into the ANC."

As the ANC itself was not acting as a mass organisation, the absence of true input by the labour movement was a further drain on popular political energies. "It demobilises, encourages perpetual hibernation," he commented.

Part of the problem was the "imperial" leadership style of Nelson Mandela and the "inertia" of some of his national executive committee colleagues. The diplomatic and military priorities of exile had left some leaders ill-equipped for mass work.

"The style of many exiles is top-down, commandist — very different from the Mass Democratic Movement. We have to find a synthesis," he said.

Economic policy pronouncements, too, reflected an over-sensitivity to big business, notably its fears on nationalisation, he said. It is understood that at a Cosatu economic workshop last week, the ANC was criticised both for soft-peddalling on nationalisation and for trimming policy to suit different audiences.

Labour movement sources say Cosatu wants to tap more directly into the negotiations process, and more co-ordination on the framing of a future constitution.

"Reports that the constitutional committee has framed proposals sparked fears that the ANC was going ahead without consulting, and was preparing to ditch the constituent assembly idea," said one labour source. "The documents did not have the stamp of the NEC but there was a lot of confusion."

The ANC was contacted for reaction, but spokesmen were not available.

Commentators agree that while there might be long-term tensions between the allies, notably over economics, there is a strong basis for a joint approach during political transition. The aim is quite simply to accelerate the shift to a democratic, non-racial and unitary South Africa, through shared national campaigns under the ANC umbrella and the forging of common policy.

To this end, an alliance secretariat comprising the general secretaries of the three allies has been created, with the job of convening a 21-member political committee to weigh broad strategy. Retaining the right to independent action, each organisation will bring to this its own programmes and campaigns.

"At the national level, we're looking at broad strategising, stock-taking, trying to understand the lie of the land," says SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin.

A key snag, sources say, is that the secretariat has met infrequently and the political committee not at all. And although there has been rich cross-fertilisation on the ground, with Cosatu unionists prominent in ANC and SACP branches, alliance structures have yet to shape up at lo-



SACP member Jeremy Cronin

cal and regional levels.

The result is that "unity in action" remains a largely unrealised ideal. "There have been mass actions — strikes, land occupations under the umbrella of the UDF — but national co-ordination is lacking," said Cronin. "We must pick up on existing campaigns: land struggles, the living wage, the workers' charter. It's absolutely crucial that the alliance brings its major weapon to bear on the negotiating process."

All sides stress that Cosatu must share the blame: "They're the strongest alliance member; they must demand their rights," said one ANC source.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo rejects as "unfair" the charge that the alliance has failed. "It's naive to expect too much. The ANC and the party have been unbanned for eight months, and the violence has hampered us," he stressed in an interview.

Cronin amplifies the point: "It's complex business rebuilding when you've just emerged from underground. At the same time, the ANC is under enormous pressures — it's expected to pronounce on everything from Iraq to seal-culling."

If the ANC dragged its heels, it was attacked for lack of political seriousness, but if it moved too fast, it was open to charges of neglecting its base and alliance partners.

Naidoo also emphasised there had been co-operation on specific issues between the allies. A national working committee of three organisations had worked to end the violence, and discussions had been held on economic policy formulation. The ANC, in addition, had given "unambiguous" backing to Cosatu's Labour Relations Act campaign and strikes by affiliates.

It is believed that at a recent alliance secretariat meeting, it was decided that the SACP proposal of local self-defence units should be taken up as an alliance project.

Unionists also stress the strong "alliance consciousness" on the ground, and the general acceptance that the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the ANC's former labour arm and erstwhile alliance member, is history.

Naidoo conceded, however, that the alliance "has not worked as well as we thought it would."

"We don't have an overall programme that pulls together our separate resources, and there's a lack of proper co-ordination at all levels. People on the ground are expecting a clear programme and leadership to implement it."

It would be a mistake to think that the alliance is in jeopardy. Sources say that while some elements on the union left, historically suspicious of the ANC, have urged Cosatu's withdrawal, most critics remain congress loyalists.

And there are moves to cement and give substance to the partnership. The Cosatu executive is to debate the issue this week, while the alliance secretariat has proposed dates and an agenda for a national political-pow-wow. The aim, Naidoo said, was a schedule of meetings, and clear structure for the alliance.



# Jail inmates join the ANC

More than 100 political prisoners have allegedly joined the African National Congress behind bars at the Rooigrond Prison in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana.

This was disclosed to the *Sowetan* yesterday by the ANC's Mafikeng regional office.

According to the ANC's publicity committee the new recruits include 142 Bophuthatswana soldiers held at the prison since the 1988 abortive coup to oust President Lucas Mangope.

Eight officials of the banned Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) of fugitive Mr Rocky Malebane Metsing, who were also arrested then, also joined the ANC yesterday.

The soldiers are serving two to eight years on charges under the Internal Security Act

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

The ANC said in a statement that Mangope has denied the prisoners the status of political prisoners.

The prisoners then embarked on a hunger strike which was subsequently abandoned following an assurance from authorities that a letter listing their grievances would be sent to South African State President F W De Klerk.

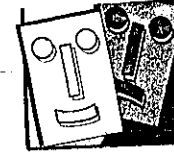
## Letter

*Sowetan* is in possession of the letter which was smuggled out of the prison last month.

The chairman of the ANC branch in Mafikeng, Mr Job Mokoro, said all the PPP prisoners and soldiers convicted in terms of the 1988 abortive coup as well as the people from Leewfontein and Braklaagte who were convicted of their struggle against incorporation

were political prisoners.

He called on De Klerk to put pressure on Mangope to release them and ensure that the Pretoria Minute applied to all in South Africa.



# FREEDOM FIGHTERS

I have hit upon a way to get rid of the cultural boycott which the ANC and its fellow-travellers so steadfastly refuse to lift.

We must appeal to the ANC to leave the boycott in place for the next 10 years; indeed, we should implore Nelson Mandela to ensure that the boycott is tightened so severely that we become cut off as never before from the art, music and literature of the world.

What has brought me to this strange conclusion, apart from desperation? A little story about Czechoslovakia, that's what, related in Britain's *Daily Telegraph*.

In January 1980, Julius Tomin, a lecturer in philosophy at the university in Prague, wrote a desperate letter to members of the philosophy department at Balliol College, Oxford. He told them he had lost his job because he was a questioning intellectual and appealed for help in keeping independent thought alive in Czechoslovakia.

In fact, hundreds of Czech intellectuals had lost their jobs and had been forced to work as window-cleaners, sweepers, stokers and so on. The Oxford men responded. The Master of Balliol visited Prague, was arrested and expelled. The resultant publicity induced support from many other people — some of them famous, like playwrights Harold Pinter and Tom Stoppard, musician

Yehudi Menuhin and novelist Iris Murdoch. A trust fund was set up and a steady stream of academics risked arrest by lecturing in Czechoslovakia. Books were smuggled in, clandestine meetings arranged.

Czechs who organised and attended seminars were harassed, arrested and beaten by the secret police. Yet, in a country where the judiciary had not been independent since 1947, where thugs enforced a bankrupt socialist ideology under the cold eye of Moscow, it was vital simply to keep alive the idea of freedom.

## What absurdity

Is it not ridiculous? The "Pretoria regime", until the election of F W de Klerk to the presidency, was perceived to be far more repressive than most eastern European countries. Yet the ANC conspired with intellectuals in Europe and the US (and in SA, to their particular shame) to achieve precisely the opposite of bringing light to a place where freedom was flickering.

Perhaps this tactic was understandable to the extent that the ANC and its supporters, driven to desperation, felt compelled to use any means available to crack the granite that was apartheid. But now it makes no sense whatsoever.

I suppose there is an explanation. Many of the exiled ANC members were not exposed to cultural deprivation and perhaps do not realise what damage it has done — not least to local intellectuals who appear to have missed two decades of progress in European thought. The local ANC members, impoverished by their own boycott, seem to view it as part of revolutionary orthodoxy rather than a mere tactic. All of them have become the enemies of culture while claiming to defend it — just like the Nats of old.

I wonder how many of those British and American intellectuals who so courageously supported the smuggling of books into Czechoslovakia; who were prepared to defy the secret police and stand up for freedom, also ensured that their work would not be allowed into SA . . .

Well, I am prepared to organise a petition calling on government to enforce a 30-year ban on all foreign culture. The ANC will immediately brand the boycott a strategy of the apartheid regime; artists, writers, actors and musicians will start pouring into the country.

And if Danie Craven had any sense, he would call for a 10-year ban on rugby tours: come April, we'd be playing the All Blacks.

David Williams

# Schools, townships will get new names

ALL 63 secondary and high schools and several townships in Soweto will be renamed after African heroes and leaders by the Soweto City Council.

The vice-president of the Sofasonke Party, Mr Mandela Mazibuko, yesterday said his party will announce the new names to Soweto residents at the party's public meeting at the Jabulani Amphitheatre on November 18.

The late president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who was buried last weekend, is among those honoured.

## Honoured

Anchor High School in Mzimhlophe will be renamed Mothopeng High School. Phefeni Secondary School will be called Mandela High School; Emadwaleni will be called Walter Sisulu High School and the newly-built Orlando East High will be called James Sofasonke Mpanza High School.

Some of the townships to be renamed are: Orlando East which will be called Mpanzaville; Orlando West will be known as Mandelaville and Mofolo will be known as Tshabalala Village after

Sowetan 9/11/90

By Sowetan  
Reporter

Sofasonke president Mshengu Tshabalala.

Some townships named after African stalwarts such as Dube village and Moroka township will retain their names.

Chiawelo township will be divided into two areas which will be renamed after Venda and Shangaan leaders who have greatly contributed to the livelihood of their communities.

The renaming programme has drawn mixed reaction from Soweto residents. While some welcomed the renaming as long overdue, others felt all existing names, such as Mofolo, should be retained.

Political fanatics among school pupils and civic groups are expected to clamour for the names of their political heroes, with Mandela being an overall favourite.

Other topics on the agenda at the Sofasonke Party meeting will be the transfer of all old houses to owners and the writing-off of rent arrears between June 1986 and April 1989.

# FW calls for a pledge to peace from ANC

Sowden 9/11/90

11A  
GODWIN

STATE President FW de Klerk said on Wednesday night South Africa expected the African National Congress to take a stand against everything which did not accord with the search for a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

Speaking at Bethlehem in the Free State, De Klerk said the ANC had to distance itself unconditionally from destabilisation, boycotts, intimidation and military build-up.

There was a clearly defined strategy of in-

## SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

timidation and undermining of local management systems, regional government and self-governing states, he said.

He wanted to know who was responsible for these misdeeds and their potentially far-reaching consequences.

By agreeing to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes the Government and the ANC had bound themselves to finding peaceful solutions

and to curbing intimidation and violence, De Klerk said.

He said the ANC should not be involved in violence, in preparing for violence or in so-called "non-violent destabilisation actions".

The country expected deeds to match words and was waiting for ferocious elements in South Africa to be brought under control.

De Klerk said unless he received a satisfactory reply he would certainly hold the ANC responsible.

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Sowetan 9/11/90



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FUNDING (11A) (11A)  
**GRAVY DRYING UP**

**Political change**, apart from refocusing the activities of government and big players like the ANC, has filtered down to "grassroots" organisations. They now find foreign anti-apartheid funding not that easy to come by.

At the height of the international anti-apartheid lobby, European money created something of a growth industry for hundreds of civic associations and left-wing organisations opposed to government policies.

Much of this funding was channelled through the Kagiso Trust, an agency set up about three years ago as a conduit for such funds. It was later to attract criticism for the way it allocated European Community money, the charge being that it blatantly favoured ANC-aligned organisations.

Last week, a number of those organisations learnt that funding from the trust was going to be cut back, and stopped completely in the case of certain projects. Naturally, an outcry followed, with at least one organisation, the Durban Central Residents' Association, threatening legal action against the trust for "breach of contract."

But according to Kagiso Trust executive director Achmat Dangor, the flow of funds from Europe is not drying up — in fact, he claims, they are increasing. Rather, a decision has been taken for the trust to change its focus from the more overtly political bodies to development. FIM 9/11/90

"Increased demand for resources, particularly in the spheres of education, rural development and addressing the severe problems in squatter camps and informal housing settlements, means working out new priorities for the funds available to Kagiso Trust," Dangor said last week.

While the change of emphasis has been welcomed by many critics of the fund, it has left some victims. One area is the newspapers which received significant support from the fund, including the Durban-based *New Afri-*

FIM 9/11/90 (11A) (11A)  
*can*, the Cape's *South* and Johannesburg's *New Nation* and *Vrye Weekblad*.

Dangor says the European Community has informed him they intend to stop financing "media projects," but this will be gradual and the trust will help the publications towards "self-reliance."

This seems to mean the newspapers will have to become more commercial — a dirty word in radical journalism, where it is usually reserved for mainstream newspapers.

The move will be watched with interest — with the alternative press more accountable to normal market conditions, some interesting changes in style and policy could result. ☐

# ANC explains Operation Vula

11A

THE African National Congress has launched an intensive national campaign to brief its rank-and-file membership about the genesis of "Operation Vula".

In a special circular to all "regions, branches and other fraternal organisations" from the ANC secretary general, Alfred Nzo, it is stipulated that this information must be circulated immediately.

According to Nzo: "In 1988, a special extended meeting of the National Executive Committee was held in Lusaka at which a report was presented on the state of underground organisation inside South Africa. The

meeting decided that additional steps had to be taken to reinforce the underground structures.

It was recommended, in particular, that leading members of the organisation prepare themselves to be deployed inside the country to provide leadership to the underground.

The circular points out that as a result of this decision, ANC president, Oliver Tambo, assisted by Joe Slovo, the South African Communist Party leader and NEC member, were given full authority to launch the project which was given the name Operation Vula

(short for Vulindlela).

When Tambo fell ill, the ANC NEC appointed its secretary-general Alfred Nzo to take charge of the project.

"Operation Vula was not intended to be a substitute for the work of the Political and Military Council, whose task was to develop underground political and military structures, or the military headquarters.

The indictment against the Operation Vula accused, the ANC argues, was drafted in a manner that gives the impression that it was not an ANC project. - Sapa

Sowetan 9/11/90

# South Africans urged not to use force

Sowetan 9/11/90



11A

LONDON - The most important thing South Africans had to learn was to solve their problems through political means, not force, veteran anti-apartheid activist, Mr Albie Sachs said this week.

Speaking on BBC-2 TV's *Fifth Column* programme, Sachs said this meant that the vote for all and the institutions of democracy must be "inst-

alled as soon as possible."

"Far from the violence provoked by elements in the State being used as a pretext for postponing democracy, the bloodshed reminds us how urgent it is for us to give democracy a chance - and to enable our people, all our people, to accustom themselves to settling their differences in a peaceful way."

Without the vote and the democratic institutions, he said, "peace stands no chance at all."

## Call

He also called on the "honest and dedicated" personnel inside South Africa's security forces to join with trained personnel of the ANC and the "non-corrupt forces" of the various bantustans to create a genuinely na-

tional peace-keeping force for the Republic.

"The whole network of squads dedicated to internal and external destabilisation has to be uncovered and disbanded."

Sachs described himself as just one victim of the "low-intensity war" which has left thousands limbless, blind or disabled. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



FIM 9/11/90 (11A) (11A)

Buthelezi and other Inkatha leaders, it appears that orders to use violence may at times come from higher up.

Two weeks ago, some Inkatha members believe, they were themselves victims of their own movement. A number of shacks were burnt down in a rural township at Ndwedwe, north of Durban. The *FM* spoke to one of the victims (who asked not to be named) and was told that the arson spree was aimed at residents who refused to join an Inkatha "killing party."

Though a card-carrying Inkatha member, the man said that when he refused to join a night-time raid on a neighbouring part of the township in response to the death of an Inkatha member, he in turn was threatened with death. Taking the threat seriously, he moved his family out of the house. Two days later, it was burnt down, along with other houses belonging to people who had not joined the Inkatha war party. The *FM* source said many of the other victims were also Inkatha members.



Buthelezi

On October 19, in a murder case in the Maritzburg Supreme Court, Justice Andrew Wilson asked, in his judgment, that the KwaZulu government investigate claims that orders had come from Ulundi to force

people to join Inkatha. One of the accused, Derrick Xulu, claimed that the chief of Mpumuza had said orders came from Ulundi to make every resident of the area a member of Inkatha, because Mpumuza fell under KwaZulu.

Sentencing four men — all Inkatha members — to a total of 40 years in prison for a murder committed in 1988, Judge Wilson said there was no reason to disbelieve Xulu's evidence and that it was incumbent on the KwaZulu government to investigate whether the chief had given these instructions and if he was acting on orders from Ulundi.

The chief, Mzikayise Zondi, has since denied that he received any instructions from Ulundi or that he issued orders for forced recruitment, saying it was his duty as a chief to be above politics.

However, no word has yet come from the KwaZulu government in response to the matter of the judge's request. Buthelezi's department in Ulundi has been asked by the *FM* if an investigation has been set up, but at the time of going to press we had not yet received an answer, despite repeated telephone calls.

Buthelezi has made clear his position on violence and as recently as last week, he issued a statement calling on all leaders of political organisations to join him in condemning two recent attacks on Inkatha officials.

It would surely be in his interests to accede to the request of a Supreme Court judge and show that his own house is in order.

VIOLENCE FIM 9/11/90

## GLASS HOUSES?

Attempts to work out who might be responsible for particular acts of politically inspired violence are often futile, as police investigating the clashes between ANC-aligned groups and the Inkatha Freedom Party have found out.

There are so many accusations and counter-accusations that some blame must attach to both sides. Inkatha, largely through statements made by its president, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, often claims — with considerable success — the moral high ground.

Undoubtedly some ANC elements have long been campaigning against Inkatha and Buthelezi; statements made by ANC leaders like Harry Gwala do not even try to disguise the hostility felt for the KwaZulu leader.

But is Inkatha, with its official policy of non-violence, really always the victim?

Obviously, local leaders, whether for reasons of defence or anger at the campaign aimed at the movement, may sometimes decide to take the law into their own hands. However, despite persistent denials from

strongly at the FM conference that the ANC's policy on sanctions was likely to be changed at the organisation's conference on December 16.

The chamber's director-general, Raymond Parsons, estimated that a programme to level out apartheid's inequalities would cost at least R50bn over 10 years and he suggested that one should start immediately.

He warned, however, not to exaggerate the consensus between business and the ANC, adding that you can't spend a weekend with the Pope and expect to turn him into a Protestant.

"No amount of dialogue can provide the assurance that politicians will not revert to their original positions if and when they achieve power. The ANC has to attempt to address the needs of the poor, the expectations of redistribution and the ambitions of organised labour.

"Dialogue can result in policies becoming increasingly subtle, qualified and hedged."

This was often apparent in Mbeki's talks. For example, he called for "affirmative action," discriminating in favour of the poor for housing and, particularly, housing finance, and on business credit. But he was vague about whether this affirmative action would be legislated or just recommended. Several chamber delegates were receptive to the idea of a new financing mechanism for black housing. All, however, opposed being forced by law to give preferential treatment to blacks.

In the floor debates it was significant that the delegates weren't too concerned with constitution-making, or even the ANC's economic policy, but with nitty-gritty issues such as oil and tax.

Business pleaded for the use of SA's oil reserves to alleviate the recession. Chamber president Les Boyd maintained that the time for secrecy on oil issues was over, adding that business would find it easier to co-operate with government on energy policy if it knew the whole picture.

Delegates recognised that with the need for more social spending, it was all the more pressing that government should reduce public expenditure in other ways: by reduced spending on such areas as defence and by

cutting out the duplication of apartheid services.

There was particular distaste for the subsidies the taxpayer is expected to fork out for the decentralisation of industry. The conference was relieved to hear Development Bank chairman Simon Brand repudiate the decentralisation policy. But then, if it took 42 years to convert the National Party, business can't expect an overnight conversion of the ANC.

## CHAMBER OF BUSINESS LISTENING TO THE ANC

Just six months ago, the gap between business and the ANC seemed unbridgeable. Most business leaders considered ANC economic policy to be about as relevant as the belief that the earth is flat.

But last week, at the SA Chamber of Business annual conference, and later at the FM Investment Conference, the two sides seemed to draw closer to a working relationship.

Thabo Mbeki is the ANC's international affairs head, but he isn't spending much time overseas; he seems to have been given the brief of pacifying business. With his omnipresent pipe and urbane manner, he is increasingly seen as the acceptable face of the ANC in business circles. He strengthened that image last week in his addresses to the chamber and the FM conference.

The word *nationalisation* has long been excised from Mbeki's vocabulary. He had a much more moderate message to the chamber, pleading for the need "to divert much larger resources towards black upliftment than has been the case so far." This is in line with the chamber's view in its document, *Economic Options for SA*, that housing, education and other social needs should receive the highest priority in future State budgets.

The chamber argues that "business is not, in advocating a market system, attempting to avoid the need to address the masses' needs."

Consensus also appeared closer on the issue of privatisation. Mbeki did not say it was a bad thing, but merely that it should be put off until a truly democratic government was elected. The chamber itself is opposed to the privatisation of Eskom and is soft-peddling on other flotations.

Much to the delight of the audience, Mbeki hinted



Parsons



Mbeki

and gnd after all the DRC had done — had earlier said it was difficult, some- cannot, when someone says 'Forgive me', say 'I do not'.

## Setback as ANC/Inkatha talks are postponed

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban  
TALKS between senior African National Congress and Inkatha officials appear to have run into trouble — discussions scheduled for yesterday did not take place and the ANC's John Nkadimeng confirmed they have been postponed indefinitely.

The postponement of the talks followed speculation that the ANC officials involved in the discussions had

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been criticised by other elements in the organisation for pushing ahead with negotiations without a "proper mandate" from people in the region.

Nkadimeng, however, would not comment on the reason for calling off yesterday's talks. (N/A) (S)

On Wednesday he and a group of ANC national executive members visited several Natal inland areas hard-hit by the violence.

During their visit they also had a meeting with members of affected communities in Pietermaritzburg held "in accordance with our determination only to act in accordance with the mandate of the people", Nkadimeng said.

The joint ANC/Inkatha talks had been making progress, and it is not yet known how the latest setback will affect the operation of the joint working group.

# Communist and business leaders meet

BIG business and the SACP had their first official encounter at a meeting in Johannesburg this week, party and Consultative Business Movement (CBM) leaders disclosed yesterday.

JCI director Ken Maxwell, who headed the 20-man CBM delegation of top businessmen and professionals, said the CBM had requested the meeting as it wanted to be briefed on the SACP's views on a range of subjects.

ALAN FINE

Maxwell said "understandable differences of opinion" emerged on whether a free market or socialist approach was most appropriate for addressing problems regarding the distribution of wealth.

However, he added, the SACP delegation — Essop Pahad, Moses Mayekiso and Moss

To Page 2

## SACP-business talks

Ngoasheng — had repeatedly expressed its anxiety to see a democratisation of SA. This was an important area of commonality between the groups, he said.

Pahad said there was, in SA, a great deal of ignorance about SACP views, which was why the party felt it necessary to explain them to a broad spectrum of groups, including business.

The SACP believed the fundamental flaw of Eastern Europe had been a lack of democracy, he said.

His delegation had also explained at length the SACP's alliance with the ANC and Cosatu, and had expressed the view that the alliance would endure until — and beyond — the first post-apartheid elections.

Pahad said the CBM delegation had requested the meeting "to listen" and had therefore not entered into debate on SACP policies.

Maxwell refused to name other CBM group members without their consent.

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SACP

# Bop coup leader and 126 other convicts join ANC

By MARK GEVISSER

THE leader of the 1988 Bophuthatswana coup attempt, Sergeant Timothy Phiri, seven senior members of the banned People's Progressive Front and 119 other ex-soldiers sentenced for high treason joined the African National Congress' Mafikeng branch this week.

The 127 political prisoners at Rooigrond Prison have been in covert communication with the Mafikeng branch ever since it was formed in August this year, and they were recruited without the knowledge of the Prisons Department. The branch has decided to charge the new members an annual rate of R1, instead of the usual R12, until they are released.

At a meeting of the PPF in Rustenburg last Saturday, vice-president Sarah Mereyothle announced that the party would disband and join the ANC. With this decision, the ANC now becomes the principal internal opposition to Chief Lucas Mangope's rule in the independent homeland.

Bophuthatswana government representatives were astonished when told of the prisoners' new ANC membership. "How could they have joined the ANC? They are in maximum security prison," exclaimed Lieutenant David George, public relations officer for the Police Department.

Deputy Commissioner for Prisons

Brigadier SS Thooe was equally surprised, but said "no action will be taken against them because it is not illegal to be a member of the ANC in Bophuthatswana".

But ANC members and sympathisers in Bophuthatswana have been subject to harassment. The wives of two imprisoned PPF leaders have been fired from their jobs under the Security Clearance Act, and Sarah Mereyothle has been detained for a total of six weeks in the past two months. On the very day that the ANC announced its 127 new members, a local branch member, Nomvula Hlongwane, was detained under the homeland Emergency restrictions after having attended the annual general meeting of the National Anti-Repression Forum. A police spokesman confirmed that she is in detention.

The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum is concerned that prison officials will make the new members' lives harder. "They have already started moving some to other prisons," said a Mafef representative.

The convicts have a history of resistance: they were sentenced to hard labour but have refused to break stones because they see themselves as political prisoners. And, in an attempt to obtain political prisoner status, 26 of them went on hunger strike in October for six days.

# Exiles come under fire on ANC cultural policy

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THE opening symposium of this year's Weekly Mail Book Week on Sunday was touted as the Night of the Exiles.

With poet Mongane Wally Serote — African National Congress intellectual and cultural functionary — sharing a platform with recently returned literary critic Vernon February and leading cultural theorist Albie Sachs, it probably represented the most powerful battery of ANC cultural firepower yet seen in South Africa.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber did no more than sum up the mood of expectation when he said what was being celebrated was not only the return of eminent South Africans but the cultural enrichment which their return implied for the country as a whole.

But if the truth be told, the exiles failed to deliver the cultural goods which had been promised.

They were probably somewhat shell-shocked: fellow panellists Pieter-Dirk Uys and poet Stephen Watson, as resident South Africans, had little enough to say by way of validating the ideals which sustained the returnees through all those years spent in exile.

Both Uys and Watson spoke to the topic of "Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Process" as though the most immediate threat to that cultural freedom lay in the democratic process as it is embodied in the ANC's various cultural commissariats.

The exiles, on the other hand, continued to assume that the ANC constituted the solution, not the problem.

First up was a charming and occa-

The exiles who have guided cultural policy for decades are on trial. On Sunday night they faced a sometimes hostile reception as they attempted to justify why and how they have controlled this policy and interpreted its theory.

**IVOR POWELL** reports from the first night of the Weekly Mail Book Week

sionally entertaining — if somewhat diffuse — cultural manifesto by Uys which after some 20 minutes of anecdote and performance came to the very unequivocal point:

"Boycotts are undemocratic.

"Censorship is undemocratic.

"Cultural desks are as pompous as Publications Control Boards and they make audiences laugh as loudly.

"I will use my pen as a sword against whoever denies me my freedom of speech, my freedom of opinion and my right to disagree.

"Be they NP CP AWB PAC ANCI!"

If, at this point, the exiles might have been wondering what they had walked into, it was driven home a while later when Cape Town poet and — with publication last week of a collection of prose pieces — essayist Watson took the podium.

"When Albie Sachs' paper 'Preparing ourselves for Freedom' was first published in South Africa earlier this year, the consensus as to its importance was overwhelming," Watson began.

Then he described his own reaction

as "a dismay so comprehensive that it effectively neutralised any temptation I might have felt towards that form of spiritual vulgarity which is self-vindication".

In dogged detail he went on to break down this dismay into its constituent parts.

Was it not "incredible, dismal, or incredibly dismal", he asked, that such a paper consisting of "little more than platitudes which would be laughed out of court (or else dismissed as the most self evident form of common sense, not worthy of discussion) in almost all other places in the world" should be hailed as an event of unprecedented cultural importance here?

Surely, he went on, something must have been "intrinsically wrong, not just temporarily limited or strategically inadequate — if after so much struggle in so many spheres the greatest cultural revelation to hit the country in decades should be the sudden news that writers should now write variously and as well as they possibly can ... that poets should also write of love and that art should be full of contradictions".

There was much in Watson's argument with which one could take issue, especially an unquestioning faith in the transcendent value of cultural freedom in a situation where few freedoms could be described as givens, and alongside this a total refusal to locate South African culture within the context of the not uncomplicated history of this country.

But for all this there was a lot that was powerful and provocative in Watson's paper.



Poet Mongane Wally Serote, actor and playwright Pieter-Dirk Uys and the ANC's Albie Sachs ... debating 'Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Process'

Pictures: ELLEN ELMENDORF

And at least this much was made clear: the exiles who have been guiding cultural policy and interpreting its theory for decades are not returning like Christ to Jerusalem in showers of cheers and palm fronds.

They are on trial; many South Africans have had enough of attempts by the liberation movement to control or buy into their cultural production.

In their various ways and with varying degrees of success, the exiles attempted to do just that on Sunday night.

Speaking after Uys and before Watson's Light Brigade-type charge into the valley of death, Netherlands-based critic and academic Vernon February made an attempt — peppered with much First and Third World erudition — to re-establish the old liberation priorities.

Using a review by Watson as an example of what he meant by the notion of the "culture of the few", February starkly contrasted this with the notion of a mass-based and democratic interpretation of culture.

He spoke at some length on the danger that in this transitional situation, culture would be recolonised by these few and that the masses would yet again end up being marginalised.

(As Albie Sachs put it when it came to his turn, describing particular television programmes denied to South Africans in terms of a visit to a Transkei

township: "They have no TV to watch (the programmes) on, they don't have electricity, they don't have water.")

What then are we talking about when we talk about the cultural boycott? "We should be talking about a literacy campaign for this country."

However, despite the good sense of February's argument and the validity of many of his points, his position failed on the night to find very much favour. Solutions are what people in this country are demanding; analyses — especially those which rest on such distinctions as that, proposed by Jean-Paul Sartre to the United Nations in 1946, between writers who side with the oppressed masses and those who are automatically identified with the oppressors — will be met in today's South Africa only with impatience. What is needed now is some kind of vision which will magic the conundrum into a three-year plan.

Serote, looking more jetlagged than shell-shocked, had less to offer: a brief history and defence of the cultural boycott; a series of questions about the nature of South Africanness in the field of culture; the observation that education is required as a priority in the new South Africa if that South Africanness is to be nurtured; and finally a hopeful nod at that diverse and indefinable "South Africanness" as some kind of cultural diamond.

It was left to the final speaker, ANC



Stephen Watson — powerful and provocative attack on ANC policy constitutional committee member and freelance cultural optimist, Albie Sachs, to demonstrate most vividly just how few answers the ANC really had.

"No paper is worth the paper it is written on," he declared in response to Watson's 15 minutes of close argumentation. "I'm bored with it. It had a certain moment. It was that last century before February 2."

There are wonderful things happening in this country, he went on. Real gains are being made. South Africans can sing and celebrate like no other

people on earth.

Why do we not focus on positives like this instead of continuing to debate, like droning domineers, issues like the cultural boycott about which nothing new has been said, he said, for 15 years.

Why indeed? Well there is one reason which was not mentioned in the somewhat bizarre contributions made from the floor.

It simply does not help any more to make starry observations — as the ANC's cultural spokespeople are wont to do — about the toyi toyi as an expression of people's culture.

Nor does it help to say that we need an inalienably South African culture expressive of the country's diversity.

But most of all it does not help to turn around and accuse other people of flogging dead horses like the cultural boycott and the tyranny of so-called people's cultural representatives when it is none other than your own movement which lacks the resolution to take them off the life-support machine.

As one person who has been through the democratic cultural mill remarked afterwards: "You find yourself doing double takes: is this Albie Sachs or Pik Botha?"

"You know they're doing exactly the same thing, getting up and saying: 'Don't you know we've changed our minds?' And then thinking they don't have to change anything else."

**T**HERE is a string of words breathed like magic in the Natal peace process, words that gather like welcome thunderclouds whenever talks break down or accords are broken: the Lower Umfolozi Regional Peace Accord.

On the first of September, after days of negotiation, the three sides in war-torn Empangeni — the security forces, the African National Congress and Inkatha — dressed up in their Sunday best to sign an accord that is touted, across the province, as “the peace that works”.

The peace doesn't work. Not yet. But that it has gone so far is astonishing — particularly since it was brokered not by some soft and well-meaning “institute of good intention” or by some strong-armed “agent of the law”, but by big business: the Zululand Chamber of Industry and, more specifically, the managing director of the region's largest employer — Alusaf's Ronald Barbour.

After the October 15 meeting of ANC and Inkatha leadership in Durban, Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mtshali said this accord should be used as a model for other trouble spots. The ANC leaders nodded in agreement. A breath-taking piece of public relations that smacks of corporate word-processing and negotiating skills, the accord ends with the plea, “Peace lies in your hands ... Grasp it!”. It even sports a dove carrying an olive branch on its masthead.

Computer graphics aside, the accord is a substantive blueprint for peace: it affirms the rights of all citizens to freedom of political association, to all forms of legitimate political activity, and to freedom of religious choice. It reasserts the rights of workers “to choose whether or not to support stayaways (and) boycotts”; it forbids intimidation, either verbal or physical, it binds the security apparatus (which, in Northern Natal, has a particularly repressive reputation) to “the impartial protection of all citizens and their property” and, signed one week before the government clarified its position on cultural weapons, it states that “dangerous weapons should not be carried in public”.

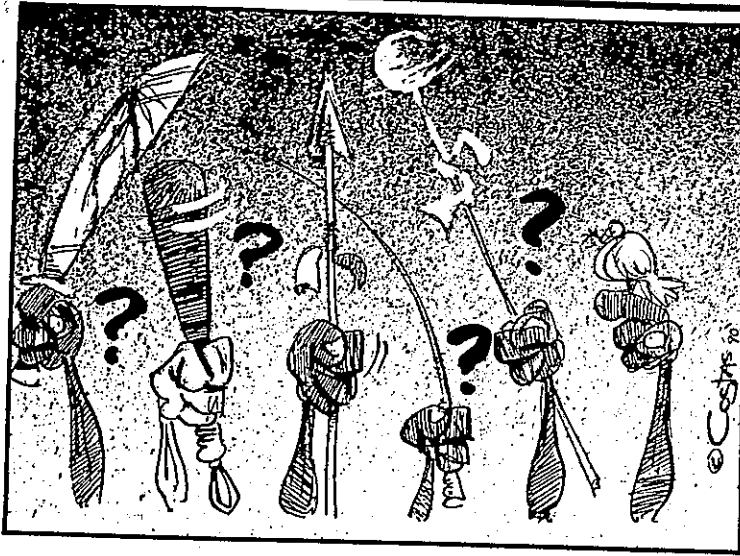
The accord was signed by kwaZulu Minister of the Interior Steven Sithebe and the ANC's Jacob Zuma, as well as representatives from the Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Police and the kwaZulu Police, and the mayors of the three townships around Empangeni.

Says Michael Mbuyakhulu, the regional chairman of Cosatu in Northern Natal, “the accord has started to produce the kind of desired goals at a leadership level”. He says “there was a dramatic drop immediately following the accord” and, despite isolated incidents, “there is less political violence because the police are starting to play their neutral role”.

He offers an example from last month: “When it was reported that a young ANC supporter had been abducted and threatened, we called the police and they responded immediately, saving the comrade and arresting three Inkatha people, who they are now charging”.

In the lobby of Alusaf's Richards' Bay headquarters, an employee ambles past the receptionist and the two share a joke about “Mandela en die kaffirs” while black employees within earshot polish the aluminium fixtures.

Upstairs, in the chief executive's panelled boardroom, Ronald Barbour explains his role as Zululand's Mr Peace: “The war up here was threatening the whole infrastructure of the region. And as the biggest employers of the region, of course we were affected. On one level, my motivations for getting involved were simple: if there is peace outside the shop floor, then my workers will sleep well at night, and their levels of anxiety and physical fitness will improve. This, of course, will impact positively on their productivity.”



## Tenuous peace in a tiny corner of Natal. Will the magic last?

A peace accord, brokered by business, may be working in one area of Natal. **MARK GEVISSER** looks at the successes — and failings — of the Lower Umfolozi Regional Peace Accord

There is no doubt that Barbour has credibility in the region: his brokering could not have succeeded otherwise. After a successful strike to obtain Fosatu recognition in 1982, Alusaf has had a comparatively good labour relations record. Barbour, as long-time president of the Zululand Chamber of Industry, was instrumental in facilitating the peaceful resolution of a bus boycott in 1986. “We don't always agree with him,” says Mbuyakhulu, who asked the Alusaf MD to become involved, “but we can trust him to facilitate impartially, and he does have the ability to bring all the parties together.”

Barbour was approached by National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and by the mayor of Esikhaweni township following the burning of 15 homes in mid-July. He agreed to set up peace talks on three conditions: “I would act as a facilitator, and not a judge; I would not get involved in intercommunal black politics; and we would keep shop-floor issues and industrial relations out of the talks.”

Since the accord was signed, this last condition has proven to be something of a problem: “The unions have threatened,” says Barbour, “that if we don't accept certain demands it could impact adversely on the accord. It is definitely being used as a bargaining tool.”

Mbuyakhulu counters that “if there is a shop-floor dispute that could lead to violence because of scabbing, then of course it's an obstacle to peace. You can't have peace outside the factory if you don't have it inside. And by getting involved in the first place, Barbour has acknowl-

edged that you cannot separate issues on the shop-floor and in the community.”

During the talks, however, all parties did agree to Barbour's three conditions. They brought four points to the table and, over 22 hours, an agenda was hammered out.

“There has always been a certain magic in this part of Natal,” says Barbour, explaining why he thinks the peace accord worked. “We've got mature leaders with a willingness to work things out.”

There is, however, a realpolitik more ominous than magic behind this willingness. Because the ANC is weak and disorganised in the region, it had nothing to lose from an accord: if its members were going to be expelled by Inkatha, there would be no second wave to replace them. And because Inkatha won the battles of June and July, some warlords saw no reason to continue fighting. “Making peace in Empangeni was an easy concession for Inkatha,” explains Roy Ainslie, of the Democratic Party's Unrest Monitoring Group. “Better to make peace there, and gain all the kudos for it, and free the troops to do battle in more tenuous regions.”

There are other reasons for the peace's relative success: the fighting is only months old which means, says Steven Collins of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, “that the leaders are still relatively in control. There aren't these vigilante groups who are acting on their own initiatives in the name of one side or the other, as we have in Durban.”

If one single factor has afforded this peace ini-

tiative its qualified success it is that the security forces have been involved from the start — not as arbiters but as an implicated party that has been persuaded to sign the agreement along with all other implicated parties.

The security forces are bound to do their job. Barbour claims that he does not use his power to force them into action every time it is necessitated but he does acknowledge that “I do have a certain clout. If one or other party complains to me, I'll tell them to contact the police themselves. Then, if that doesn't yield results, they can come back to me, and, in my role of peace facilitator, I'll get involved”.

Since the beginning of the war in Natal and on the Reef, the unions have castigated industry for fuelling the conflict by remaining aloof from it. The relative success of this accord lends substance to the argument that industry has the means to bring about peace.

“The peace accord itself is excellent,” says Mandela Mthethwa, ANC representative for the Northern Natal region, “but the problem has been in its application. Principles alone can't bring peace — they have to be taken to the people and accepted”.

Barbour says “a crucial turning point in the negotiations was when the ANC/Cosatu people agreed to accept the mayors of the townships as neutral arbiters, even though they are members of Inkatha”.

It appears that the ANC agreed to this because it was negotiating from a position of weakness. But the problem now seems to be that while the mayors of the townships of Enseleni, Ngwelezane and Esikhaweni are supposed to play a neutral and peacemaking role, they are indisputably Inkatha functionaries.

On one hand, they do not have the credibility with ANC/Cosatu grassroots membership to act as neutral arbiters and, on the other, they are regarded by the more warmongering elements of Inkatha as sellouts who were acting without a mandate from the people. When, for example, the mayor of Enseleni took the accord to his constituency, it was rejected. He was forced to say that he signed it in his capacity of mayor, and not as representative of Inkatha.

If the pivotal mayors are acting in a neutral capacity, it means there are no local signatories to the accord who are expressly representing the interests of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

“One of our major mistakes,” says Barbour, “is that we did not involve the local chiefs and members of the kwaZulu legislature.”

Local branches of the Inkatha Youth Brigade are also apparently angry about the accord. The next step is to expand the accord to these people but this is proving to be difficult. One meeting has been cancelled because the chiefs did not arrive: even though some warlords are willing to make peace because they don't see the point of fighting a battle already won, others wonder why peace should be made at all.

Another flaw of the accord is that, while listing 15 solid and worthy principles, it does not set in stone the mechanisms to ensure adherence to them. There is no monitoring group to assure police impartiality and justice once those charged reach the courts and there is no schedule to bind the signatories to regular meetings. “I am worried,” says Barbour, “that the peace we have at the moment will give a false sense of security, and everyone will lose interest. We might not have a flaming conflagration but we'll have a running sore.”

The peace is the first of its kind in Natal, and the fact that Inkatha, the ANC and the security forces spent 22 hours in a room and came to an agreement makes it unique. But the principles it espouses are a long way from being realised: the ANC, for example, has not established one branch north of the Tugela River. There is no freedom of association in Zululand yet.

Star 10/11/90

NEWS

11A



**HOME AGAIN:** African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela holds his grandchild, Bhambatha, at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after returning from his trip to Asia and France. Picture: Associated Press.



THE ANC and allied civic associations in the Transvaal declared yesterday they would not heed President F W de Klerk's ultimatum to distance the ANC from mass action.

Mass action will, in fact, be stepped up, Moses Mayekiso, senior SA Communist Party member, trade unionist and president of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), said.

His stand was echoed by the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL), which issued a defiant call on South Africa's youth to step up mass action on all fronts.

Mr de Klerk, in a speech earlier this week, said boycotts and other types of mass action were just another form of violence and promised to call the ANC leadership to account if it failed to clearly distance itself from intimidation, boycotts and mass action.

### Mandela's call

He said that in terms of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes, the ANC should distance itself from such actions.

However, in a message from London this week, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela called for the intensification of the anti-apartheid struggle on all fronts.

Speaking in Johannesburg, Winnie Mandela said her husband had telephoned her from the home of ANC president Oliver Tambo and asked her to convey this message.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's demand to

# FW's plea for order is rejected

**DAVID GREYBE**

the ANC, Mr Mayekiso accused the President of stifling democracy, adding: "We in the civics are not going to obey his feelings.

"We will defy Mr de Klerk's call because it is unreasonable to the country's political organisations, civics and trade unions."

Mr Mayekiso, also general secretary of Numsa (National Union of Metalworkers of SA), added: "We are going to embark on all sorts of peaceful actions to pressurise the Government to finally get rid of apartheid."

The ANC Youth League said it wanted to make it clear to Mr de Klerk and his government that "none of the structural and leadership collectives of the African National Congress are accountable to him".

"Over the years, De Klerk's role has been to oppress our people. Until this day, he has been playing that role," the ANCYL charged.

The ANCYL statement added: "In order to attain the freedom of our people, the ANC has used four pillars of struggle, which have been and still are: mass mobilisation and action; international solidarity; underground operations and armed struggle.

### People's rule

"The only method that has been tempered and only by suspension of part of it — the actual shooting — is armed struggle.

"All other methods of struggle remain in place and must be intensified. The demise of structures of minority rule like community councils and bantustans must coincide with the mushrooming of organs of people's rule, like street committees, village committees and so forth.

"The fall of community councillors and bantustan regimes must be seen as a precursor to the final imposition of democratic rule in our country," ANCYL said.

Mr Mayekiso said Cast, which was planning to hold a series of protest marches in cities on November 17, was demanding the Government "gets rid of black councils and ensures councillors resign". — Sapa.

ANC renews 'action'

call

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NEWS

<sup>10/11/90</sup>  
PAC <sup>(117)</sup>  
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exposes

'agent'

THE Pan Africanist Congress claims it has discovered and immediately suspended an alleged police spy within its ranks, acknowledging he was a brilliant agent.

The man initially entered the country in 1988, but infiltrated the ANC as Dr Sipho Dlamini in September under the guise of being a returning exile with a PhD in Economics, the PAC alleged.

The security police later instructed him to move to the PAC to discredit the organisation's economic policy.

The PAC said its external mission had a confession from the man.

Police would not immediately comment on the allegations. — Sapa.

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Call on private sector for investments . . .

# Co-operatives to boost employment

114  CAP-TEMS 10/11/90

By **AUDREY D'ANGELO**  
Business Editor

THE only way to prevent unemployment from reaching "crisis proportions" in the 1990s is for the private sector to become involved in large scale socio-economic development projects, says Barney Desai, Western Cape convener of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Pointing out that population growth exceeds the number of new jobs provided and that increased mechanisation will worsen this situation, Desai said yesterday that this environment, "and the very skew distribution of income, does not appear ideal for a stable democracy to thrive in SA".

Desai making it clear that he was expressing a personal view and not PAC policy, said his solution was the setting up of co-operatives as "capital-labour partnerships" to be run on sound commercial lines.

This, he said, would involve the community in productive economic activity and create jobs at low cost.

He pointed out that the number of co-operatives has increased in many industrialised countries as traditional industries decline.

"The Italian co-operative movement (LEGA) is a major player in the Italian economy, embracing 15 000 enterprises which range from insurance and construction to

small engineering and agriculture.

"A major positive feature of co-operatives is the commitment that is generated by their members to withstand adverse economic factors. Because they are the owners of the enterprise, their ability to increase productivity is another positive quality."

However, co-operatives normally lacked capital, management and marketing skills.

Desai's solution to this was for private enterprise including the insurance giants to make "a major affirmative thrust" by investing in trust funds — which should be exempt from taxation by special dispensation — "to create capital-labour partnerships to run co-operative enterprises jointly.

"The workers would be part-owners together with the trust, which would undertake to provide managerial skills while the workers provide the labour.

"Progressively workers would participate more actively in democratic control as they acquire the necessary skills and business acumen and have accumulated capital to extend the scope of activity of the capital-labour co-operative.

"Sound commercial management would be ensured up to take-off point where there is a total transfer of ownership to the working members of the co-operative."

Desai suggested that the trust "would have as one of its primary mandates the establishment of co-operation schools of management and skills.

"It would also appoint a standing commission of economic experts whose task would be to identify viable areas for co-operative enterprises, their scope and capital requirements and to appoint trained management."

The trust, he said, "could be in close liaison with the parent investor and connected private sector companies", and arrange for work to be sub-contracted to co-operatives.

Discussing the argument that insurance companies owe it to their policyholders to invest money to earn the best possible return, Desai pointed out that Sanlam's Cashbuild venture, in which it franchised former managers to set up U-Build outlets which were running successfully in Soweto, was "another method of economic empowerment".

He quoted from a Financial Mail article on February 28: "Sanlam's strategic portfolio arose out of its historical role in helping the economic enfranchisement of Afrikanerdom: this included creation of employment, as well as extending Afrikaans ownership and management of big business."

Peter Gilder worth R750. She is our second prize winner in the "quickie" daily competitions as part of the Great Cape Times Giveaway.

# Brilliant spy <sup>111</sup> exposed — PAC

*Back Times 10/11/90*

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress claims it has discovered and suspended a "brilliant" police spy from its ranks.

The man entered the country in 1988 as a Kenyan businessman operating under the alias Dr Ali Mohamed Nkomo, but infiltrated the African National Congress as Dr Siphon Dlamini in September under the guise of being a returning exile with a PhD in Economics, the PAC alleged.

He was sent to Durban to trace his family, where his security police handlers instructed him to move to the PAC to discredit and influence the organisation's economic policy.

The PAC intelligence department put him under surveillance, which led to his being uncovered, a statement said.

The movement said its external mission had a recorded confession from the man. They were aware of a number of agents within its ranks and would soon expose them.

Police declined to comment. — Sapa

# Police to pay legal costs after torturing ANC man

By S'BU MNGADI

POLICE were this week ordered to pay ANC guerrilla Fonono John Mchunu's legal costs after he lodged an interdict demanding police stop harassing, abducting and torturing him.

Natal Attorney-General Mike Imber's office is already investigating allegations of abduction and torture against certain members of the Security Branch, including Askaris - former ANC members who joined the police.

When the matter came before Judge Wilson this week, police submitted no reply to Mchunu's allegations and withdrew their opposition to the order against them being made final.

Mchunu's attorney Kwenza Mlaba later told *City Press* that he had received a letter from the police saying they wished to investigate Mchunu's allegations and asking Mchunu to make a statement to them about his alleged abduction and assault.

According to affidavits, Mchunu and his friend David Shezi were picked up by security policemen, assisted by Askaris, in Durban on September 5 this year.

Shezi was released later that day, but Mchunu was allegedly held at private homes in Durban and Maritzburg until he escaped on September 23. The homes were occupied by Askaris, some of whom he knew from military training camps in Angola.

He went into hiding before emerging at the American consulate in Durban on October 1, seeking refuge.

Mchunu left the consulate that afternoon after obtaining a Supreme Court interdict barring the police from harming him in any way.

Mchunu's version of his "arrest" contradicted information given to the Durban Supreme Court by a senior Security Branch member, who claimed Mchunu was not held after 11:30pm on September 5.

Col Andrew Taylor said Mchunu was released that day, and that Sgt Aubrey Mngadi had taken Mchunu to his home in Lamontville, Durban.

Wilson ordered an inquiry into why security policemen had not interrogated their suspects in a police station, but took them for questioning to Kings Park stadium.

In his founding affidavit, Mchunu said for the duration of his "detention" he was handcuffed and shackled.

He claimed he was interrogated and tortured on several occasions.

**D**ID you know that Koos van der Merwe, the fiery orator of the Conservative Party, is articulate in African languages and is comfortable in the presence of PAC, ANC, BC and black leaders?

Not only that, but Van der Merwe enjoys sharing a drink with the very people he would not like to see in a "white" parliament.

He readily addresses elderly black people as "ntate" and "mme", showing a sign of respect.

When he shakes your hand, it is like greeting a long-lost friend.

Yes, it is the same Van der Merwe who early this year walked out of a meeting hosted by ABC-TV anchorman Ted Koppel at Wits University, shouting that he did not want to share the same platform as the ANC.

It is the same Van der Merwe who refused to answer a question from the ANC's Terror Lekota during a panel discussion at the Rand Afrikaans University in August, because "we do not speak to the ANC".

But "strange things happen when the lights go down..." - particularly in Pretoria's eastern suburbs.

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya *address 11/11/90*

# Talk . . . even if in private



At a dinner hosted this week by the British ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, it was a different Van der Merwe I saw at the table with advocate Digkang Mosenke of the PAC, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association and Popo Molefe of the UDF and ANC.

Does the CP encourage its senior members to wine, dine and share facilities with black people?

Surely this is not what the South African public is made to believe.

But Van der Merwe was a different person from the one we hear in public fighting against integration and the scrapping by government of apartheid laws.

He and his party are uncompromising on power-sharing and negotiations with the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

As CP information head, he is involved in propagating that the ANC is a terrorist organisation only interested in violence and murder, but not power-sharing.

The conversation was warm and cordial.

Whether they agreed on certain issues was not the point.

What was important was that they were talking to each other.

This is something that has not yet filtered down to the rank and file of the masses and to certain

politicians who do not want to be seen in public with their political rivals.

It is this same problem that has made it difficult for ANC leader Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . even over a cup of tea.

It was the same problem Zeph Mothopeng of the PAC faced when he got a surprise visit from Buthelezi shortly after he was released from prison.

Buthelezi said it was a friendly visit to a fellow black brother who had suffered at the hands of the system, but this was rejected with contempt by PAC members.

The masses are unaware that politicians - irrespective of their

political affiliations or whether they agree or disagree with each other on many aspects - do in fact meet.

If not in public, certainly in private.

Our people should be educated about this in order for them to understand the meaning of political tolerance.

They should know that their leaders may differ in many ways, but they might not be enemies.

In the words of Sir Renwick when asked how he was able to bring such a group together: "I try very hard to get people together."

"It is the only way they will understand each other."

Do we really have to wait for somebody like Sir Renwick to come all the way from England to bring us together?

Certainly not. But the CP and those who try to play hard politics must realise that time is no longer on their side.

The majority of people in this country are no longer interested in splitting hairs about apartheid laws.

Their aspirations are to see black representation in a parliament of their choice.

And politicians must take note of this.

# CONNED!

## TOP STARS PULL OUT OF EXILES' CONCERT

By THABISO LESHQAI

THE controversy surrounding the grand "Exiles' Concert" planned for next month thickened this week with news that leading exiled stars Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) would not take part.

The shattering news comes after claims by promoters Morris Roda and Jomo Sono that there were attempts to sabotage the event.

However, the show will go on. Sono said yesterday: "Caiphus Semenya, his wife Letta Mbuli and Julian Bahula want the show to go on. In addition, we have the masses behind us."

He said Semenya would arrive home next weekend. Bahula, who has been in South Africa for some time now, has been helping to coordinate the show.

Sono also said they had the support of local artists and he did not expect any problems from the South African Musicians' Alliance (Sama).

Some executives Rashid Lanie and Jabu



*City Press 11/11/90*

## Bogus economist takes ANC and PAC for a ride

By SEKOLA SELLO: Political Editor

"DR" Siphosiso Dlamini, the supposed top economist who defected from the ANC to the rival PAC, has been exposed as a smooth-operating and high-living conman.

Dlamini, also known as Dr Ali Mahomed or Dr Ali Nkomo, does not hold a doctorate in economics as he claims - and it is highly doubtful that he is a South African citizen.

City Press investigations have revealed that the self-styled doctor of economics lived in Potgietersrus in the northern Transvaal from as early as December last year up to March this year. He then occupied a suite at the Park Hotel and claimed he was a wealthy Nigerian businessman.

As Dr Ali Mahomed or Dr Ali Nkomo, he was known as a big-spending tycoon. No one knew what his business was but according to the staff at the hotel he left little doubt that he had lots and lots of money.

Dlamini was kicked out of the hotel when a senior staff-member found out he was going out with his daughter. He settled his accounts at Park Hotel and moved to the Pietersburg Holiday Inn.

He continued living it up at the Holiday Inn, but it is believed he later left the hotel under a cloud.

From Pietersburg the big-spending tycoon with the invisible means of income apparently left for Pretoria and was known in both Atteridgeville and Mamelodi as Dr Ali Mahomed or Dr Ali Nkomo.

How he managed to worm his way into the hierarchy of the ANC - where he probably managed to get access to some of the organisation's secret documents - before defecting to the rival PAC, is still a mystery.

Dlamini claimed that at one stage he deputised for Patrick "Terror" Lekota as head of the ANC's Southern Natal region.

The ANC recently issued a statement denying the organisation knew him or that he was at any stage an



Siphosiso Dlamini... convincing conman, say some economists.

## Tambo rec

By SEKOLA SELLO

OLIVER Tambo ANC president is recovering and is expected to arrive in South Africa on December 14, two days before the organisation's important consultative conference.

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Dlamini claimed that at one stage he deputised for Patrick "Terror" Lekota as head of the ANC's Southern Natal region.

The ANC recently issued a statement denying the organisation knew him or that he was at any stage an ANC member. However, a number of people City Press spoke to admit Dlamini was known to the ANC leadership and had some connections with the organisation, although they were not aware whether he was a member or occupied any position.

Dlamini announced his defection to the PAC about three weeks ago. The organisation admitted he had joined them. Unfortunately for Dlamini, some leading members of the PAC's legal department knew him as Dr Ali Nkomo or Dr Ali Mahomed.

They even knew of his stay in Potgietersrus as a Kenyan or Nigerian last year, and were surprised about his claims that he only returned to South Africa this year. Once they started making inquiries about his background, the bottom started falling out of his plans.

Dlamini was taken to the law offices of PAC official advocate Dikgang Moseneke, where he was confronted by Richard Ramodipa, a lawyer who knew him well from his days as Dr Nkomo or Dr Mahomed in Potgietersrus.

He denied any knowledge of Ramodipa and claimed perhaps Ramodipa was referring to his twin brother. Dlamini was taken to Atteridgeville where relatives of Ramodipa also told the PAC officials they knew him as Dr Nkomo. Once more he denied this and claimed he was being mistaken for his twin brother - a twin brother he had never told anyone about before.

As Dlamini's world crumbled around him, it is believed he admitted to PAC officials that he did not hold a doctorate in economics. Since his shady background was revealed, Dlamini has left the Johannesburg Hotel where he had been staying for over a month - and is now suspected to be somewhere in the northern suburbs.

The PAC claims Dlamini is an agent of the security police and was planted in the organisation as well as in the ANC. They claim his defection to the PAC was

planned by the police to distort the organisation's policies, make members suspicious of the leadership, to influence and discredit its economic policy and to water down the PAC's socialist policy.

Although exposed as a conman, some economists claim that he was convincing. His problem and ultimately downfall was that he aimed too high, too soon, they said.

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Majatladi said Ntoko's tool box and lamp were discovered hidden underground.

Mineworkers at Libanon are up in arms and have been on strike for the past seven days after the NUM reached a deadlock at a conciliation board hearing over the security of miners.

The striking workers, who meet every

# US stalling on ANC request for building

S/Times 11/11/90

(11A)

Political Correspondent

THE ANC has made several requests to the American government for a building to be bought for the organisation in Johannesburg.

Diplomatic sources confirmed the requests had been made, but said they were unlikely to be agreed to.

The ANC has not been given a direct "no", but is understood to have received "stalling answers" from the US government's state department.

Washington sources said it was against US government policy to buy fixed property for political movements in foreign countries.

The US government has not yet allocated a R25-million fund set aside for "previously banned" organisations in SA, but American government officials said this week it was unlikely money would be used from this fund to buy a building.

The ANC is operating its headquarters from rented accommodation in an office block in Johannesburg.

ANC requests for the purchase of a building have been made on several occasions since the organisation's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, visited the US in June.

Recently, the German headquarters of car manufacturer BMW turned down an ANC request for the donation of a fleet of its cars.

# Communist relaunch

S/ Times 11/11/90  
Sunday Times Reporter

UP to 30 000 people are expected to attend the relaunch today of the SA Communist Party in the Eastern Cape, a traditional heartland of the ANC.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo will address the

rally in Port Elizabeth's Dan Qege Stadium with top ANC officials in attendance. (HA)

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and Steve Tshwete, a co-ordinator of the ANC's "internal political committee" are also due to attend the SACP rally.

# Informal first steps to a constitutional summit

(1A) By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC have begun informal discussions on an agenda for constitutional negotiations expected to start next year.

The discussions have focused on what sort of priorities the parties should set, according to sources.

One suggestion is that constitutional talks will begin with local government structures and move from there into regional government and, finally, the mechanics of national government.

The government has also begun exploring the format of negotiations with other negotiating partners, such as the self-governing and

national states, and the National Forum led by John Mavuso.

A proposal that negotiations begin with local government has been made by the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs. *S Times 11/11/90*

The council includes black and white local authorities and is chaired by Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Hernus Kriel.

The government view is that this area of negotiations could be based on the recent Thornhill Report which recommended that local authorities be autonomous, directly elected and non-racial.

The report was drawn up by a committee under Chris Thornhill, a

deputy director-general in Mr Kriel's department.

Neither the government nor the ANC would officially confirm the discussions.

Formal issues, such as whether negotiations should be undertaken by an elected constituent assembly, as the ANC favours, or in an open forum, as the government favours, have still to be resolved.

A government official said it was not yet known where the formal negotiations would take place. Details of the venue and other issues will emerge from talks now taking place with potential participants.

One motivation for starting negotiations with talks on local govern-

ment is that this could bring early success to the negotiations, which would lay a foundation for further agreement.

● The joint working committee of the government and the ANC received a setback at its meeting on Friday when Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani failed to arrive.

Other members of the ANC group, including its foreign relations portfolio holder Thabo Mbeki, were unable to explain Mr Hani's absence, according to sources close to the committee. The meeting went ahead without Mr Hani.

The government group was led by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok.

# CASIO DIGITAL DIARIES.

# Ngcobo plans a PAC coup

*St Times 11/11/90*

Sunday Times Reporter

THE leader of the "Sobukwe Forum" group in the Pan Africanist Congress, A B Ngcobo, has returned to South Africa in a bid to rally the entire organisation behind him.

Mr Ngcobo is in favour of negotiations with the government and is expected to discuss political alliances with the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and "nationalists" within the African National Congress.

He opposes the more extremist "Dar es Salaam group" of the PAC which espouses such slogans as "one settler, one bullet".

Interviewed by the SABC last night, Mr Ngcobo described the slogan as a "mark of desperation".

## Maoists

He disagreed with them for describing themselves as "Marxists and Leninists" and said the "Dar es Salaam" group had been infiltrated by Trotskyites and Maoists.

Mr Ngcobo claimed he and his followers were "the true PAC", describing his group as "African nationalists or Africanists".

Referring to calls for a continuation of the armed struggle and mass action, he said developments in SA, following February 2 this year, reduced such calls to "poppy-cock".

Negotiations provided the possibility of a solution to the country's problems, he said, describing them as a "once in a lifetime" opportunity that should be seized.

## Tambo due

*St Times 11/11/90*

ANC president Oliver Tambo is due to arrive in SA on December 14 after more than 30 years in exile. (11A)

Deputy president Nelson Mandela said at a press conference that "Mr Tambo would take a leading and active political role".

Sunday Times Reporters

# Cosatu split over call for ties with Inkatha

SI Times 11/11/90

A TOP Cosatu trade unionist has sparked a fierce debate within the movement with a call for a reversal of the organisation's policy of isolating its arch-rival, Inkatha.

A position paper by Jay Naidoo — an official of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union — is now circulating among union and ANC formations in Natal. It proposes that:

● ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet in an effort to make peace;

● Cosatu ceases calling for the dismantling of the KwaZulu homeland and the KwaZulu police;

● A multi-party peace agreement be reached between the government, Inkatha and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance;

● A monitoring group be established to ensure compliance with a code of conduct aimed at reducing violence.

The new conciliatory approach is a major departure from Cosatu policy.

■ ■ ■

The organisation called a national stayaway on July 2 to isolate Inkatha. Soon afterwards violence erupted between Inkatha supporters and others which claimed nearly 800 lives in the Transvaal within six weeks.

Mr Naidoo — who is not related to the Cosatu general-secretary of the same name — has proposed the U-turn on Cosatu's isolation policy because of con-

cern over the escalating violence and tensions between the rival groups.

This violence, he said, created opportunities for the security forces and right-wingers to take political advantage.

Mr Naidoo yesterday told the Sunday Times that previous calls to isolate Chief Buthelezi and for the disbanding of the KwaZulu police force was a reaction to Inkatha's unwillingness to agree to peace accords.

"This position paper was written to stimulate debate and discussion — which is what it has done," he said.

"It was drawn up to look specifically at a change in strategy in relation to Inkatha — there are still other aspects

for peace that have to be worked out," he said.

But the proposals have run into strong opposition from some union and political quarters opposed to any recognition of Inkatha.

■ ■ ■

The November issue of the authoritative South African Labour Bulletin reported that the proposal had generated critical union reaction — particularly the suggestion that a joint monitoring group be formed.

The union publication Vukani Basesbenzi attacks the proposal as implying collaboration with the state in tak-

ing responsibility for the actions of the police and army.

"Have we forgotten that a fundamental task of a capitalist police force is to protect capital?" it asks.

A spokesman at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg confirmed that the position paper had been sent to formations in Natal.

One ANC source indicated that some proposals had already been incorporated into ANC strategy — the October 23 decision by the ANC national executive committee to push for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi was an example.

Dr F T Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he

found Mr Naidoo's reported new thinking most interesting.

"Any move by Cosatu and its ANC-SACP alliance to play a constructive role in diffusing political tensions and, in tandem, accept the reality of the need for multi-party negotiations, would be most encouraging and welcomed by us," he said.

■ ■ ■

Meanwhile, the ANC has rejected speculation that it cancelled a high-level meeting with Inkatha in Natal because hardline members wanted to discontinue peace talks.

Sipho Gcabashe, ANC secretary for the Natal Midlands, said the meeting postponed this week could still be held before Christmas.

The meeting had been delayed, he said, to give ANC officials time to go back to their branches for more clarity on certain proposals.

Freedom Party

# Natal talks threatened after attack

CP Reporter *Chen 11/11/90* (11A) (6)

PEACE talks between ANC and Inkatha in Natal are in danger of collapse in the wake of an attack by gunmen on a convoy carrying top ANC national leaders on Wednesday.

ANC leaders in the convoy included Jacob Zuma, John Nkademeng and three other members of the national executive committee, say ANC officials.

In the wake of the attack and an upsurge in violence that has claimed at least 40 lives in the past fortnight in Natal, the fragile peace has been shattered.

The ANC is debating whether to continue its current talks and a meeting with Inkatha on Friday was postponed.

Wednesday's attack took place in Wembezi outside Estcourt.

Seven people in the area died last week and six have died since the attack.

Fighting has now spread to Bruntville, where running battles on Friday claimed the lives of 18 people and saw local migrant-worker hostels burned to the ground.

Fighting has also been reported near Greytown and in Hlalakahle.

Although Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has claimed from London that the entire peace process has been scrapped, ANC sources say they have just postponed further meetings.

Deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela, back home on Friday after a three-week tour of Asia, told journalists the process remained "on track".

Only meetings between Inkatha and the ANC NEC sub-committee had been suspended, he said.

The Wembezi attack took place as mourners were gathering for the funeral of seven-year-old Zama Dladla, murdered last week.

In addition to Zuma and Nkademeng, the convoy included NEC members Gertrude Shope, Joe Nhlanhla and Josiah Jele, Natal leader Harry Gwala and Joel Netshitenzhe, editor of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*.

Eye-witnesses say as the nine-vehicle convoy drew up at the Dladla house an armoured security force Hippo vehicle drove by.

Minutes later, a group of vigilantes moved towards the house.

Approached by suspicious ANC supporters, a well-known local authority leader opened fire, hitting Gwala's driver.

# Drawing a cross for new voting values

*ST Times 11/11/90*  
CRAFTILY located in a comfortable hotel, sufficiently far outside Stellenbosch to prevent participants going AWOL, the Community Law Centre and the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape combined with the ANC for two and a half days of intellectual vigour on possible election systems for future South African hustings.

Though in no sense a policy-making forum, the vocal presence of members of the ANC's constitutional committee invested the proceedings with considerable weight.

It is difficult to imagine a similar intensive workshop taking place in Britain and it is clear evidence of the seriousness with which the constitutional debate is being pursued in South Africa.

## Crucial

At the heart of the debate lies the unanimously accepted belief that the ballot paper in the hand of the poorest inhabitant of Crossroads is the same token of South African citizenship as that in the hand of President De Klerk.

It is crucial, moreover, for each citizen to know that each ballot has equal value.

At Stellenbosch last weekend these key beliefs inexorably drove the workshop away from the Westminster — and white South African — model of the single member, first-past-the-post, constituency.

Not only would such a system prevent a constituent assembly or legislature from being representative of the voters' wishes, it would also ensure that votes in marginal seats had far more value than those elsewhere.

My own preference for the Irish system of the single transferable vote found some support. This system requires the elector to indi-

**MICHAEL MEADOWCROFT** reports that the ANC is discovering there is more to election systems than the slogan of one-man, one-vote.

cate preferences by numbering the candidates in order.

It involves constituencies electing perhaps three, four or five MPs at once so that electors can express preferences within parties as well as across party lines.

The powerful objection to the system, at least for the first election, was the belief that too many new voters would not be able to cope with anything more complex than placing "X" alongside the symbols of their preferred party, as in Namibia.

The workshop consequently worked itself towards a consensus than placing "X" alongside the symbols of their preferred party, as in Namibia.

Not a national list on its own, which would concentrate too much power in the individual party's hands and would dangerously limit representation of regionally based groups, but a combination of regional and national lists.

Under such a system, assuming 400 MPs, half might be elected in, say, 10 regions and half nationally. This would give a natural threshold of around 5 percent for a seat rather than having to agonise over an artificial threshold.

The voter would vote with an "X" for the party of his or her choice and seats would be allocated from the national list in proportion to the aggregated regional votes for successful parties.

Behind this thinking lies the belief that a stable, secure and viable South Africa requires a voting system that maximises consent from all voters.

The prevailing feeling at the

workshop was that political power had to be exercised within a framework of wide acceptance of a government's legitimacy, rather than against the background of an alienated and potentially dangerous opposition — inside and outside a constituent assembly. This view encompassed the whole political spectrum. I sensed no feeling that any party currently on the actual or potential ballot should not be allowed to compete for votes.

Unsurprisingly, there was a rejection of ethnicity as a motivation for voting for a particular party or group. This manifests itself, for instance, in a demand for a unitary state. No system of federalism was on the agenda.

I do not think that the ANC has yet worked out the implications of this deeply held view for its own evolution into a formal political party. I doubt whether it is possible to move away from ethnic politics without moving towards ideological politics.

## Cordial

Indeed, the rapid development of a party structure in South Africa in which parties are based on expressed values — the role of the state, the nature of national sovereignty, the boundary between individual and corporate rights, federalism, attitudes to ecology, etc — is, I believe, the only way to transcend the current racial compartmentalism of politics here.

It is also essential for the cohesion necessary to sustain government. A liberation movement has

one overriding and unifying purpose — the overthrow of the existing regime.

The achievement of that aim inevitably requires the movement to develop a programme which will create a very different country. This is perhaps the key challenge facing the ANC today.

The Stellenbosch workshop strayed beyond the rather dry agenda of election systems into the realm of electoral processes.

An independent election commission, with nominees of all the major political groupings, is clearly seen as a visible requirement for open and fair elections.

## Honesty

Rarely does one attend a political conference which addresses important topics as openly as did the one at Stellenbosch.

The willingness to acknowledge ignorance on the nuances of different election systems, and the commitment of intellectual honesty, even if it led to a change of mind, suggests to me that this occasion will prove to be a further important milestone in the creation of the new South Africa.

Getting the election system right is fundamental to the success of the current process. Those who attended the Stellenbosch meeting ought now to take the debate to a wider audience.

I came to South Africa this time unsure of what I would find. I return to Britain with considerable optimism: not because there is any naive belief here of a smooth and easy road ahead, but because there is a determination, even among sceptics, to make the reforms work.

□ *Mr Meadowcroft chairs the all-party Electoral Reform Society of Great Britain and Ireland. He was Liberal MP for Leeds West, 1983-87.*



## Winnie may sue over report on R600 000 purchase for exiles

Winnie Mandela said last night that she was contemplating legal action against the Sunday Star which claimed she had ordered handpainted, designer duvet covers for returning ANC exiles from a Johannesburg shop at a cost of more than R600 000.

Mrs Mandela, head of the ANC's social welfare department, said she was disappointed about any-

thing whatsoever which "seeks to hamper efforts to assist our people to return home decently".

Two partners in the fabric shop also said they were taking legal advice with a view to suing the Sunday Star.

Partner Carlos du Mont — a card-carrying ANC member — said yesterday it appeared the story was an attempt to prevent the ANC from

getting funds for the repatriation of returning exiles.

The newspaper reported that a third party, Judy Henshall, had "clinched" the deal, but she denied ever having spoken to Mrs Mandela or the journalist who wrote the story.

The editor of the Sunday Star said last night that he stood by the story.

# Forget, blacks urged

THE people should forget the past and work with homeland leaders who are prepared to work with the ANC, the organisation's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing more than 20 000 people at an ANC rally at Thohoyandou Stadium in Venda, Mandela said Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana "understands that the only salvation for him is to work with the ANC".

"Ramushwana is now prepared to work with the ANC and I sincerely hope he will follow this direction", said Mandela.

However, "any bantustan leader who suppresses his people and runs to the ANC for support will not get it", he said. *12/11/90*

## Violence

He congratulated Ramushwana for getting rid of "the government that has terrorised our people".

Addressing the question of inter-organisational violence, the ANC leader said the fighting among political organisations revealed that black leaders had not assumed full command of the situation.

He appealed to the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha "to forget the past and accept our hand of friendship".

# Police silent on PAC 'spy'

11A

Spokesman  
12/11/90



**POLICE** could not comment yesterday whether alleged economist and suspended member of the Pan Africanist Congress "Dr" Siphon Selby Dlamini was one of their spies.

By **MATSHUBE MFOLOE**

Spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday denied knowledge of Dlamini, saying police neither revealed

nor commented on "individual's activities related to spying".

He, however, confirmed "police use spies and do make use of so-called agents", but stressed: "We do it within the law ... its not illegal".

The PAC suspended Dlamini last Friday, claiming they had discovered he was a police spy and a "brilliant" agent.

Dlamini, also known as Dr Ali Mohammed or Dr Ali Nkomo, caused a stir last month when he announced his defection from the ANC, claiming he was disillusioned with the organisation's policy and lack of consultation.



**SIPHON DLAMINI**

The ANC denied he was a member of the organisation and that he was tipped for a senior position in their economic department.

In a statement the PAC said its intelligence department had put Dlamini under surveillance.

# 3 homelands back ANC - Mandela

Own Correspondent and Sapa

THOHOYANDOU — Three independent homelands — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — were prepared to throw in their lot with the ANC, which meant the collapse of apartheid, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing about 20 000 at a Cosatu rally in Thohoyandou, Venda, he appealed for people to unite and speak with one voice.

"We should forget about past differences," he said.

Venda military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana and other leaders had accepted the

offer to work with the ANC, he said.

Mr Mandela appealed to the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha to accept the hand of friendship.

"We are aware that our people are clashing with others, but we should forget about past differences and work as a united force to destroy the apartheid regime.

"The ANC has reached the last mile of the struggle, which is going to be very difficult."

He congratulated Brigadier Ramushwana for toppling the previous government, which had "terrorised our people".

The ANC welcomed his efforts to bring about a clean

administration.

Mr Mandela warned that homeland leaders must not join the ANC and still suppress the masses.

He urged Venda youths to forget the past and work with Brigadier Ramushwana.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the constitution of a future South Africa would be drawn up by organisations with proven support.

Workers should have a share in the wealth of the country because they had produced it. Guns that were killing people should be used to protect the masses.

Land should be taken from

the "enemy" to be shared by all people, Mr Naidoo said.

Mr Mandela said his trip to the Far East and Asia had been successful. "I want to tell you that the ANC is highly respected worldwide.

"We came back with our hands full. ANC president Oliver Tambo has done marvellous work. He and his national executive committee have raised the ANC to a level it never had before."

Mr Tambo is scheduled to spend seven days in Lusaka with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and arrive in South Africa on December 14 for the ANC's conference.

12/11/90

11A

11A



Star 12/11/90 (11A)

# 128 prisoners join ANC in Bop

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

More than 120 Bophuthatswana prisoners involved in the abortive 1988 military coup in Bophuthatswana have joined the African National Congress (ANC), according to the chairman of the Mafikeng branch of the ANC, Job Mokgoro.

Mr Mokgoro, a lecturer at the University of Bophuthatswana, said at least 128 "political prisoners" at Rooigrond Prison in Mmabatho joined the ANC regional branch on Wednesday.

He said that although the prisoners had not yet filled in membership forms, they had

applied for ANC membership in the Mafikeng branch and had been accepted.

A total of 142 soldiers of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force were sentenced to between two and 18 years' jail under the homeland's Internal Security Act for their involvement in the coup, and eight officials of the now banned People's Progressive Party (PPP) were given sentences ranging from four to 11 years for treason.

Mr Mokgoro said 121 of the 142 ex-soldiers and seven of the eight former PPP officials had now joined the ANC.

He said the prisoners saw themselves as both political prisoners and South Africans, and therefore wanted to be freed in terms of the August 6 Pretoria Minute agreed upon between the ANC and the Government.

According to him, the prisoners wrote to President F W de Klerk in October asking him to help "stop the brutality of (Bophuthatswan President Lucas) Mangope and his illegitimate government".

They further called on President de Klerk to release all political detainees and political prisoners and assure the safe return of all exiles.

Cape Times

12/11/90 11A

## 'ANC duvets': Winnie to sue?

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela is contemplating legal action against a leading newspaper which claimed she had ordered R600 000's worth of handpainted designer duvet covers for returning ANC exiles.

She denied the newspaper's allegations that she had been ready to place an order for 6 000 duvet covers, handpainted in ANC colours and costing R100 each.

### Partners

One of the other three people mentioned in the story, Mrs Judy Henshall, managing director of the marketing company Masakhane — who according to the Sunday newspaper article had clinched the deal on behalf of BC Fabrics — denied she had ever spoken to Mrs Mandela or to the reporter who wrote the article.

Business partners in BC Fabrics, Mr Carlos du Mont and Mr Barry Stead, also expressed shock at the article. They are apparently taking legal advice with a view to suing the newspaper.

Both partners admitted having had dealings with Mrs Henshall.

**Azapo meets business leaders**

JOHANNESBURG. — Genuine negotiations as a mechanism for political transformation leading to democracy and a universal franchise were accepted over the weekend by delegations from the Azanian People's Organisation and the Consultative Business Movement.

Frank and cordial views were exchanged at the three-day meeting, a statement said.

CBM executive member and Barlow Rand director Mr John Hall and Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaube Mokoape lead the delegations. — Sapa

# Mandela repeats call for more mass action

CMA Times 12/11/90 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela has reiterated his call for intensified mass action, saying such action would continue until the government instituted structures to address the complaints of the disenfranchised.

But he also stressed his organisations's commitment to an end to violence. "We cannot afford to see South Africa sliding into a Lebanon," he said on Saturday.

"Mass action is a fundamental principle of democracy to be enjoyed by all, even those with the vote."

Mr Mandela added that the government should be held responsible for the chaotic consequences of recent mass action. He said the principle was exercised in many parts of the world, including the US and Britain.

Mr Mandela told reporters after his return from an 18-day overseas fund-raising tour that the ANC remained committed to ending violence.

He said that in addition to the joint ANC/Inkatha Central committee on violence, the ANC had set up a sub-committee of the NEC, which included Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr John Nkadimeng and Mrs Gertrude Shope.

He said a recent meeting between the ANC and Inkatha on the violence was mutually postponed by both parties. The ANC was now addressing the recent clashes between ANC and Azapo supporters in Bekkersdal.

On his failure to secure aid from Japan, Mr Mandela said the explanations by Japan for its inability to assist the ANC were acceptable to his organisation.

He argued, on the retention of sanctions: "Sanctions will re-

main in place because we are still far from obtaining the objectives for which they were imposed."

He repeated that certain sectors of the economy — the mines, financial institutions and monopolies — would be nationalised. He said, however, the economy clause of the Freedom Charter was made many years ago and the ANC would not be dogmatic about it.

Asked if the ANC would enter into a coalition government with another party, he said if the people favoured a coalition then their democratic view would hold.

The failure of the joint government/ANC working group on the armed struggle to make any significant progress at a meeting on Friday has also fuelled fears that the negotiation process is stalling. — Own Correspondents, UPI and Sapa-Reuter

## Mandela, FW to have talks soon

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa on December 14, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Mr Mandela also announced that he would meet President FW de Klerk on November 27 during which, he said, they would hopefully "cover a number of issues", in particular the question of the violence in the country. The meeting, he said, was at Mr De Klerk's request.

"Mr De Klerk has pre-empted me because I had

planned to meet him soon to avail the third summit between the government and the ANC," he said.

Mr Mandela said the purpose of Mr Tambo's visit was to attend the ANC's national consultative conference in December. The conference, probably to be held two days after Mr Tambo's arrival, will be the first inside the country in 30 years.

Mr Mandela said he met Mr Tambo during his recent trip to the East, Australia, Britain and France. He said the ANC president had made an encouraging recovery and that he (Mr Tambo) would visit some African states on Wednesday. — Sapa



# Ngcobo returns home in bid to win PAC leadership (11A)

SELF-PROCLAIMED Pan Africanist Congress founder member and leader of a group known as the "Sobukwe Forum", Mr A B Ngcobo, has returned to South Africa, allegedly to gain the support of about 10 million PAC followers.

Following previous imprisonment in South Africa and 22 years in exile in the United Kingdom, Ngcobo is expected to discuss political alliances with the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and 'nationalists' within the African National Congress, and to counter what he called the "Dar-es-Salaam group" of the PAC.

Interviewed by the SABC, Ngcobo strongly supported negotiations with the Government on South Africa's future,

opposing the existing PAC's stance of refusing to negotiate.

He criticised the PAC Dar-es-Salaam group for its "One Settler, One Bullet" slogan, describing it as a "mark of desperation".

Ngcobo claimed he and his followers were "the true PAC", describing his group as "African Nationalists or Africanists".

Referring to calls for a continuation of the armed struggle and mass action, he said developments in South Africa, following February 2 this year, reduced such calls to "poppycock".

Negotiations provided the possibility of a solution to the country's problems, he said, describing them as a "once in a lifetime" opportunity that should be seized. - Sapa

24/11/90  
Sapa

# Slogan is not racist, PAC

**The Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) on Saturday insisted the slogan "One settler, One bullet" was not racist.**

In a statement, Paso general secretary Lawrence Nqandela explained the organisation's interpretation of the slogan, in response to a request by Rhodes University vice-chancellor Prof Derek Henderson.

This follows the furore last week on Rhodes campus, when five executive

members of Paso's Rhodes University branch appeared before an SRC hearing on Friday, for circulating a poster containing the controversial slogan.

The poster was reportedly commemorating the late PAC president Zeph Mothopeng's funeral.

## Social order

"Slogans are neither principles nor policies of an organisation, though they seek to reflect the ideological position of

that organisation," explained Nqandela.

"A settler is a person who seeks to perpetuate the racist colonial social order premised on white domination and its exploitative land dispossession and economic exploitation of labour.

"In this context, therefore, a settler represents a member of the ruling class with these attributes. The slogan is anything, but not racist. It seeks to draw a line between protagonists and agents of racist colonial settlerism on the one hand,

and freedom fighters challenging racism, dispossession, poverty and social degradation of the African people on the other.

"The corollary of this is the collaborator, which means a person from the oppressed society who aids and abets settler colonialism in all its manifestations. Sowetan 14/11/90

"In our dictionary, the term white or black does not exist. We believe there is only one race, the human race." Nqandela said. - Sapa.

to Star 12/11/90

~~Star~~ (11A)

# 'We were robbed of our land'

By Therese Anders  
Highveld Bureau

An SADF training area is part of land north of Middelburg which is being demanded back by a large community of black people who were forcibly removed in the mid-1970s.

Other parts of the disputed land — about 20 km north of the town — are now owned by the Conservative Party-controlled Middelburg municipality.

Abe Maloma, spokesman for the newly launched Middelburg, Doornkop and Botshabelo Homecoming Organisation, said the movement was formed after the Government's recent announcement of its intention to repeal the land Acts.

## Shocking

"Our people want to return home. It was shocking what happened back then to thousands of our people.

"It happened at a time when, if you talked out, you would be locked up," Mr Maloma said.

"We were robbed of our land by the Nationalist Government and we now demand it back."

The land in question now comprises an SADF training area, farms and the former Botshabelo mission station, which is now owned by the CP-controlled town council.

The old mission has been restored in recent years and is open to visitors.

Mr Maloma said his organisation was made up of former residents of the area who had been scattered throughout Lebowa.

The Star had received no response from the SADF at the time of going to press.



# -The Promised Land: -

## Can churches match the challenge of a new SA?

CAP Tm 12/11/80

11A

WHAT a church! What church fathers! What a country! And what challenges!

The Anglican archbishop romps around in a "Call me Arch" T-shirt, the state president denounces the church as a handmaiden of Marxism, and, at one of the numerous illegal marches, the police commanding officer speaking into his walkie-talkie demands an immediate response from his superiors: "Die bliksems is besig om te kniel en hulle gaan nou bid. Wat moet ek doen?"... and a TV newsreader breaks down while reading the news.

Our country is being led out of Egypt and, quibbling, squabbling and tearing each other apart we are relentlessly edging towards the "promised land". The church in South Africa has played a remarkable role in keeping alive our people's dreams of the prom-

ised non-racial and undivided South Africa and we must now pay homage to that courage and determination.

We do not doubt that they also played a significant role in our long imprisonment and slavery in Egypt. Christian theologians who have been committed to the liberation struggle have openly acknowledged that past role in the process of colonialism and their consistent inability to witness effectively against apartheid.

I do not wish to assume that all the congregants at Rustenburg last week are repentant of their past or

**AS WITH so many issues in South Africa, it is often difficult to achieve a balance between various tensions.**

ashamed of their present, but we shall not dwell on that here. (Johann Heyns, I suspect, may argue that if there are unremorseful yet "respectable" Stalinists in the ranks of the liberation movement, then there is hardly justification for keeping the DRC out in the cold.)

The churches' struggle to challenge unjust social norms and structures is, mercifully, not isolated from their internal challenge against unjust white and male-dominated ecclesiastical structures. More than once we have witnessed, for example, the absurd spectacle of 300 men marching on behalf of a nation of whom more than 50% are women.

**THE indomitable courage of the Chikanes, the moving eloquence of the Boesaks, the warmth of the Tutus and the boundless love of the Naudés has brought us face to face with nobility in humankind.**

It is ironic that, while the Church is debating the entry of women into the priesthood, Islam is still arguing whether women should be allowed into mosques. Yes, we too as Muslims have been challenged by these turbulent priests and it is for their challenges that I am particularly grateful.

I have been reared in a tradition which assumes salvation by

faith for itself and relegates all non-u's to nebulous inconsequentials — if they are good — and to eternal damnation if they are evil. What kind of God is it whom I worship, yet who also excludes these remarkable sons of humankind from His Grace? They who bear tireless witness against the tyrants and for His people?

A prominent Muslim priest says that all believers, ie Muslims, are obliged to support an army which toys with monkey foetuses in the Archbishop's garden by night and storms mosques and cathedrals by day. What then am I to make of the Quranic injunction that "indeed all the believers are the brothers"? Who are the "believers"? Who are my "brothers"?

The question goes beyond believers in organised religion for there are also atheists who are deeply committed to the destruction of apartheid and the creation of a humane society. Can only religious people really live in a truly moral, truly humane way? Our experience says "no" to this question while our theological tradition says "yes".

Any doctrine of being chosen — be it to serve for the Christians, to suffer for the Jews, to guide for the Muslims or to liberate for the Marxists — must imply that the rest are non-chosen, a frozen blob out there that must be converted, conquered or destroyed. Religious fanatics, among whom I include Marxists, have not infrequently shown themselves ready to walk across mounds of corpses in the name of God/Allah/Ram/The People.

In India and Palestine today we are witnessing how religious claims to absolute truth and the ruthless

enforcement of exclusivist political interests are threatening the very existence of entire nations, including the humanity of the "chosen people" themselves.

Where does doctrine, church tradition or shariah/canon law fit in when the *humanum* — the truly human — is elevated to an absolute value? Does this not lead to subjecting God — The Absolute — to a human criterion? Is judging sacred doctrine about God in terms of the *humanum* not tantamount to *Shirk*, ie, Associationism with God, The unforgivable heresy in Islam?

**THERE is still an enormous amount of challenging and touching to be done. As Van Zyl Slabbert said, "old intellectual watering holes have dried up".**

These are some of the haunting questions that an encounter with meddling clergy leads to. They too, I hope, have doubtlessly been challenged by my own witness and that of the Call of Islam. Once we have been touched by these remarkable men of the people — some Muslims may be ready to call them men of God — life can never be the same.

For the sake of that promised land whose beauty defies description, I hope that they stick around and not only to process returning exiles. There is still an enormous amount of challenging and touching to be done. As Van Zyl Slabbert said, "old intellectual watering holes have dried up".

It is good that Johann Heyns is coming home. He, too, may be touched by the deep humanity of "Call me Arch" Desmond. It is good that FW is coming home. He, too, is being touched by the sagacious Madiba. Will someone please call Andries and Mangosutho and ask them to come home as well?

(Men, men and more men... And why must they be called to us all the time? Because we are chosen...)



Doc 13/11/90

(UA)

## Gas canister hits Winnie

Staff Reporters

Police allegedly fired teargas at Winnie Mandela and a delegation accompanying her in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, yesterday.

They were visiting families of people killed or injured in recent clashes with police.

Mrs Mandela said several canisters of the gas were fired after they pulled up at the home of a nine-year-old child killed at the weekend.

"It is clear the attack was deliberately directed at me and my delegation. Police appeared from nowhere and disap-

peared the same way," Mrs Mandela claimed.

An independent radio reporter on the scene said there had been no provocation.

Six or seven canisters were fired, one hitting Mrs Mandela on the head. She said she was not hurt, but was "badly affected" by the gas.

● A two-month-old baby died in the Mamelodi Day Hospital yesterday after a teargas incident at a squatter village.

● The home of Atteridgeville deputy mayor Justus Tchungu was petrol-bombed yesterday. No damage was done.

# Govt, ANC policies 'on similar track'

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

There is no essential difference between the Government's economic policy and the ANC's latest economic policy of "growth through redistribution", Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has suggested.

Mr du Plessis told the Smith New Court/Frankel Kruger Vinderine conference in London yesterday that the Government accepted that it had to take "deliberate action" not only to promote growth but to "expedite the distributive process".

He said the Government was pursuing a policy of redistribution through fiscal policy.

Mr du Plessis said that according to the law which measured income inequality, South Africa was at, or near, the worst case — even though South Africa's blacks might be markedly better off than in most of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.

Ideally the inequality should be overcome by economic growth. But over the last decade the economy had not grown enough to raise overall living standards, and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita had actually fallen.

But even if an acceptable rate of growth were achieved, the rate of trickle-down would be "fairly protracted".

"Deliberate action by the authorities both to advance and expedite the generation of work and income and to channel some of the fruits of growth in specific directions is inescapable," the Minister said.

"The Government is there-

fore faced with a twofold task: it must seek on the one hand to promote sustainable economic growth with all speed, and on the other to expedite the trickle-down process."

Mr du Plessis said the national Budget was placing increasing emphasis on social spending.

Welfare spending now constituted close to 40 percent of the central Government Budget. Education spending represented 18,2 percent of the Budget and 4,9 percent of the GDP — "rather high by world standards".

The Government had also endowed R2 billion to an independent trust to overcome socio-economic backlogs, and another R1 billion in proceeds of privatisation which was earmarked to overcome backlogs in education and land for housing.

## Pragmatic

Mr du Plessis said the ANC model of growth through distribution "differs from ours only in its word order".

The difference was that the Government sought first to give people a stake in economic activity — "to teach them to fish" — while the other schools wanted to begin the process by "distributing fish".

He was confident that "pragmatic accommodation on the issue" would be reached.

Although the Government believed staunchly in the efficiency of market forces, it was not "doctrinally fixated on unfettered free enterprise".

He was quite ready to use the term "social market economy" as a valid description of the Government's approach.

# Inkatha talks on, say ANC

*Can say*  
*13/11/90*  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday dismissed speculation that its peace talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party had broken down.

A statement issued by the ANC said the talks had merely been postponed to allow the organisation more time for internal consultation.

The ANC had requested that its November 8 meeting with Inkatha be postponed and Inkatha had agreed. No new date had been set, the statement said.

5/2- 13/11/90 (11A) (S11A)

# ANC leader, De Klerk to meet

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will hold a meeting with President F W de Klerk this month, ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan confirmed yesterday.

Dr Jordan said Mr Mandela, who returned from a visit to the Far East and Europe on Friday, would meet President de Klerk in a one-on-one encounter on November 27.

Dr Jordan also disclosed that the long-awaited meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was expected to take place in the near future.

The meeting — the first face-to-face encounter between the two men since Mr Mandela's release from prison on February 11 — would take place in the presence of members of their respective executive committees.

Also attending would be the IFP's central committee and the ANC's national executive committee, led by Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela respectively.

The date and venue of the meeting would be finalised with the IFP once Chief Buthelezi,

who was at present out of the country, returned home on November 21.

Dr Jordan also scoffed at suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend the Government/ANC joint working group meeting in Pretoria on Friday was an ANC attempt to retard negotiations to buy time for itself to organise as a political party.

"That is quite ridiculous," said Dr Jordan. "What has the ANC got to gain from playing delaying tactics?"

He said Mr Hani, leader of the ANC delegation to the working group, was out of town and therefore could not attend Friday's meeting.



# Winnie may sue over duvet story

11A

Sowetan  
13/11/90

**MRS Winnie Mandela was contemplating legal action against a leading newspaper which claimed she had ordered R600 000's worth of handpainted designer duvet covers for returning ANC exiles.**

Mandela, head of the ANC's social welfare department and wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, also said on Sunday she was disappointed about anything whatsoever which "seeks to hamper efforts to assist our people to return home decently".

Mrs Mandela denied newspaper allegations that she had been ready to place an order for 6 000 duvet covers, handpainted in ANC colours and costing R100 each.

"I have been told that the other people implicated in the story have also denied the report," Mrs Mandela said.

One of the three people mentioned in the story, Mrs Judy Henshall, managing director of the marketing company Masakhane - who according to the Sunday newspaper article had been "very in" with Mrs Mandela and had clinched the deal on behalf of BC Fabrics - on Sunday denied she had ever spoken to Mrs Mandela or to the reporter who wrote the article.

"The report has sought to tarnish the image of the ANC's social welfare department, headed by Mrs Mandela," Henshall alleged.

Henshall said she had never met Mrs Mandela

personally, and had only seen her on television and read about her in the newspapers.

She regretted Mrs Mandela had been implicated in the report.

The other two people implicated in the story, Mr Carlos du Mont and Mr Barry Stead, on Sunday expressed shock at the article.

They are business partners in BC Fabrics, operating as "The Jungle Box" on Rocky Street in Yeoville.

# MK on Mandela, De Klerk agenda

11A  
~~SECRET~~

*Sowetan 13/11/90*  
UNRESOLVED differences in the joint Government/ANC armed struggle working group about the training and recruiting of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres may have to be dealt with at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The working group met in Pretoria on Friday and once again failed to reach agreement on this crucial issue.

The Government

## SOWETAN Correspondent

believes that recruiting and of training MK cadres is an integral part of the "armed action and related activities" which the ANC agreed to suspend at the Pretoria summit in August.

The ANC contends that it only agreed to give up actual MK operations and that it is not prohibited from continuing to train and recruit for MK which is not a forbid-

den organisation.

A spokesman for the State President said yesterday he was not aware of any impending meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

Government sources yesterday downplayed speculation that MK chief of staff Chris Hani's failure to attend Friday's working group meeting was part of an ANC strategy to retard negotiations to give itself time to organise as a political party.

mann Giliomee (Pattern of Politics, Cape Times October 23) raises the question of "genuinely competitive elections" in a future South Africa, and amusingly speculates that it would be a head-on clash and showdown between the ANC and the National Party, he is essentially underestimating the dramatic and fundamental way in which South African politics shall have changed in such an eventuality.

The National Party has been a political force of some election importance in South Africa mainly (although not only) because it operated within a race-defined minority. This constitutional arrangement was convenient for all whites-only parties because they could pretend that they were "national" (as the NP's name suggests), while more than three quarters of the country's population was excluded from central parliamentary politics.

The future South African elections Giliomee is speculating about will include, for the first time, all adult blacks, not just "qualified blacks" as Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen might want.

### Optimism needed

There is just no way in which an ANC leadership or delegation to negotiations would accept the argument for a qualified franchise\* for blacks without the risk of forfeiting its leadership role within its traditional constituency. Certainly not when the NP itself came to power in 1948 by relying precisely on the vote of these "unqualified" whites, the majority of whom were Afrikaners.

Not that Giliomee discounts altogether the

# Patriotism and positivity what SA needs now

APC Tent 13/10/70 11A

## Viewpoint by MZALA

possibility of the ANC winning such genuinely competitive elections with a landslide; his central concern is that such an eventuality is undesirable and should therefore be avoided. He thus places the responsibility for creating obstacles to the achievement of such true democracy in South Africa, as conventionally perceived and practised throughout the world, on the NP. This shall be by way of advancing a notion of qualified votes.

In effect, the South African blacks will not have travelled very far from 1652, 1910 or 1961. But has not the De Klerk government made a public commitment that future South African central politics will no longer be the exclusive concern of whites-only institutions? Does this period of transition not mean a definite move from apartheid to a genuine democracy?

Since the subject of this discussion falls squarely within the realm of speculation, we should exercise caution and not allow our fertile imaginations to get us carried away.

However, more problematic than to engage in speculative imaginings would be for any South African, black or white, NP or ANC, to allow for the political traps of the past to weigh heavily in our current reasoning.

### Ethnic variety

What we need at this time is a large dose of optimism, patriotism and a positive future perspective. It would seem to me, in fact, that unless we get our political thinking focused on this need to build a united, non-racial South African nation, instead of engaging in an exercise of endless predictions about which party or alliance of organisations shall form the first post-apartheid government, our political priorities shall be completely mis-

Our immediate and practical political concern should be the building of a new South African constitution, as the fundamental law of the country. Such a constitution should not, and will not, be the expression of any partisan political tendency. It will be neither an ANC nor an NP constitution. By definition the constitution should embody the aggregate aspirations of all citizens irrespective of their racial or ethnic affiliation. It is only on the basis of such a constitution that true national unity and equality will be placed on a secure legal basis in South Africa.

Governments come and go. The ANC may win the first post-apartheid elections only to be outvoted from government by a new alliance of political forces in five or 10 years time (as was the case with the Sandinista government in Nicaragua), yet our new South African constitution, like our new flag and national anthem, will have to belong to that solemn category of the new nation's heritage which shall be the pride of all South Africans, black or white, and whatever their political affiliations. This, I believe, is the perspective that should bind us and evoke the genius within us, towards the realisation of this paramount matter: the building of a just national unity.

The problem with the habitual reference to South Africa's multi-ethnicity (including as articulated in Donald Horowitz's *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*) is that it often proceeds from a simplistic assumption that the existence of ethnic variety implies politicised ethnicity, and that, correspondingly, it means ethnic political polarisation and tension.

### Toast to freedom

Giliomee's obsession with ethnicity (which he politicises) as well as his predictions about a possible split within the ANC over a proposal for a qualified vote, shows both an inadequate effort to transcend



DR GERRIT VILJOEN

past and also a failure to identify those things in the history of African resistance which tended to unite the members of the ANC. As a historian, it should not be difficult for Prof Giliomee to recall that when previous white governments in South Africa provided a qualified vote to the blacks in the Cape, it was consistent ANC policy for decades that such an approach fell far short of the demands that the blacks of this country were making.

Future elections, therefore, will indeed be the carnival of the oppressed, a revolution, as our people shall not be able to suppress their excitement for their first participation in the administration of their country. I will be there for that historical celebration, and hope that Prof Giliomee's hand shall be clutching mine, as our free hands shall be clinking our champagne glasses for the beginning of a new era in our country.

□ Mzala is a London-based ANC political analyst.

\*Professor Giliomee did not refer in his article to a qualified franchise, but to a qualified election, after which power is to be shared according to a pre-

the Cape Times

## Mass arrests over 'plot'

Business Day Reporter

BOPHUTHATSWANA police yesterday detained at least 32 ANC and UDF members after uncovering an alleged plot to assassinate President Lucas Mangope.

Bophuthatswana Police Commissioner Maj-Gen P J Seleke said further arrests could be expected. *p 10<sup>ay</sup> 13/11/90*

Unconfirmed reports put the number of detentions as high as 60. A number of ANC members were in hiding in various parts of Bophuthatswana yesterday. *(11A)*

The detentions came on the first day of a consumer boycott and work stayaway called by the UDF, Cosatu and affiliated organisations and which affected large areas of Bophuthatswana and Brits.

Convenor of the ANC's Bophuthatswana Consultative Forum Mike Molese said yesterday those detained included a senior doctor at the Bophelong Hospital and the chairman of the ANC's Mafikeng branch.

Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg head office, Molese said he escaped detention "by the skin of my teeth".

Mangope said the Bophuthatswana government had learnt that "elements of the ANC and its affiliates were conspiring actively to overthrow the government".

The ANC yesterday rejected the allegations of an assassination plot as being "as reckless as they are absurd".

It described the arrest and detention of ANC members as "but one more example of an unpopular regime trying to postpone its demise by repression" and accused Bophuthatswana authorities of breaking up ANC branch meetings.

# ANC is plotting to kill me - Mangope

*Sowetan*  
13/11/90  
THE Bophuthatswana government has launched a crackdown on the African National Congress "following the unearthing of evidence of a plot to assassinate President Lucas Mangope".

By early yesterday morning Bophuthatswana police had detained a "number" of ANC members and members of organisations affiliated to the ANC, the government said in a statement. Bophuthatswana police commissioner Major-General PJ Seleke declined to specify the

number of detentions so far. He said, however, police were continuing the action and further arrests were imminent.

"This is a police action, based on reliable evidence, to prevent the unconstitutional destabilising of the state as well as to protect the life of the head of state," Seleke said.

A statement by Mangope released at the same time said the Bophuthatswana government had now become aware that elements of the ANC and its affiliates

were conspiring actively to overthrow his government and that this conspiracy included plans to assassinate him.

"In the interests of all, the values of democracy that we hold dear and in discharging its responsibility to the people of this progressive state, the government regrettably has no alternative but to take steps to neutralise this despicable and unconstitutional threat," Mangope said.

He said his government prided itself on its

## Crackdown on ANC cadres

From Page 1

democratic constitution and the general progressiveness of the country.

The government had always been guided by the interests of the people, so much so that he was on record in wishing for a loyal opposition.

He said that even when the ANC was banned in South Africa,

Bophuthatswana had held true to its democratic principles and did not outlaw the ANC.

"For some time now the ANC and its affiliates have become increasingly hostile to the Republic of Bophuthatswana," he said.

"Radio Freedom and Radio Zambia have increasingly incited the people to reject their lawful, democratically elected government.

"Pamphlets issued by

the ANC and its affiliates are being distributed in ever larger numbers urging the people to turn against the government, demolish the state and become part of South Africa again.

"Senior representatives of the ANC have become more vociferous in stating their opposition to the continued sovereign existence of the state of Bophuthatswana and a vicious slander campaign against the head of the

state has been launched. "The ANC has also been founding branch organisations in Bophuthatswana which are supporting all these actions," Mangope said.

He said it was regrettable this vilification and political subversion had been taking place while his government had been making efforts to open a dialogue with the ANC, "efforts which had met with no positive results as yet". - Sapa

To Page 2

## Azasm slams ANC 11A

THE Azanian Student Movement yesterday called on the ANC to give the current spate of inter-organisational violence urgent attention as its supporters were allegedly "always involved in attacks" against other liberation movements. *Sowetan 13/11/90*

The Azapo-aligned student body said the involvement of ANC supporters in every outbreak of violence in the country had given rise to doubts about the ANC "preaching on political tolerance".

Azasm said in a statement it "challenges the ANC to explain to the oppressed masses whether it has a code of conduct to discipline its members or give them guidelines". - *Sapa*.

32 held in Bop

Star 13/11/90

11A

# ANC 'plot' triggers swoop

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

Bophuthatswana police yesterday launched a nationwide crackdown on the ANC, arresting at least 32 members of the organisation and its affiliates, amidst allegations by President Lucas Mangope that the ANC had conspired to assassinate him.

The crackdown coincided with a work stayaway in the homeland called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and ANC-aligned organisations to protest against Bophuthatswana's labour policies and to demand the homeland's re-incorporation into South Africa.

In a statement yesterday morning, Mr Mangope accused the ANC of embarking on "a vicious slander campaign" against himself, conspiring both to overthrow his government and to assassinate him.

The ANC has strongly denied these allegations and has called for the immediate release of its members who were detained and for an end to repression in the homeland.

Announcing the crackdown on ANC members, President Mangope said he was left with no alternative "but to take steps to neutralise this despicable and unconstitutional threat".

He said the ANC, which was not banned in the homeland at a time when it was legally proscribed in South Africa, had become "increasingly hostile" to Bophuthatswana over the past few months.

The Commissioner of the Bophuthatswana Police, Major-General P J Seleke, yesterday said "a number" of members of the ANC and ANC-aligned organisations had been detained. The police, he said, were continuing with their action and further arrests were imminent.

In an interview with The Star, ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan denied any knowledge of an ANC plot to assassinate President Mangope or anyone else in South Africa, dismissing the Bophuthatswana leader's allegations as both "extravagant and reckless".

Dr Jordan accused Mr Mangope's government of widespread repression against its opponents, saying it was quite clear that he wanted to suppress "every visible challenge to his illegitimate regime".

Thousands of workers in Bophuthatswana and townships around Pretoria and Rustenburg took part in the stayaway which resulted in the closure of more than 90 percent of businesses, including the OK and Pick 'n Pay chain stores in the Odi and Moretele districts. No taxis operated between townships and Pretoria.



# ANC lashes 'absurd' <sup>ARCAS</sup> assassination bid claims <sup>13/11/90</sup>

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
 LONDON. — The African National Congress here has lashed out at the arrest and detention of members in Bophuthatswana.

In a statement released here, a spokesman decried yesterday's moves as "but one more example of an unpopular regime trying to postpone its demise by repression."

"The allegations that members of the ANC resident in Bophuthatswana were plotting to assassinate Dr Lucas Mangope are as reckless as they are absurd. The ANC repudiates these claims with the contempt they deserve."

It added that: "Dr Mangope's extravagant claims that Radio Freedom is inciting the people to oppose the so-called sovereignty of Bophuthatswana is a deliberate misconstruction of a long-standing ANC policy with a view to lending credence to his allegations about a 'plot'."

Bophuthatswana security forces cracked down on the ANC yesterday, arresting 32 members of the organisation and its affiliates during a massive stayaway in the homeland.

The stayaway, called for by Cosatu and UDF affiliates, was to protest against Bophuthatswana's labour policies and to demand the re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa.

Across the border thousands in Pretoria and Rustenburg townships took part in the stayaway, which Cosatu's Pretoria regional secretary Donsie Khumalo, described as "a resounding success".

Earlier in the day President Mangope warned the ANC to change its "senseless acts" against his government.

More than 90 percent of businesses, including the OK and Pick 'n Pay chain stores in the Odi and Moretele regions of Bop, were closed.



# Rent boycott talks called off

A MEETING between the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and the Atteridgeville ANC branch on the rent boycott in the Pretoria township was called off yesterday, said TPA Assistant liaison director Jan Loubser.

It was not known when the next meeting would take place.

Atteridgeville ANC chairman Abe Nkomo said he did not know about this decision and was awaiting the ANC delegation's report.

Atteridgeville Residents' Organisation publicity secretary John Ramatsui said the organisation had pulled out of the talks because of police action in the township.

The TPA had said the agenda would include recommendations of the Kriel Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the town council. The commission earlier found there had been a number of irregularities.

Violence flared on Saturday, killing two youths and injuring more than 20 people in a confrontation between protesters and police over an

electricity switchoff. Subsequent to the violence, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in Atteridgeville on Sunday night.

Meanwhile, the Klerksdorp and Jouberton councils will hold a crucial meeting tomorrow to determine further action in the rent and service charges boycott in the township.

The Klerksdorp council reconnected electricity to the township on Friday last week, and said tomorrow was the deadline for residents to make satisfactory payments.

In Witbank, the town council cut power supplies to the township of Kwaguqa on Monday.

Town clerk Adam Engelbrecht announced last week that the R60 flat rate paid by residents was not enough and if the amount was not increased there would be no alternative but to effect the cuts.

A spokesman for the residents' organisation said they were surprised by the action.

Engelbrecht could not be reached for comment yesterday. — Sapa.

deterrent. — Sapa.

## Women urged to help build new SA

WILSON ZWANE

DEPUTY Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday urged women to become involved in the peace process and to share the responsibility of creating a new dispensation in a growth-orientated SA.

Addressing women in Soweto, Meyer said as women made up more than half the country's total population, it was clear they had to take an active part not only in the political sphere, but also in the wider social structure.

"In working to bring about the new SA the government is not aiming only for a new political system. SA needs a whole new social structure where the ideals and aspirations of everyone can be realised," Meyer said, adding that without the involvement of women it would not be possible to negotiate a new, acceptable and workable constitution.

B/Daw 14/11/90

B/Daw 14/11/90

# Police surround ANC man's house

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Security police yesterday surrounded and attempted to search the Mayfair, Johannesburg, house of top ANC and United Democratic Front activist Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Nine security policemen, led by a Captain van Huyssteen — the same man who arrested Mr Valli Moosa last year for his role in the defiance campaign — entered the property at about 10 am, Mr Valli Moosa said.

"They surrounded the house and threatened to break down the door. They also tried to forcibly open the windows."

After futile attempts to enter the house, they had harassed a domestic at the next-door property — the house of his brother, Mohseen — and "held her down at gunpoint". They demanded that she grant them access to the neighbouring house, he said.

Mr Valli Moosa's wife, Elisabe, was in the house.

He said the police had first told his wife they were looking for him, then changed their story and said they were looking for someone they had reason to believe was residing in

the house.

A source told The Star that recently released ANC national executive member and Operation Vula accused Mac Maharaj was living in the house.

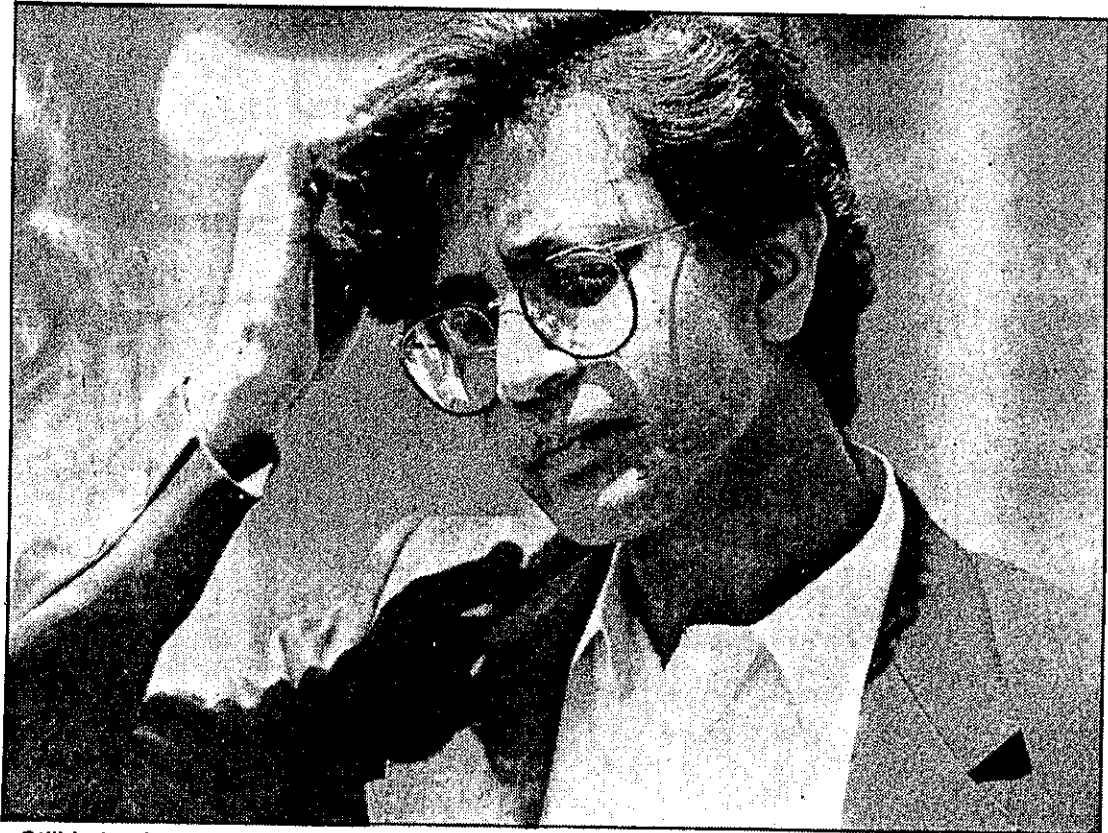
Police said security police had searched the house, but this was denied by neighbours and the Valli Moosa couple.

The spokesman declined to say why police had attempted to search the property, merely saying: "All I can say is that the search was in connection with a current investigation."

Mr Valli Moosa, who had rushed from ANC head office in the city centre after having been telephoned by his wife, commented: "I've gone through this a million times in the last decade. Nothing seems to have changed."

Mr Valli Moosa, who was last detained last year for six weeks, is the secretary of the ANC's internal leadership corps and secretary of the organisation's political committee.

The policemen had already left when Mr Valli Moosa, accompanied by a lawyer and Government/ANC steering committee member Matthew Phosa, arrived at the house.



Still being harassed . . . ANC activist Mohammed Valli Moosa at his Mayfair house, which security policemen tried to search yesterday.  
Picture: Herbert Mabuza



ANC dissidents Luvo Mbengo and Ronnie Masango ... they allege human rights violations.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

# Rebels hit out at the ANC's top officials

11A

Sowetan 14/11/90

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

TWO more ANC mutineers arrived in South Africa from Kenya yesterday and accused high-ranking officials of the organisation of criminal conduct and severe human rights abuses.

Mr Luvo Mbengo and Mr Ronnie Masango both accused senior officials in the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe of being part of torture, mass extermination of dissidents and mass burial of the victims.

Masango also said that during February 1984 the ANC had called in the Angolan army to subvert an MK mutiny.

"That mutiny comprised almost 90 percent of MK in Angola," Masango said.

The ANC was not available for

comment yesterday.

Announcing the arrival of the two men, the leader of the group, Mr Mwezi Twala, said dissidents had started an organisation called the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee.

He said Recoc was a self-help scheme to aid stranded exiles and non-affiliates of political organisations, especially dissidents of the ANC who were stranded in foreign countries.

After being refused substantial aid by the SA Council of Churches and other church organisations they had decided to seek sponsorship from the private sector.

1149  
Spc 14/11/90

## More 'ANC members' held in Bop

By Mckeed Kotlolo  
Pretoria Bureau

More detentions of alleged ANC members in Bophuthatswana were made yesterday, after President Lucas Mangope's instructions during a successful stayaway on Monday to force the reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa.

The number of detainees rose from 32 on Monday to 44 by yesterday afternoon.

### Protest

Some of the people detained on Monday were members of Azapo and the independent National Workers Union of South Africa. Those taken by the police yesterday were involved in a protest march at the Vametco plant at Mothutlong near Brits.

A spokesman for the homeland police, Colonel David George, said the additional detentions had been made as a result of information derived from those already detained.

# ANC should start on projects now

11A  
Sowetan  
24/11/90

SIR - Nelson Mandela is said to have obtained pledges of aid totalling some 42 million dollars from the governments of India, Indonesia and Australia.

Comrade Mandela is quoted as saying that the aid will help provide houses, jobs and education for about 20 000 ANC exiles, as well as helping some 600 political prisoners.

All very laudable, although I would not have thought it was the exiles that needed education, but rather the uneducated

**LETTERS to the EDITOR**

Short letters are preferred and none is considered unless it is signed, with the writer's full address. Pseudonyms may be used but are not encouraged. Write to: The Editor, Sowetan, PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000.

youth living in our country. Surely the ANC looked after their own overseas, regarding education. That's what they promised, wasn't it?

Be that as it may, I wish the ANC would hur-

ry up and put these sentiments into practice.

I don't recall any members of the ANC being reported in South African newspapers that this is what they intend doing with the money.

All we hear is them crying out for more!

More for administrative purposes, the opening of offices, etc. Not a word about actually starting a housing project.

Let the ANC show us the way, by first setting us an example themselves.

**J CLARKE**  
Orange Grove

## To the point . . .

SIR - When the schools and other institutes of learning reopen next year, let's all be prepared and start in good time. We must be educated in order to govern. - **TEBOHO TSOFELA**, Mamahabane.

SIR - It has been said that to uphold property rights in the free enterprise system is against human rights. I say that is a false statement. The abolition of property rights means dictatorship. - **MATOME C. SESHOKA**, Mohlakeng, Randfontein.

SIR - I am confused by gospel choirs using similar names but different choristers. What is

the difference between the following choirs: Holy Street Spirit, Holy Street Singers, New Holy Spirit Choir and Holy Cross Choir? - **MTN MOREMA**, Pimville.

SIR - The government of Kangwane must take note that we suffer from a lack of water at Stynsdorp, and have to walk 3km to fetch it. We should get water delivered to us at least once a day. - **RV OLIFANT**, Elukwatini.

SIR - Mr Ramodike, the chief minister of Lebowa, and his secretary, Mr Fick, must give us back salary deductions which have hit all public ser-

vants. The deductions were made without prior warning and we would like a commission of inquiry to examine the matter. - **MP LEBOGO**, Lebowa.

SIR - President Bush and the American people have shown the world what they are made of. Arab oil is more important than the blood of their sons. - **M IQBAL**, Reservoir Hills, Durban.

SIR - There are too many factories situated in the Lebowakgomo district. I appeal to our government to satisfy the needs of Lebowa as a whole, especially Driekop. Let us unite and work together in our lovely country. - **SERGIO C MOHLALA**, Driekop.



# Aussies refuse envoy cut

CANBERRA. — Australia yesterday refused to reduce its diplomatic presence in South Africa to keep step with Pretoria's decision to bring home several of its own envoys.

Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans told parliament that the request to match the staff cuts was not covered by any principle of reciprocity in international relations.

His reaction has caused a stir and will be seen as a unilateral breach of diplomatic practice if carried through.

Governments usually agree to have the same number of diplomats in each other's country. With South Africa already having announced its cut, the Canberra government is not likely to get much support.

Mr Evans claimed that South Africa's decision to close its consulate in Sydney and reduce staff at its embassy in Canberra was an attempt to punish Australia for its refusal to lift sanctions.

However, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday that the cutback was part of a necessary reallocation of limited

funds needed to set up promising new missions in Central Europe.

He was speaking in London en route to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

He said he foresaw useful relations and trade links in raw materials and manufactured goods between Central Europe and South Africa, which would benefit Southern Africa as a whole.

Closing the Australian consulate would save R7 million a year while a diplomatic mission in a Central European country would cost R4m, Mr Botha said. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter

## 'We won't desecrate Nelson's prison cell'

By DANIEL SIMON

A CAPE TOWN businessman has promised not to "desecrate" Mr Nelson Mandela's old Robben Island prison cell, if big business proposals to turn the historic island into a major tourist attraction are given the go-ahead.

Mr Nick Malherbe, coordinator of the Future of Robben Island Committee (Fric) was reacting to the angry response of the ANC's regional coordinator for the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, to the commit-

## Botha slams ANC on talks 'stumbling blocks'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday slammed the ANC for creating "new stumbling blocks" on the road to negotiations by failing to deliver on undertakings it agreed on with government on August 6.

Mr Botha was speaking at a press conference after a meeting yesterday morning with British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd.

Mr Botha also announced that he would visit Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia this week for meetings at foreign minister level or higher.

Mr Botha said he told Mr Hurd of Pretoria's "concern about the new stumbling blocks" which have arisen.

"We are of the opinion there is no room whatsoever for misinterpreting the agreement, in terms of which the ANC announced that all armed and related activities would cease."

Despite this undertaking, he said, "calls are being made by individual members of the ANC for a continuation of mass demonstrations which very often erupt into violence".

## Pik's vow 'hilarious'

Political Correspondent

MR Pik Botha's statement that he had considered quitting the National Party to form a United Democratic Party "really borders on the hilarious", Mr Janie Momberg of the DP said yesterday.

Mr Momberg left the NP after a row with President P W Botha.

He said: "This is the same Pik Botha who ... made a vicious attack on Dr Denis Worrall, accusing him of all those things that he now says he wanted to do if he resigned from the NP."

He said "the perks of NP government" had kept Mr Botha in the NP.

CAPY  
Traf 14/11/90

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# ANC is obstructive <sup>(11A)</sup> Pik

<sup>Bl day 14/11/90</sup>  
LONDON — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday criticised the ANC for creating "new stumbling blocks" on the road to negotiations by failing to deliver on undertakings it agreed to with government on August 6.

He was speaking at a news conference after a meeting at which he updated British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on the situation in SA and on SA's expanding relations with other countries in the region.

Botha said he told Hurd of his government's "concern about the new stumbling blocks which have arisen despite the agreement of 6 August, when the ANC and the government agreed that all stumbling blocks were removed, and that the way was open for negotiations on the future constitution of SA.

<sup>(11A)</sup>  
~~SECRET~~  
KIN BENTLEY

"We are of the opinion there is no room whatsoever for misinterpreting the agreement, in terms of which the ANC announced that all armed and related activities would cease."

Despite this undertaking, he said, "calls are being made by individual members of the ANC for a continuation of mass demonstrations which erupt into violence and very often the looting of shops".

Botha said the two sides had agreed to set up a liaison committee. "The government has produced the names of our representatives. We are still waiting for the ANC to produce theirs."

Government was "experiencing an inhi-

□ To Page 2

## Pik Botha <sup>Bl day 14/11/90</sup>

hibition on their (the ANC's) part to assist in the identification of arms caches, which was a categorical assurance given to us on August 6".

He said it was intended to set up joint committees and to arrange meetings with the ANC — "but they don't turn up. They postpone those meetings.

"So I really think that the time has come that — despite my government's patience, tolerance and understanding of the situation — the ANC leadership must realise now that apartheid is gone and is going, and they cannot hide behind it any more to look for sympathy in Europe and elsewhere."

Like the government, the ANC would

<sup>(11A)</sup>  
~~SECRET~~ □ From Page 1  
have to "stand in the focus of world opinion and analysis.

"My government is ready and prepared to stand in that focus, to have our proposals for a new constitution tested against the principles and objectives generally accepted in all civilised countries."

Botha said he also told Hurd government was experiencing "tremendous difficulties in coming to an agreement with black town councils in black urban areas as regards the payment of services".

A British Foreign Office spokesman said Hurd stressed the importance to both sides of resolving their differences and keeping the momentum of reform going.

# Social contract a likely political route — academic

Bloom 14/11/90  
ALAN FINE

SA FACED two possible political scenarios in 1991 — a social contract or a destructive stalemate, Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

Addressing an Andrew Levy and Associates seminar in Johannesburg, Schlemmer said the social contract course was more likely because any intelligent appraisal of the situation showed the only feasible alternative to be a "no-win stalemate."

He defined a social contract as an "elite cartel" in which leaders of political groups were able to convince their followers to moderate their demands, to accept not all demands could be met immediately, and that some interests would have to be sacrificed.

A social contract in SA would be a special governing arrangement for the transitional phase. He warned there were factors against it.

Studies showed some 60% of the white electorate expected minority participation, and the CP was strong enough to limit government's options.

## Control

Significant sub-elements of the ANC — including the youth, civic associations and the SACP leadership, which were not fully under ANC control — could resist such developments.

The coherence in policy and control over the constituency needed was also probably lacking in government.

The ANC was aware of its disadvantages in the negotiating process. With the NP in power this meant the playing field was not level. It went against the ANC, and this lent impetus to mass mobilisation campaigns which could defeat a social contract.

The economic situation and ANC fears of losing support to more militant groups also militated against a social contract being achieved.

There were, however, sporadic signs of acceptance of the need for a co-operative approach from ANC leaders.

This, and the fact that the only other option was stalemate, tipped the scales slightly in favour of the social contract plus some form of interim government.



# Rent boycott talks called off

A MEETING between the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and the Atteridgeville ANC branch on the rent boycott in the Pretoria township was called off yesterday, said TPA Assistant Liaison director Jan Roubser.

It was not known when the next meeting would take place.

Atteridgeville ANC chairman Abe Ngomo said he did not know about this decision and was awaiting the ANC delegation's report.

Atteridgeville Residents' Organisation publicity secretary John Ramatsui said the organisation had pulled out of the talks because of police action in the township.

The TPA had said the agenda would include recommendations of the Kriel Commission of Inquiry into irregularities in the town council. The commission earlier found there had been a number of irregularities.

Violence flared on Saturday, killing two youths and injuring more than 20 people in a confrontation between protesters and police over an

electricity switchoff. Subsequent to the violence, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in Atteridgeville on Sunday night.

Meanwhile, the Klerksdorp and Jouberton councils will hold a crucial meeting tomorrow to determine further action in the rent and service charges boycott in the township.

The Klerksdorp council reconnected electricity to the township on Friday last week, and said tomorrow was the deadline for residents to make satisfactory payments.

In Witbank, the town council cut power supplies to the township of Kwaguqa on Monday.

Town clerk Adam Engelbrecht announced last week that the R60 flat rate paid by residents was not enough and if the amount was not increased there would be no alternative but to effect the cuts.

A spokesman for the residents' organisation said they were surprised by the action.

Engelbrecht could not be reached for comment yesterday. — Sapa.

# Women urged to help build new SA

WILSON ZWANE

DEPUTY Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday urged women to become involved in the peace process and to share the responsibility of creating a new dispensation in a growth-orientated SA.

Addressing women in Soweto, Meyer said as women made up more than half the country's total population, it was clear they had to take an active part not only in the political sphere, but also in the wider social structure.

"In working to bring about the new SA the government is not aiming only for a new political system. SA needs a whole new social structure where the ideals and aspirations of everyone can be realised," Meyer said, adding that without the involvement of women it would not be possible to negotiate a new, acceptable and workable constitution.

# Malan tells of ANC plan to seize power



Sweden 14/11/90

IT appeared ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was aware of a plan by the organisation to transfer power to itself through mass mobilisation, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

He said the ANC was planning to use the "political underground", armed struggle and international isolation to achieve this aim.

Speaking in Bloemfontein, Malan said the ANC associated itself fully with the masses and saw a transfer of power to the masses as a transfer of power to itself.

He said according to a recently-released ANC publication, "ANC: The Road to Peace - Resource Material on Negotiations", power should be transferred to the people through "the combination of the four pillars of struggle: mass mobilisation, political underground, armed struggle and international isolation".

"On television Mr Mandela told South Africa that mass action, or mass mobilisation, was part of the democratic process.

"It emerges very clearly from this official ANC publication, which deals with the ANC's

views on negotiations, that Mr Mandela's mass action is part of a broader plan.

"It also appears that Mr Mandela is aware of this broader plan, because he promoted it by asking during his most recent overseas visit for the international isolation of South Africa."

The ANC was not pursuing democratic goals but blatant authoritarian politics in which it saw itself as the centre of all political interests.

In terms of the ANC's "four pillars" strategy, South Africa would not end up with a democracy but an ANC government. - Sapa.

**IBN**  
COMPUTER SCHOOLS

THE MARK OF  
EXCELLENCE

**Councillor  
to be buried**

A FORMER Lekoa Town



# AK-47 replicas become new symbols of defiance

By MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

WOODEN and sometimes metal replicas of AK-47 rifles and other mutations handcrafted from junk have become symbols of defiance for many township youths born in an era that has glorified the military struggle against apartheid.

For the young men who carry them today, this open association with the members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, does not carry the risks it used to when the phenomenon first emerged in the troubles of 1984 and 1985.

At that time — when the ANC was still banned and symbols of insurrection were not tolerated — it was an act of bravery.

Today, when the practice appears to have grown, the appearance of these "men of arms" is more a symbol of defiance, a sort of cocking a snook at the authorities.

## Uniforms

The youths wear clothes that pass for uniforms — khaki apparel predominates — and a variety of badges and insignia, often in the ANC's black, green and gold. They often form the guard of honour for guest speakers at gatherings, perform rudimentary drill manoeuvres and are invariably prominent at funerals of unrest victims.

The replica weapons, usually modelled on the AK-47 rifle used by MK, are generally made of wood. Some are made

of steel . . . a widely published photograph from a Port Elizabeth gathering showed a fanciful weapon made from car parts welded together. Occasionally these "soldiers" imitate the sound of gunfire.

In the negotiation era, the spectacle of mock soldiers could be interpreted as "glorifying military solutions", the ANC publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, acknowledged, but this was not considered a serious threat.

He added: "We don't have a formal view on this, but it is something we will have to look at."

It was necessary to "draw a distinction between cadres of MK and these young people who grew up in an environment that has very much glorified the role of MK".

He added: "It does not have very much of an ideological basis. In a situation of violence, this is a kind of one-upmanship against the security forces, a kind of 'you have your boys and

we have ours' sort of thing.

"I tend to think it is essentially a harmless pastime, a kind of politico-cultural expression that has emerged in a period of harsh repression. It goes with the toyi-toyi march."

Mr Manuel said there would probably be a range of opinion within the ANC on carrying replica weapons.

"Just as I will not give my children war toys, so there are other parents who do. I suspect there would be a similar range of opinion on this matter."



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus.

**TOYI-GUNS:** A group of Khayelitsha youths with "weapons" from their arsenal of defiance . . . handcrafted "guns" that have become part and parcel of anti-apartheid protest.

# ANC and PAC should fight council elections

BIDAM 15/11/90

LIBERATION movements and other progressive community organisations must encourage the people to elect, through democratic processes, committees to take care of the various aspects of community life, including socio-economic development.

It is these committees which must work closely with development institutions in the planning and management of development projects.

Development institutions must endeavour as far as possible to work at the project level with committees which truly represent the affected community.

To work only with the legally created authority or a representative of a liberation movement which happens to be prominent in a particular community is not enough. A genuine attempt must be made to find the democratically elected representatives of a particular community.

It is my view that in order to tackle the serious development problems in black urban areas, to prepare these towns for integration with neighbouring cities and to stabilise the political situation, the liberation movements must support the holding of new elections which will result in town councils which truly represent the people.

This will create the right climate for solving the problems of poverty, unemployment, homelessness and violence.

Tackling these problems cannot be delayed pending the finalisation of a negotiated political settlement. The present crisis regarding the payment of rent and services is directly related to legitimacy of present councils on the one hand, and to the inability of people to pay on the other because they are poor and unemployed.

If a permanent solution is not

## WISEMAN NKUHLU

found very soon, and the withdrawal of private sector financial institutions from the financing of low income housing in black urban areas becomes a reality, a future government will face a real crisis. It will not be in a position to solve homelessness without private sector involvement.

The establishment of nonracial, integrated city councils which incorporate the present racially based city councils and black local authorities needs proper planning to ensure that predominantly black areas benefit.

If this matter is not properly handled by those who have a genuine interest, there is a great danger that once a nonracial democratic system is established, middle income blacks will leave the townships for better

suburbs in the formerly white cities, leaving the "Sowetos" to collapse.

This can be avoided by starting the planning process now, by entrusting the management of the towns to competent persons who enjoy the support of the communities.

The mandate of the new councils would have to be very specific; to promote integrated development in the townships and to prepare them for amalgamation with neighbouring cities or towns. Delays in improving the management of our cities, including the black townships, will be very costly.

The liberation movements must consider this matter very seriously.

There is no doubt that apartheid restrictions on freedom and democracy are behind the violence in the townships, and that the government has a responsibility to stop the violence.

It is equally true that, in the first

place, it is the responsibility of black leaders not to allow the anger and frustration of the people to cause destruction. This is not an easy task when people have been denied freedom, responsibility and accountability for so long.

It needs considerable insight, resourcefulness, wisdom and courage on the part of the leadership. In my humble opinion, among the first things the leadership has to do is to engage the energies of the people in meaningful nation-building activities, like tackling poverty, unemployment and homelessness.

Taking over the management of the townships would facilitate the initiation of a process of black people-directed development.

Prof Nkuhlu is Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Transkei University. This is an extract from his address to the Urban Foundation's AGM yesterday.

LETTERS

# Police offer reward for Kasrils

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POLICE are searching for four "armed and dangerous" Operation Vula suspects, among them senior SACP member and former ANC intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils.

Police said the four were being sought in connection

**TIM COHEN**  
with the illegal importation of arms, ammunition and explosives. In a statement yesterday, police said Kasrils, Janet Love, Charles Ndaba and Christopher Manye are being sought by Durban police.  
SAP Witwatersrand

spokesman Eugene Opperman said yesterday police might wish to question others about Operation Vula — the alleged plot to overthrow the government. The statement said the suspects made use of "all sorts of disguises" and might be in neighbouring states.

Janet Love also operated under two aliases — Cathy McCarthy and Vanessa Brown. Police allege that she was Operation Vula's chief communications officer.

Kasrils, an SACP central committee member, had been sought by police shortly after nine other Operation Vula suspects were arrested.

Rewards were available for information leading to the arrest of the four.

The ANC said yesterday the police statement could be regarded as an incitement to "kill the suspects on sight" and that the events surrounding Operation Vula had hampered the peace process.

"The detentions, revelations and trial of the so-called Vula Operation has been characterised by sensationalism, distortion, deliberate leaks and statements emanating from the investigators," the ANC said.

"The present police statement is all the more reprehensible since it is made in circumstances where the people involved are not in a position to speak for themselves.

"Yet these are highly disciplined members of the ANC, including a member of the NEC, who have announced their complete support for the peace process and the Grootte Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

Three on short

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# ANC issues land rights blueprint

More land must be made available free of charge to people in rural areas who stay together in one place and want communal ownership, according to the African National Congress (ANC) report on its workshop on land, released in Johannesburg this week.

The ANC report also issued a call for banking systems to provide financial loans on the basis of future production, the establishment of "progressive" farmers' unions, and the scrapping of all payments and legal privileges for chiefs and headmen.

All those in South Africa who had been dispossessed had a claim to land, the ANC said.

"Through nationalisation, land will become the property of all the people (and) all people in dispute over land should submit their claims to the Land Claims Commission for arbitration."

The workshop group responsible for discussing communal land acknowledged, though, that "complexities" existed in different areas of the country concerning the legal protection of communal land. It proposed that:

## Mines

- In urban areas, a land trust must be created where people agree that South Africa's shores, the sea and water resources belong to all South Africans.

- In terms of mining land: mineworkers must have residential rights; mines must make land available for residential purposes; and minerals should be controlled by the State.

- In rural areas where people stay together in one place and want communal ownership, more land must be made available without cost.

- The title deed must be for the community as a whole.

- Individual rights of use and control must be recognised for

residential land, a plot for crops, and communal grazing.

On the role of chiefs, it was decided there was a need to:

- Scrap all legislation pertaining to chieftainship, including the Black Local Authorities Act.

- Scrap all the allegedly corrupt practices pertaining to chieftainship that had arisen in the course of "our colonial history".

- Acknowledge the right of communities to elect democratically their own leaders and representatives.

- Acknowledge the right of communities to recognise someone as their chief and to continue traditional practices of their own free will.

On the question of financing and communities, the ANC workshop called for:

- Alterations to the banking system, permitting loans on the basis of future production; an active policy of State assistance; the formation of credit unions; the establishment of a rotating-credit fund, by which farmers on communal land are assisted on a step-by-step basis; and the establishment of progressive farmers' unions.

Delegates also proposed investigating the possibility of using communal lands and livestock as collateral.

On the issue of economic rights of individuals in a community, the report said:

- Communities must be allowed to decide democratically about newcomers from outside.

Individuals in the community should be given freehold title to a piece of land, and both the residence and the plot of land should be marketable.

- There should be a right to sell one's house/structure on the residential plot, with community consent; there should be no right to sell communal land; there should be no right to sell or alienate residential land.

- There should be no right to sell a farming plot. — Sapa.

# NEWS IN BRIEF

*Seymour* *15/11/90*  
**Pledge over Mandela cell** (11A)

A BUSINESSMAN in Cape Town has promised not to "desecrate" Mr Nelson Mandela's old Robben Island prison cell if proposals to turn the island into a major tourist attraction are given the go-ahead.

Mr Nick Malherbe, co-ordinator of the Future of Robben Island Committee, was reacting to the response of the ANC's Western Cape co-ordinator Mr Trevor Manuel to their proposals. - *Sapa*.

# Union wants free and fair elections

Sowetan 15/11/90



By DON  
SEOKANE

THE 50 000-strong Johannesburg branch of South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union has called for free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

The call was made by about 500 Saccawu shop stewards at the branch's congress at Shareworld last weekend.

The Saccawu officials resolved that the elections be conducted to determine the mandate for the drawing up of a new constitution.

## Agreed

No secret negotiations should occur between the Government and any organisation, they concurred.

Five other resolutions were adopted at the congress, mostly focusing on the independence of trade union movement; the tripartite alliance of Cosatu with the ANC and SACP and the destruction of the hostels.

Delegates resolved that the trade union movement must be independent from political organisations, the State and employers.

"Furthermore, the trade union should have the right to form alliances with progressive political organisations and that such alliance should must be based on a clear mandate from the workers," said one of the resolutions.

The delegates said they were not against alliances, and called on

Cosatu structures to clarify the nature of the tripartite alliance between the federation, SACP and ANC.

Cosatu affiliates should also discuss why other progressive organisations were being excluded from the alliance.

## Unions

To ensure true independence of trade unions, the congress resolved that unionists should not hold leadership positions in the trade union movement and in a political organisation simultaneously.



# Anger over alleged ANC plot in Bop

THE Bophuthatswana security police raid on African National Congress activists allegedly involved in a plot to kill President Lucas Mangope has evoked a storm of protest.

The Human Rights Commission has recorded the detention of at least 150 ANC activists in Bophuthatswana since Monday.

They include senior ANC regional organiser Mr Jomo Kgasu and ANC regional executive member Mr Silas Ndipho.

Scores of other ANC activists have gone into hiding or had to leave Bophuthatswana to avoid being detained.

The detentions came on the eve of a massive stayaway called by Cosatu and supported by progressive organisations.

The stayaway was called to demand the repeal of the Bophuthatswana Industrial Conciliation Act which bans trade unions and to call for the reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa.

Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope justified the crackdown on activists by accusing the ANC of planning to assassinate him, an allegation the ANC has strongly denied.

Laughable

Cosatu said in a statement that the actions and statements of Mangope would be laughable if they did not have such serious consequences for the people living there.

"For a puppet of Pretoria who was kept in power by the SADF after his own security forces rebelled against his tyranny, to talk of unconstitutional actions by the ANC and its allies is ludicrous," the statement read.

Cosatu said the "plot" was a pretext used to clamp down on anti-apartheid activists in the bantustan.

"Mangope is desperately attempting to deflect the popular tidal wave of opposition to 'Bophuthatswana independence'."

"These repressive tactics will only intensify opposition to Mangope's rule."

Cosatu called for the immediate release of all the detainees and an immediate end to political trials and executions in Bophuthatswana.

Star 15/11/90 (11A)  
**Slovo rejects claims by Pik**

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The ANC yesterday denied undertaking to abandon or scale down mass political demonstrations and assist the Government in the identification of Umkhonto we Sizwe arms caches.

In a statement, ANC national executive committee member and South African Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo said the ANC delegation at the August 6 meeting with the Government had rejected attempts to get the ANC to inhibit mass political action.

He was responding to

statements made by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in London on Tuesday.

Mr Botha accused the ANC of introducing new stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations.

Mr Slovo denied asking for a postponement of the indemnity cut-off date to enable the ANC "to co-operate with the security forces in locating caches" as alleged by Mr Botha.

In Prague yesterday Mr Botha called Mr Slovo, the "last remaining Lithuanian communist" and said it would serve no purpose to enter into a debate with him.

# Pik tries to mediate in Bop-ANC dispute

144 15/11/90  
By Patrick Laurence

Foreign Minister Pik Botha tried to facilitate a meeting between Nelson Mandela and President Lucas Mangope, judging from extracts of the minutes of a Bophuthatswana Cabinet meeting given to The Star yesterday.

Mr Botha's bid to mediate apparently came before the start of the clamp on ANC activists by Bophuthatswana police on Monday.

Mr Mandela disclosed at the weekend that he had received a request from Mr Mangope for a meeting. Less than 48 hours later, President Mangope, convinced that the ANC, or elements within it, were plotting to overthrow his administration and assassinate him, unleashed his police on ANC activists, detaining them in droves.

Mr Mandela, according to documents smuggled out of President Mangope's office, set five conditions for the meeting: normalisation of the situation in Bophuthatswana; the lifting of its state of emergency; the unfettering of banned organisations; the repeal of the Internal Security Act; and guaranteed freedom of speech.

● Hundreds of activists and members of the ANC in Bophuthatswana have gone into hiding to escape the security crackdown.

Since Monday, 44 people have been detained — including Dr Thabo Rangaka, superintendent of Mafikeng's Bophelong Hospital, and several members of the Union of Democratic University Staff Association and the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum.



**FLASHBACK:** Klaas de Jonge at the window of the Dutch consulate in Johannesburg where he was holed up in 1988

# 'I was never a cadre'

South 15/11 - 21/11/90 11A

UMTATA. — Former Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge revealed for the first time last week he was never an ANC cadre or activist but “just a sympathiser”.

De Jonge, who in 1988 was holed up for several months in the Dutch consulate offices in Johannesburg, slipped into Jan Smuts Airport on his way to Umtata after nine years of clandestine operations for the organisation.

During an exclusive interview with SOUTH, De Jonge brandished his new party card number 515746 issued to him by the Ezibeleni (Queenstown) branch of ANC on the borders of Transkei and South Africa near Queenstown.

De Jonge, who now lectures in sociology and anthropology in Brazil, said: “I worked for the ANC on a limited scale. I did things for them”.

De Jonge declined to detail the duties he performed.

At the time of his detention in Johannesburg in 1988, De Jonge said: “I made mistakes and got arrested”.

De Jonge still boasts about the way he outsmarted the police.

“I fooled them and they're still angry about that”, he quipped.

Given a chance to return to South Africa, De Jonge said he would “love to” if given the opportunity.

**Former Dutch consulate fugitive Klaas de Jonge slipped quietly into the country last week to accompany two disabled ANC cadres to their homes in Transkei.**

**He spoke exclusively to SOUTH's correspondent STAN MZIMBA:**

“I think this is a very interesting period. I would like to return both for political and emotional reasons besides having a lot of friends in South Africa.

“I may be in Brazil, but my heart is here,” he added.

On Helen Pastoors, his former wife who was detained and sentenced on security charges, De Jonge said the South African press wrote a “lot of nonsense about their relationship”.

“The way they wrote the story was meant to please certain elements within the system.

**Conservative**

“What qualifications did I have to be branded a terrorist by the media?” he asked.

On South Africa's present political situation, De Jonge said he sees President FW de Klerk as being more conservative than former President PW Botha.

“I know for a fact that De Klerk was against a black President. When he spoke at a news conference at Amsterdam, which I also attended, he had no objection to a black president.

“During his term as Minister of National Education he once told a gathering that there will never be integration at white schools. Now

he emerges as “a big reformer”, De Jonge said.

De Jonge is somewhat confident that De Klerk is going to have most if not all the racial laws scrapped “because he has found another way of keeping apartheid structures in tact”.

Speaking on the scrapping of the Land Act, De Jonge said it looked good on paper. He recalled that the land had been robbed from its indigenous inhabitants and that they will be expected to pay (buy) to get it back.

The Group Areas Act made blacks worse off than the position they were in, said De Jonge.

“How long will it take them to acquire the status of the whites.

“With both Acts scrapped the blacks will still remain where they are today,” De Jonge said.

Regarding education, De Jonge said most whites would send their children to private schools.

**Employment**

“At the end of their schooling period they will end up with top positions at the place of employment because of the quality of education they had acquired.”

De Jonge said he was not against negotiations but there was a need for external and internal pressure on South Africa to be maintained.

He said he was “toying around” with the idea of settling in Transkei.

“I will be happy to exchange the capital of Brazil for Umtata.”



**Klaas de Jonge interviews the ANC's Chris Hani in Umtata last week**

**POSTS FOR TRAINEE RESEARCHERS IN CAPE TOWN IN 1991**

**LABOUR RESEARCH SERVICE**

The Labour Research Service provides expert research back-up for progressive trade unions in wage negotiations.

Posts for trainee researchers are available in Cape Town from 1 March 1991. The trainee researchers will participate in an intensive six-month training programme. This includes regular seminars and practical on-the-job training.

The programme aims to prepare the trade union researchers of tomorrow and provide trade unionists with practical research skills. Employment may be extended beyond the initial six-month period.

Candidates should have a matric, be confident with figures and committed to the progressive trade union movement. Preference will be given to trade union members and applicants with trade union experience. Trainees now serving at the Labour Research Service were shop stewards or officials from major national unions.

Applications should be made in writing, setting out details of work experience together with two contactable references. Applications should reach the Labour Research Service, PO Box 376, Salt River 7925 no later than 31 December 1990.

# ANC, Azapo agree to end hostilities



LYBON MABASA

The ANC and Azapo have held talks to end hostilities between the two organisations.

The meeting, which took place at Azapo's Johannesburg offices, was initiated by the ANC after supporters clashed

By **IKE MOTSAPI**  
with Azapo members in Soweto.

Mr Lybon Mabasa, who heads Azapo's secretariat, said he met an ANC representative and both agreed to tell their followers not to participate in acts of violence.

"We both agreed that the violence which erupted at Baragwanath's Glyn Thomas Residence was not necessary.

"We noted that, by doing this, our members would be playing into the hands of the enemy which is bent on causing friction

between different organisations.

"We also stressed the need for political tolerance and the need to respect one another, regardless of political beliefs and affiliations," he added.

Mabasa said he was also happy to note that members of the South African National Students Organisation (Sanso) had undertaken not to clash with members of the Azanian Youth Organisation.

A member of the Azanian Youth Organisation, Thami Mcerwa, was hospitalised after being

attacked by people believed to be members of Sanso. Mcerwa had been to visit the former publicity secretary of the Azanian Students Movement, Mr Siphoshe Maseko.

During the fracas 11 other members of the ASM were also attacked and chased out of the Glyn Thomas residence which houses Wits University students.



# AFRICANIST SLOGAN BLOWS UP A CAMPUS STORM

By BEVERLEY GARSON

AFRICANISTS students at Rhodes University in Grahamstown are embroiled in a controversy over the slogan "One settler, one bullet".

Now the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) plans to issue a pamphlet explaining the slogan and refute charges that it's racist.

*South 15/11 - 21/11/90*  
This was agreed in a meeting between Paso and Rhodes' SRC after a row over the use of the slogan on a poster advertising a memorial service for the late PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopheng.

Two residences at the university wrote letters to the SRC objecting to the poster, and barring Paso from putting up posters in future.

Paso was told they would face disciplinary action for using a "racist, inflammatory statement".

The SRC reached an agreement with Paso after the university administration referred the matter to it.

"Paso's slogan has offended people on campus and must therefore be taken up. This, however, is not a clearcut issue,"

*(11A)* said SRC president Rod Amner

Amner said the SRC wanted to find a correct process to resolve and take up issues of this nature. Paso said in a statement the slogan "was not racist".

They also warned that if the "management of Rhodes regards themselves as settlers, the slogan will be used as a galvanising song against them". — ANA

# ANC launches mass action

South 15/11 - 21/11/90

11A

By REHANA ROSSOUW

THE African National Congress launches its mass mobilisation campaign in the Western Cape this weekend with a march to Parliament.

"Peace not Promises — Real Change Now" will be the movement's rallying call in the campaign that includes a demand for the disbandment of racist local authorities like community councils.

"There is a growing feeling on the ground that the terms and spirit of the Pretoria Minute are being interpreted to narrow short-term political advantage by the National Party government and its allies," said ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel.

## Power

"While the ANC has been and remains resolutely committed to the negotiation process, circumstances on the ground and the responses of those in power leave many wondering what has changed.

"As with the Defiance Campaign of last year, this campaign aims to create conditions for the rapid removal of apartheid restrictions and unjust laws, he said.

Manuel said it was necessary for ordinary people to take "the initiative into their own hands in the face of the many games being played by authorities.

## Change

The marchers will deliver a memorandum to the Cape Provincial Administration and the State President's office highlighting a range of issues they feel reflect the slow pace of change in South Africa.

The memorandum will deal with the call for the community council in Khayelitsha to disband, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, labour disputes in Cape Town and the high cost of living.

The march begins at 10am at Keizersgracht, District Six.



**OVERCOME:** Winnie Mandela suffers the effects of teargas fired by police at their group while trouting unrest-hit Atteridgville township near Pretoria on Monday. The incident occurred outside the home of a family who had lost their nine-year-old child, Prince Makhubele, one of two people killed in recent clashes with the police. The police have declared Atteridgville an unrest area. See page 2

PIC: BRETT ELOFF, Afrap

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...believed that because our symod in Blo... happened a long time ago."



## Control over youths urged by Azanyo

*Sowetan*  
15/11/90 By RUSSEL MOLEFE (11A)

ALL political organisations within the broad liberation movement have a right to exist and no organisation can claim to be the sole bearer of truth, the Azanian Youth Organisation said yesterday.

In a statement released following the continuing inter-organisational violence in black areas, including Bekkersdal, publicity secretary Mr Geofferson Mogale said the barbarism and other atrocities being committed was a clear sign that other organisations has failed to control and give clear direction to their youth.

"If these organisations do not control their youth we shall help them in doing that", Mogale said.

He said his organisation rejects the statement published in *Sowetan* last week saying that the violence in Bekkersdal was not ANC versus Azapo or PAC but was thuggery and counter revolutionary.

He said the organisation has substantiated information in his possession that its members were being attacked.

## League to be launched

THE Johannesburg zone of the ANC Women's League will be launched on November 18 at the Market Theatre. *80 welcome 15/11/90 (11A)*

In a statement the League said that included in the launch will be performances by the African Jazz Pioneers, the Cosatu Choir, Thembi Mtshali and others.

The formal session will start at 10am and the zone will represent branches of the organisation around Johannesburg. - *Sapa*

# ANC's march plans hit flak

Cape Times  
15/11/90  
11A

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC yesterday announced mass marches in Guguletu and Cape Town for today and Saturday as part of a "mass mobilisation" campaign, drawing immediate fire from the Ministry of Law and Order.

Regional ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said today's march from Guguletu to the nearby Ikapa Town Council offices was to protest against the lack of "any real change" for township residents.

Other demands included the immediate scrapping of the "unpopular and undemocratic" black town councils and the lifting of "the emergency" designed to keep them in power.

Mr Manuel said permission for Saturday's march in the city had been granted by the city council, but the ANC is expecting a final magisterial decision today.

Magisterial permission for the Guguletu march was granted yesterday.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, said that if the ANC was determined to march without magisterial permission then "clearly this is quite confrontational".

Asked about the "mobilisation" campaign, he said that while police did not deny anyone the right to genuine peaceful protest, the "so-called mass mobilisation" was "another violent aspect of the so-called armed struggle".

There was no necessity for "this kind of action" which often led to violence, bloodshed and destruction of property, because a peaceful political process was already under way, he added.

Meanwhile, the newly elected president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr Gerrie Steenkamp, has lashed out at black leaders for their "reluctance" to keep their followers in line.

Addressing the Cape Town branch of his institute, Mr Steenkamp said the private sector was "fed up" with industrial unrest in South Africa.

Sapa reports that protest marches against black local authorities have been planned for Saturday in six towns in the Transvaal.

**Slovo** *CAT-TMHS*  
**denies** *15/11/90*  
**weapons** *11A*  
**promise** *SJA*



Mr Joe Slovo

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had never undertaken to hand over its weaponry to the government or to dissolve its underground structures, the SA Communist Party said yesterday.

SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo accused Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha of making "unprincipled political capital" when he said in London that the ANC was putting up obstacles to negotiations.

In a statement circulated by the ANC, Mr Slovo said the ANC delegation at the Pretoria Minute talks had rejected the "attempt by the government delegation to get the ANC to stop mass action programmes".

Mr Slovo said most of the obstacles to negotiations referred to in the Harare and UN declarations remained in place.

He also denied Mr Botha's claim that the ANC had agreed to assist in the identification of arms caches.

"We specifically informed the government that our offer to suspend (and not abandon) armed actions did not include an agreement to hand over our weaponry or dissolve our combat underground." — Sapa

Capt Tint 15/11/90  
11A

# Police search for 'Vula' suspects

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday said they were looking for four suspects, including senior SACP member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, in connection with the illegal importation of arms, ammunition and explosives under Operation Vula — the alleged plot to overthrow the government by force.

Police said they were searching for Mr Kasrils, Ms Janet Love, Mr Charles Ndaba and Mr Christopher Manye.

The statement said the suspects were expected to be "armed and dangerous" and continuously made use of "all sorts of disguises" to hide their identities.

Janet Love operated under two aliases, Cathy McCarthy and Venessa Brown.

Rewards were available for information leading to the arrest of the four, the statement said, but did not specify how much was being offered.

Rewards were also being offered for information leading to the recovery of arms. — Sapa



## Union queries alliance, move

By *Bipany* 15/11/90  
MATTHEW CURTIN

THE Johannesburg branch of the SA Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) has said no mandate was obtained from the union — a 90 000-strong Cosatu affiliate — for the creation of the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance.

Saccawu's branch congress resolved this week to call on its delegates to Cosatu "to clarify the nature of the tripartite alliance" and discuss reasons why other progressive organisations such as the PAC and Azapo were not included.

A branch spokesman said yesterday Saccawu's 50 000-strong Transvaal membership, the union's largest, was not opposed to the alliance in principle, but its formation "had not been thoroughly discussed".

Alliance members had also to clarify why organisations like the PAC, Azapo and Workers Organisation of SA (Wosa) were not included. ~~(111)~~ (111)

Saccawu acting general secretary Papi Kganare said yesterday the union was bound by a Cosatu central executive committee decision to form an alliance with the ANC and SACP.

# Working group report ready

THE joint government-ANC working group on the suspension of the armed struggle had completed its report, an ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the report had been finished after months of delays and was being considered by the leadership of the two parties.

He declined, however, to divulge the contents of the report.

Although the report may still be modified by the parties and possibly referred back to the working group, the fact that it has been prepared means significant progress has been made on resolving, among others, the difficult issues of ANC arms caches, Umkhonto we Sizwe recruitment and enforcing the suspension.

The group was to have reported by Sep-

12/11/90 15/11/90

PETER DELMAR

tember 15 but was delayed, mainly due to government's refusal to renew the indemnity of ANC delegation leader Chris Hani.

Last week Hani failed to arrive for a group meeting, which was forced to break up as a result, prompting government concern that the ANC was attempting to slow down the pace of negotiations.

The group's work assumed greater urgency this month when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnity would be linked to the group's progress.

Meanwhile, SACP general secretary and ANC executive member Joe Slovo denied the ANC had agreed at the August summit in Pretoria to help identify ANC arms caches or reduce mass action.





Happy days are here again as the children of Polokong Children's Village in Evaton whoop over R220 000 donated by Samancor Foundation school for the purchase of a microbus and the building of a cottage which will provide lodging for a mother and 10 children.

## Black housing problem tackled

THE dramatic events of the past year have had major implications for South Africa and the Urban Foundation, Foundation chairman Mr AM Rosholt said in his annual review.

He said in spite of many setbacks the Foundation had managed to establish a Home Loan Guarantee Fund and launched the Group Credit company as part of a programme aimed at the lower income group housing.

*Sowetan 15/11/70*  
The company provided loans between R500 and R5 000 to members of savings clubs who have demonstrated an ability to save.

Rosholt said an informal settlement upgrading the Foundation was aiming to achieve basic health and safety and to secure permanent tenure for residents.

"The decision by the Durban City Council, the Independent Development Trust and the Tongaat-Hulett Group to fund the upgrading of the Bester's Camp on the outskirts of Durban and the acceptance by the community that the Foundation manage this project, is seen as a major breakthrough for us."

He said an area which was causing serious concern within the Foundation was its housing utility companies. - *Sapa*.

## Youths deny attack claims

THE ANC Youth League yesterday denied allegations that its supporters were involved in attacks on members of other liberation movements.

It pledged to continue fighting for a realisation of the ANC's "popular aspirations" enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

Responding to what it called "seemingly fashionable offensive diatribes which evidently seem to undermine the image of our movement" in the press, the ANCYL said in a statement the ANC had no reason to

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

apologise for its track record which had been informed by its non-racist and non-ethnic position for decades.

ANCYL dismissed as "a sorry statement on concerted efforts towards a free South Africa" the Azanian Students' Movement's allegations this week that ANC supporters were "always involved in attacks" against other liberation movements.

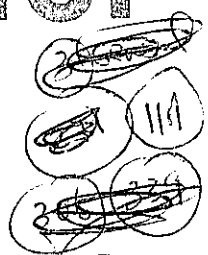
"It does not help the cause of liberation, in our opinion, to resort to political mudslinging in the quest for questionable ends. We have to repeat here that we have no interest in dissipating our energy in constituency conflicts. What we are about is a united offensive against the apartheid system in all its ramifications.

"This commitment, we have consistently explained, must cut across the entire political spectrum," the ANCYL statement said.

**Watch  
out for**

# ANC plea for sharing of South Africa

Dwela 15/11/90



THE ANC, in a report just released, has made an urgent plea for a major redistribution of land in South Africa as part of a State-run affirmative action programme, using nationalisation selectively.

The report is a detailed summary of last month's African National Congress Land Commission workshop, which was closed to the media.

It is the first in a line of comprehensive ANC documents which will form the basis for discussions towards a definitive ANC land policy, officials said.

Mr Derek Hanekom, administrator of the ANC Land Commission, said

what was notable about the workshop was that it highlighted the complexity of the South African land issue.

Discussions raised more questions than answers, he added.

## Report

The ANC expects its report will contribute to the growing debate on the emotive issue of land in the country - 87 percent owned by whites and the remaining 13 percent by blacks.

There was also an urgent need for a programme of affirmative action regarding the acquisition of land for black people and in support of aspirant black producers.

Importantly though,

the ANC said, the majority opinion was that nationalisation of land was not necessarily the only instrument for land redistribution.

The ANC said an example of the thoroughness of the workshop was that delegates went so far as to give detailed proposals on exactly how to compensate land owners whose land was acquired by the state. - Sapa.

east, 84 percent full at this time last year, is down to 78 percent of capacity.

Yesterday's Kroonstad meeting, attended by about 350 farmers, was called to

ing and walk up to 20 km along the bank, grazing and trampling crops. Tsesebe had raided his vegetable crops, and animals had trampled down fences.

Double damage . . . Farm mealie crop after thirsty hip

STW 15/11/90 (11A)

## Police hunt for 'Vula' accused

Staff Reporters

Police in Durban are desperately looking for three men and a woman who have been implicated in "Operation Vula", an alleged plot by the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress to overthrow the Government.

The wanted four are Ronald ("Ronnie") Kasrils; Janet Love, alias Cathy McCarthy, alias Venessa Brown (33); Charles Takhele Ndaba (28) and Christopher Manye.

Police in Johannesburg yesterday released to the

press photographs of the four, who are believed to be in hiding.

A press statement said the police in Durban were asking the public for help in establishing the whereabouts of the four, who are sought for the illegal importation of arms, ammunition and explosives into the country.

"The suspects are expected to be armed and extremely dangerous. They continuously make use of all sorts of disguises to hide their true identity," the statement said.

The ANC said the police description of the four as

"armed and extremely dangerous" was incitement for members of the public "to kill them on sight".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday's police statement was "all the more reprehensible" since it was made "in circumstances where the people involved were not in a position to speak for themselves".

The police statement said: "Rewards are offered for information leading to the arrest of these suspects and also for information leading to the recovery of arms, ammunition and explosives."

# Four Vula suspects 'have left SA'

APR 15/11/90

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Four members of the African National Congress being sought by police in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow the government have left the country.

This was disclosed by government sources today after police investigating the alleged insurrection plot, codenamed Project Vula, screened photographs of the four — Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Ms Janet Love, Mr Charles Ndaba and Mr Christopher Manye — on television last night.

The police warned the four could be armed and dangerous.

Sources said the public's help was needed as the four, who used disguises, could return under new names. They were wanted in connection with illegally importing arms, ammunition and explosives.

Reacting to the call to the public, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a description of the four as "armed and extremely dangerous" was an incitement to people "to kill them on sight".

It was also learned today that police have uncovered one of nine arms caches alleged to exist near Pretoria.

The cache, the only one discovered so far, was found near the highway outside Mopabane. Police are still searching for eight more.

The names of the missing suspects were announced at the time Operation Vula was made public. However, sources say it has only been since the court appearance of other ANC members allegedly involved in the plot that police have been able to concentrate on the four in hiding.

The ANC said the detentions, revelations and trial of those involved in Operation Vula had been characterised by "sensationalism, distortion, deliberate leaks and statements emanating from the investigators", and this had seriously hampered the peace process.

Miss Marcus said yesterday's police statement was "all the more reprehensible" since it was made in circumstances where the people in-

involved were not in a position to speak for themselves.

"The latest Press release by the police, which is accompanied by photographs and describes the men and women as armed and highly dangerous, could be regarded as an incitement to kill them on sight.

"Yet these are highly disciplined members of the ANC, including a member of the national executive committee, who have announced their complete support for the peace process and the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes," Miss Marcus said.

She said the ANC had "strong reason" to believe one of the four, Mr Ndaba, had been detained on July 6 or 7 with Mr Mbuso Tshabalala, and the organisation called on the police to account for their whereabouts.

A police source said the discovery of the arms cache and evidence that arms and ammunition had been stored under the floor of Ms Love's flat led the police to conclude the four could be dangerous. ● See page 2

# Women urged to take part in shaping our future

Soweto 16/11/90



**WOMEN form the backbone of any society and considering that they make up more than half the total population of this country, they should take part in the shaping of the new South Africa.**

This was said by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, addressing a group of women attending the Soweto City Council's second annual Women's Day celebration in Chiawelo this week.

Speaking on "the role of women in shaping a new South Africa", Meyer urged women to take the initiative and

**By PEARL MAJOLA**

responsibility to participate in the process, to be strong and fight for peace.

"In highlighting the women's role, we must constantly bear in mind that the impact of women in the new South Africa will to a large extent be determined by their level of personal involvement," he said.

## **Politics**

"Active participation should not be restricted to politics only, South Africa also needs a whole new social structure where the ideals of everyone can be realised.

"In the new dispensation for example, mothers

will need to participate in decisions about the education of their children.

Another social responsibility women could take was to have a positive approach to family planning to prevent the unbridled population growth which would restrain education, housing, health services and job opportunities.

"In 1984, it was estimated that about 78 percent of black businesses were run by women.

"By stressing the need for self-employment and making the most of these opportunities, women in the new South Africa can benefit themselves and the economy in general," he continued.

"Participation in and through communities is important, but the greatest responsibility women have for the new South Africa lies in promoting relationships between different people and groups.

"Women can create positive perceptions with people whom politicians cannot reach.

"I also want to urge you to be involved in the peace process and to share responsibility in creating a future South Africa. Your contribution, as bearers of stability, is therefore vital to the success of the new South Africa that we want to build for the benefit of all South Africa's citizens," he concluded.

sta 16/11/90

# Mandela speaks out for press freedom

By Esmaré  
van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Press freedom was a cornerstone of a democratic dispensation because it was inextricably linked to the right of freedom of speech, Nelson Mandela told a gathering of foreign journalists based in South Africa last night.

Speaking at a Foreign Correspondents Association banquet in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said the ANC had been committed to freedom of speech and political expression for more than 75 years of struggle.

The ANC would never seek to control or arbitrarily determine the way in which journalists performed their work.

"We wish to see the media report the facts as they see them, without hindrance by the State or any political party."

However, the ANC insisted that freedom of speech did not and could never include the right to shout "Fire!" in a crowded cinema hall, he said, referring to the fuelling of racism.

"Political doctrines and ideologies whose known consequences are harm to one's fellow citizens cannot be considered legitimate."

Mr Mandela paid tribute to Vrye Weekblad, who exposed the existence of hit squads, and its editor, Max du Preez, for firmly defending freedom of speech despite harassment and prosecution from the authorities.

He was less complimentary about the new editor of the Sunday Times, Ken Owen, saying: "There is no way Ken Owen can hope to secure his rights by assisting the Government to violate mine."

w/Man 16/11-22/11/90

## PAC now home to disgruntled councillors

By VUYELWA QINGA: East London  
COMMUNITY councillors bearing "grudges" against the African National Congress are seeking a new political home in the anti-collaborationist Pan Africanist Congress.

This comes amid an intensifying campaign which is bringing growing numbers of councils to collapse.

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela has thrown his support behind a new drive against the structures. In the Eastern Cape, a total of 156 of 336 councillors' seats are now vacant.

Among the new PAC councillors is Millford Sili, still serving as mayor of the Cathcart township of Kati-Kati. He is believed to be a driving force behind the PAC's recruitment of councillors in the region. His position conflicts directly with PAC policy.

PAC national office spokesman Philemon Tefu this week said councillors were welcome to join, but had to resign their posts first. The PAC had "a problem with people holding such a position and PAC membership at the same time".

A former councillor who is now the PAC local chairman in Komga, Tutu Ndolose, explained his move to the PAC: "In some places like Fort Beaufort and Cathcart, community councillors and mayors had been driven out of their homes during the unrest. They now bear grudges against some people in certain organisations in their communities. That might be why they have now joined the PAC."

In many cases, the councillors involved have a history of conflict with township residents over a range of local issues.

The demand for the resignation of councillors has been central to local campaigns mounted by the predominantly ANC-aligned civic organisations in a number of small towns.

The campaigns have included consumer and rent boycotts, protest marches and violent clashes. — Elnews

w/Mail 16/11-22/11/90.

## ANC consults its membership on tricameral talks

THE African National Congress is expected to open talks with leaders of the tricameral parliament soon — after seeking a direct mandate from its branches around the country. (11A)

It seems likely that the mandate will be overwhelmingly in favour of such a meeting. The request to the branches to discuss the issue is believed to be the first exercise of its kind by the organisation, and comes amid criticism of undemocratic decision-making by the national executive committee (NEC).

The request for discussion on the issue came in a letter from the NEC to branches nationally. Decisions are to be forwarded to regional offices.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo confirmed that the meeting was on the cards but said the national office was still awaiting all the responses from the regions before commenting on what the membership had decided.

Judging by the overwhelming support given the NEC to go ahead by all branches that had discussed the issue this week in the Border region, chances are these talks will go ahead.

Regional president Rev Makhenkesi Stofile says the ANC's talking with these leaders is a "non-issue as there is no difference between the leaders of the homelands and (House of Representatives leader Allan) Hendrickse or (House of Delegates leader Amichand) Rajbansi".

Indications from the Transkei regional office were that people there also had no problem with the issue.

Since the ANC was unbanned in February, it has been difficult for some of its membership, especially those used to the tradition of consultation and mandate in organisations like Cosatu, to accept the NEC taking major decisions without "adequate consultation".

— Etnews



# Govt 'preparing for violation of civil rights'

THERE were signs that President F W de Klerk and his government were attempting to prepare public opinion for the violation of civil rights, ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela said last night.

Mandela, addressing the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg, said it was universally accepted that various means of political expression, including public meetings, rallies and non-violent resistance, were aspects of freedom of speech.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold

meetings and processions, and stage mass demonstrations.

He said a regime accustomed to authoritarian behaviour needed time to grow accustomed to democratic practice.

He said it had been accepted that the interface of extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

Mandela said it would be foolhardy for anyone to align themselves with government's attempts to curtail these rights.

# Shopkeepers attempt to end boycott

KROONSTAD shopkeepers are taking the lead in attempting to resolve a consumer boycott.

Residents of Maokeng township started the boycott after the Kroonstad Town Council cut electricity and water supplies.

Maokeng residents have been boycotting service charge payments.

Kroonstad store owner Greg Papapanous said yesterday that the week-and-a-half old boycott had hit shopkeepers hard.

He said 50 traders had signed a petition calling for the dispute to be settled.

Papapanous said he had met the boycott organisers, the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee, on Wednesday and they had agreed to try and find ways of ending the boycott.

A meeting between shopkeepers and the Kroonstad Town Council was due to be held last night.

Papapanous said he hoped that progress towards a compromise would be made. — Sapa.

## HAMILTON RUSSELL VINEYARDS



## CROOKES BROTHERS LIMITED (CBL)

Co No 02/00290/06  
Directors: I F G Gillatt (Chairman), D J Crookes (Managing), P L Campbell, A C Crookes, D V Crookes, J F C Palmer

### INTERIM REPORT 1990/91

As sugar cane, citrus and grain are seasonal crops and dividends from investments are not received at regular intervals the figures shown are half those estimated for the current year and the comparative figures are half the actuals of last year.

	APRIL/ SEPT 1990	APRIL/ SEPT 1989	% CHANGE
	R100s	R000s	
Turnover	18 603	17 553	+ 6
Net operating income before interest (Note: 1)	2 607	2 317	+12
Income from investments (Note: 2)	920	1 711	-46
Net interest paid	(372)	(97)	

# Officials quit as ANC launches mass campaign

B1 Day 16/11/90  
11A

**LESLEY LAMBERT and  
EDYTH BULBRING**

THE ANC launched its nationwide mass mobilisation campaign against local authorities in the Western Cape yesterday in the face of government claims that the action was a ploy to derail negotiations.

The campaign last night appeared to claim its first victim in the Atteridgeville Town Council after the mayor and two councillors quit, leaving the council without a quorum.

The resignations followed a campaign by the Pretoria township civic organisation and the local ANC branch.

In Cape Town, ANC leaders decided to proceed with a protest march from Guguletu to the nearby Ikapa Town Council yesterday evening, and another in Cape Town on Saturday — despite government claims that these actions went against the spirit of the Pretoria Minute agreed to by the ANC. Magisterial permission for yesterday's march was granted.

The campaign is expected to become national at the weekend, with protest marches against local authorities in six Transvaal towns ar-

ranged by the UDF-affiliated Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast).

ANC Atteridgeville branch chairman Abe Nkomo said last night the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation had received a letter from councillor Paulos Nangambe on Tuesday saying he had resigned.

The letter said he had respected calls by the community and his family for him to resign.

Atteridgeville mayor Velaphi Mathebula's wife, Lulu-Lizzy Mathebula, confirmed that her husband resigned from the council yesterday.

She said his continued presence on the council was a danger to her family and the community had put pressure on him to resign.

She said councillor H Nchabeleng had also resigned.

The Atteridgeville council was expected to hold its final meeting last night, with the remaining six councillors likely to resign because a quorum no longer existed. There were

previously three vacancies on the council and at least seven councillors are required for a quorum.

In a statement this week, Western Cape ANC leaders said there was "a growing feeling that the terms and spirit of the Pretoria Minute are being interpreted to narrow, short-term political advantage" by government.

"While the ANC has been and remains absolutely committed to the negotiation process, circumstances on the ground and the responses of those in power leave many wondering what has changed," it said.

There have been a number of sharp reactions to the campaign by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and the Law and Order Department.

Sapa reports that the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) has rejected "the high-handed actions of Cast".

In a statement yesterday Fida said a meeting of local councillors deplored the "undemocratic manner in which Cast has claimed the right to speak on behalf of township residents".

# PAC slogan leaves many at Rhodes feeling rather unsettled 11A

By BEVERLEY GARSON: Grahamstown  
THE row at Rhodes University around the Pan Africanist Congress slogan "One settler, one bullet" has highlighted the dilemma the student body faces with regard to the freedom-of-speech principle.

The slogan was used on a poster put up on campus to advertise a memorial service for PAC president Zeph Mothopheng, and drew complaints that it is racist. The Pan Africanist Students Or-

ganisation, which was responsible for the poster, was told disciplinary proceedings would be initiated against it.

But at a meeting between Paso and the SRC, it was agreed that Paso would issue a pamphlet on campus to explain the slogan, which it denies is racist.

Two residences at the university wrote letters to the SRC objecting to the poster. The SRC emphasised they had not taken any disciplinary action against Paso as was reported in the lo-

cal newspapers.

SRC president, Rod Amner, said: "PASO's slogan has offended people on campus and must therefore be taken up. This however is not a clear-cut issue."

Amner said the SRC wanted to find a correct process to resolve and take up issues of this nature.

He said last year students were charged for disrupting a meeting organised by a right-wing student organ-

isation. The students felt the speaker was making racist statements.

At the time the university argued that all organisations had the right to absolute freedom of speech.

Paso issued a statement insisting that the slogan "One Settler One Bullet" is not racist. They warned that if the "management of Rhodes regards themselves as settlers, the slogan will be used as a galvanising song against them". — ara

# Develop but don't damage environment

**M**OUNTING public concern has put the environment at the top of the political agenda throughout the world.

Some gains have been made on certain fronts of the environmental spectrum; for one thing environmental awareness has grown substantially on the part of governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the public. However, unease persists because the state of the environment is in general worse off than 20 years ago when governments and NGOs met in Stockholm.

The African National Congress' position on the environment emphasises three key elements:

- Protection of the environment (fauna, flora, rare species, natural resources)
- Construction of the environment (engineering works to enhance environment and use of natural resources)
- Management of the environment (environmental pollution problems caused by production, environmental damage caused by construction and development activities).

The ANC is committed to conservation and rational use of our natural resources for the benefit of the present and future generations.

Our position is that we, the present generation, have a responsibility which we owe to future generations of South Africans to preserve the environment for them so that they will find it in a viable and usable form.

It is also the ANC's position that in planning and implementing economic growth programmes the correct strategy is to maintain a healthy balance between economic and social benefits on one hand, and environmental protection on the other. In policy terms this means sustainable development and growth with environmental protection.

The ANC also holds the view that it is impossible, in the political sense and in the socio-economic context, to pursue a rational environment protection policy under the apartheid political system or any similar totalitarian regime.

Apartheid is incompatible with conservation of the environment because of its principles, which emphasise manipulation of racial groups which inevitably leads to reckless plundering of natural resources. The widespread land degradation in the homelands (soil erosion, overgrazing, deforestation and desertification) where mil-

Included in the ANC's range of environmental policies is the decision to ban the import of toxic waste. **By MAX SISULU and STAN SANGWENI**, of the organisation's economic desk

lions are crammed beyond the carrying capacity of these marginal lands, constitutes such inevitable environmentally destructive consequences of apartheid.

Such environmental destruction cannot be rehabilitated by any land-use management measures without first dismantling apartheid.

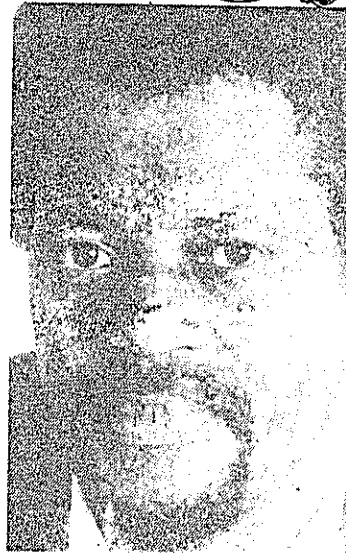
The ANC believes environment reconstruction and management, the two sides of environment protection, constitute a major task of a free democratic post-apartheid South Africa. An environmentally conscious society can only exist in such a political environment.

In designing a strategy for achieving a sound environmental management policy that is consistent with growth and development the ANC would adopt the following principles when it comes to play a role in government:

- A careful balance between the needs of current and future generations will be made in the exploitation of non-renewable natural resources. In this respect, the exploiters of natural resources will be required to develop new technologies that use less of such resources and search for alternative resources.

- Subject to upper limits beyond which closure is the solution for avoiding environmental disaster, an ANC government would seek to impose deterrent surcharges for those concerns whose activities pollute the environment — asbestos mining operations, for instance. Such surcharges (or rent) would be used to compensate communities and institutions adversely affected by such actions and to pay for rehabilitation. This is the application of the principle of polluter must pay.

- The ANC would put in place comprehensive legislation on environmental management and protection. Such legislation would seek to address and make provision for pertinent environmental issues including: environmental impact assessments; resource management and protection; environmental monitoring; prevention and elimination of environmental pollution and damage to ecosystems.



Max Sisulu ... Environment worse off  
Picture: GISELE WULFSOHN

Among the problems of industrial development and the environment are that industry provides great impetus and drive towards growth and development of the country. Yet it is also a source for some of the most serious environmental problems in the land, especially pollution. Atmospheric pollution, perhaps among the highest in the world, is caused by the enormous discharges of vapours and gases from processes like oil refining (sulphur dioxide) and thermal electricity generation.

Other special environmental pollution problems affecting the urban areas include problems of disposal of solid waste, industrial noise and smog — the latter being peculiar to the townships where people rely on coal and kerosene/paraffin for their domestic fuel energy.

ANC believes the issue of pollution is a complex one, requiring serious comprehensive measures (laws, regulations, structures, public education and awareness building) to be put in place for environmental management and control of industrial pollution.

In developing its policy on environmental pollution the ANC will be guided by the principle of seeking appropriate means of introducing environmental management into industrial development so that technological innovations address also sources of

pollution, its prevention and control. To reflect this concern with industrial pollution, various incentives will be explored to reward industrialists who develop environmentally sound technologies.

The ANC's position is that the issue of air pollution in the townships is rooted in apartheid and its inevitable corollary, black poverty, which creates townships where there is no option for pollution-free domestic fuel other than the reliance on coal-burning stoves. Pollution in the black townships has therefore first to be tackled through dismantling apartheid to create necessary conditions for uprooting poverty.

On the issue of toxic wastes, the ANC will associate itself with international initiatives to regulate the disposal, dumping, recycling and transboundary movement of toxic wastes. In this regard, an ANC government would seek to be a signatory to the Basel (Switzerland) Convention for Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal.

Overuse of pesticides and herbicides, coupled with lack of control on their chemical content, has polluted water, and has contributed to damage of the ecology, besides creating hazards for human health and animals, as reported in the Natal Midlands in recent months.

Furthermore, intensive use of fertilisers and pesticides particularly on white-owned farms is likely to have polluted ground water with nitrate accumulation. In developed countries like North America and West Europe which have high applications of chemical fertilisers like in South Africa, loss of soil productivity has been detected.


The increased pressure on land for human settlement and for agricultural production is likely to limit land availability for wildlife conservation and its use for major economic activities like tourism.

Conflicts of these land-use requirements lead to such aberrations as poaching. Yet, in many ecological zones in South Africa, wildlife management and conservation offers the only ideal balance between human economic activity through tourism and environmental conservation.

There is a need, therefore, to establish an optimal balance between devoting such lands to wildlife and meeting the requirements for human settlement and sustenance.

The ANC views wildlife as a national resource and, accordingly, its policy will put emphasis in state assistance to communi-

# Under pressure but Mangope is still defiant

W/Mail 16/11 - 22/11/90  


**L**UCAS MANGOPE may have finally joined the ranks of Lennox Sebe and the Matanzimas. On Monday, in the midst of a stayaway, the Bophuthatswana leader trumped up charges of an assassination attempt, ordered a clampdown that has resulted in over 50 detentions, and left for Germany on a "diplomatic mission".

Confused cabinet ministers have been left to clean up the mess. This includes the order to hang a prisoner on death row on Tuesday without granting an appeal — even though the homeland has declared a moratorium on the death penalty while a Legal Commission reviews it.

Mangope has rejected the advice of South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who has been trying behind the scenes to set up a meeting between the homeland leader and Nelson Mandela. At Mandela's request, the South African government asked Mangope last week to agree to a meeting that would work towards ending the State of Emergency, ensuring freedom of expression, unbanning political parties and scrapping the homeland's Internal Security Act.

In a message to Mangope via the South African ambassador to Bophuthatswana, Botha said Mandela's requests were reasonable and followed "the same line as the Grootte Schuur Minute and the Pretoria Minute".

Mangope responded that Botha should "arrange as a matter of urgency" such a meeting — but not until Mandela committed in writing that the ANC did not have a policy to render Bophuthatswana ungovernable, and that it was not attempting to overthrow the government of Bophuthatswana "by unconstitutional means".

The secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions' Northern Transvaal regional, Donsie Khumalo, admits that one of the purposes of Monday's stayaway was "to discourage foreign investors by showing that we do have the power to make Bophuthatswana ungovernable". However, the ANC has consistently claimed that it is only using above-ground, constitutional means to realise its aim of reincorporating Bophuthatswana into South Africa. These means include the establishment of ANC branches, which is legal, since the ANC is not banned in the homeland.

The ANC has also countered with a long list of accusations against the Mangope regime, including claims that Bophuthatswana authorities deny ANC branches the right to hold meetings, break up meetings, attack ANC supporters and detain them.

These charges have been made regularly by the ANC, and were repeated, with examples, in a statement on Monday. In a remarkable two-step, Mangope appeared to be opening the doors to negotiation, and then nipped any such possibility in the bud by announcing an assassination attempt, detaining dozens of ANC activists, and forcing many more into hiding.

The government of Bophuthatswana has been unable to substantiate the assassination accusation with any evidence. "Of course we cannot give the evidence to the press," said Police Department Colonel David George, "we would be relinquishing privileged information and compromising our case when we bring it to court."

And in a media blitz on Bop-TV, the government repeatedly claims that it is acting "in the interests of democracy" and that it is "certain elements" of the ANC that are being subversive. While Education Minister Clement Sehume emphasised, after Mangope's departure, that the ANC was still legal in Bophuthatswana and the clampdown's purpose was not to squash opposition, it is clear that Mangope sees any ANC organisation as a threat to his life. In his speech on Monday he said "the ANC has been founding branch organisations in Bophuthatswana which are supporting all these (subversive) actions".

Mangope is right: even if there was not an assassination attempt, the formation of a progressive grassroots network in Bophuthatswana must lead to the homeland leader's decline. And, according to Bophuthatswana legislation, such an agenda is by definition subversive.

Where does this leave the liberation movement? Michael Molefe, convener of the ANC Bophuthatswana Consultative Forum (which is composed of representatives of the ANC's branches in the homeland) said the strategy evolved on a Monday meeting between the forum and members of the ANC's national executive committee, including secretary-general Alfred Nzo. "Our first

Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope has two choices: to stay and fight or to recognise the growing support for the African National Congress and sit down and talk. He has done neither.

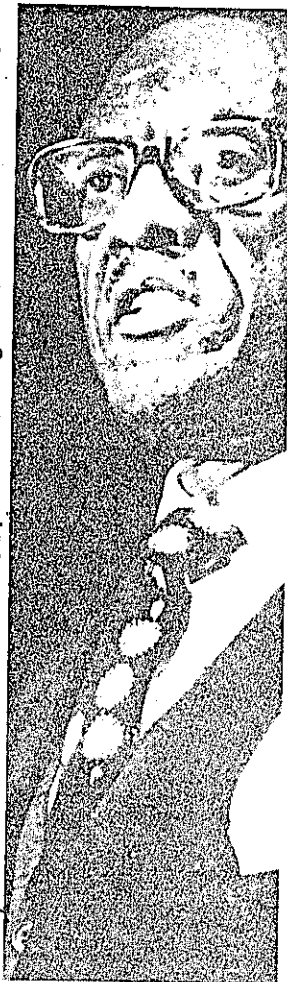
By MARK GEVISSER

aim is to address the narrow issue of repression. We have agreed that ANC leaders will not meet Mangope until the State of Emergency has been repealed and political meetings no longer require official permission. Then, once there is freedom of political association, we can have high-level talks about larger issues like a referendum."

With this decision, the ANC has made a shift in policy: by defining reincorporation as a long-term, rather than an urgent goal, it is acknowledging the reality of Bophuthatswana: the homeland exists, and before it can be done away with, the safety and freedom of its subjects must be guaranteed.

The ANC is also re-emphasising its willingness to negotiate with a regime that does have real power. Meanwhile, progressive forces will continue to precipitate change by wielding the stick of mass action. Monday's stayaway was the first strike in a national campaign being mounted by Cosatu. Having initiated Monday's stayaway, the federation is very much at the forefront of applying pressure on Bophuthatswana.

One of the principal demands of the stayaway was the repeal of the homeland's Industrial Conciliation Act, which forbids "foreign" unions from operating within Bophuthatswana and outlaws any strike action. In preparation for the stayaway, the homeland's Department of Manpower attempted a counter-offensive last week, on one hand imploring employers to forbid the stayaway and on the other threatening



Lucas Mangope ... Ignoring advice

workers with loss of jobs, hunger and legal retribution.

Thinly veiled threats against employers were made at meetings called by Bophuthatswana police: all businesses in Thaba Nchu were required, for example, to attend a meeting at which a Major AJF Boetipi said that "because of the current security situation within our borders, we will be paying particular attention to the industrialists' role vis-a-vis Cosatu, the ANC, and the Pan-Africanist Congress".

Minister of Manpower Simon Seodi said in a pamphlet: "I would like to make our workers aware that the impending Cosatu-driven stayaway is nothing else but a political tactic used by Cosatu which puts jobs of workers of this country in jeopardy". Telling workers that they will be fired if they stay away, it ends with the plea, "Please think before you leap! Do not heed foreign organisations who do not operate in your interest!"

The stayaway was successful and, more significantly, not one worker has been laid off: faced with the ire of the authorities on one hand and the threat of industrial instability on the other, business chose to respect the stayaway.

Cosatu will follow through with an agenda including a consumer boycott of businesses owned by members of the Bophuthatswana government, and a campaign to get South African businesses to withdraw from the homeland.

"Sanctions were successful in moving South Africa towards change," said Khumalo, "so we must assume they would be successful in Bophuthatswana too."

Pressure to apply sanctions will be placed not only on industry but on the homeland's lifeline: the South African government which gives millions of rands a year towards Bophuthatswana's development.

The news of this week's 50 detentions has already been splashed across the world press, a sobering counter to President FW de Klerk's rising international currency. And even if Botha is trying, behind the scenes, to arrange talks between Mangope and the ANC, both he and the president remain publicly silent.

"If the De Klerk regime is serious about transforming this society into a democracy," said Brian Currin, national chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, "it must take action against Bophuthatswana". Currin's organisation has called for government sanctions of the homeland. "Bophuthatswana is proving to be a thorn in the side of change, a hurdle to successful negotiations."

Lawyer are working to get the 50 detainees freed.

In Mafikeng, an urgent application has been made for the release of three detainees who are ill. One of them, Mangel Panchia, a diabetic, was released last night. But Laura Taylor, who has an acute case of Myalgic Encephalomyelitis, is still in detention.

"They might not have their family doctors," said Colonel David George, "but they are getting medical care."

# ANC to march in Cape city centre

By GLENDA DANIELS: Cape Town  
A MAJOR campaign aimed at "creating conditions for the rapid removal of apartheid restrictions and unjust laws" is being launched by the African National Congress in the Western Cape.

employers to negotiate in good faith with unions and to resolve current disputes; the immediate scapping of undemocratic town councils and management committees; and the demand for a constituent assembly.

This week thousands of pamphlets were distributed in the Cape calling on people to join a march in the city centre tomorrow. The pamphlet reads: "It is nearly the end of 1990. Since February 2 we have heard plenty of sweet promises from FW de Klerk and the Nats. But ask yourself — has your life really changed?"

A rent boycott and possible stay-away are presently being discussed in all structures of the ANC-COSATU-SACP-UDF alliance and mandates will be taken on these actions shortly.

The ANC has arranged with the railways to provide free transport and permission has been applied for.

The ANC said in a statement this week there was a growing feeling that the terms and spirit of the Pretoria Minute were being interpreted to narrow, short-term political advantage by the government, and that "while the ANC remains resolutely committed to the negotiation process, the responses of those with power leave many wondering what has changed."

The campaign is being run under the banner of "Peace Not Promises: Real Change Now".

"The government must stop using our comrades as pawns or hostages to try and force us into political positions on terms favourable to them and determined unilaterally."

Its demands are: The immediate release of political prisoners and the return of exiles; an end to spiralling prices on basic commodities; for em-

THE END

# ANC hits back after govt attack

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC yesterday hit back at a sharp attack on their Western Cape "mass mobilisation" campaign by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, who described it as a "ploy to derail negotiations".

The campaign began yesterday in Guguletu and includes a march in Cape Town tomorrow.

Regional ANC press secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said the ANC was committed to negotiations as a "site of struggle" but would "never surrender our contact with grassroots membership".

ANC head office spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus accused Mr Coetsee and "other ministers" of being "fundamentally undemocratic".

Mr Coetsee accused the regional ANC of "not being close to the ANC leadership", saying they did not know that the ANC-government working group on indemnity and prisoner releases had completed its work and that mechanisms to carry this out were "already in motion".

● Cape Town City Council was trying to contact the ANC late yesterday to insist that tomorrow's march begin in Kaizergracht Street and not on the Grand Parade as advertised in ANC pamphlets.

● UDF executive member Mr Willie Hofmeyr said last night that marshals would redirect people from the Grand Parade to Kaizergracht tomorrow.

# Khayelitsha workers call for security

Staff Reporter

SEVERAL employees of the Lingeletu West Town Council in Khayelitsha yesterday threatened to resign unless given better security after Tuesday's petrol-bomb attack which left three of their colleagues seriously burnt.

They spent several hours with their town clerk, Mr Graham Lawrence, yesterday morning.

The attack on a minibus taking nine workers home left three clerks, Miss Edith Matshoba, Mr George Malondo and Mr Lewis Kula, seriously burnt.

All three were still in a "stable" condition in Woodstock Hospital last night.

Mr Lawrence said security would immediately be stepped up. But, he said, this sort of thing could not be stopped "until the perpetrators realise that they are hurting innocent fellow residents".

Only electricity, water and night soil removal services were being provided in Khayelitsha at present, he said.



**ON THE MARCH . . .** Guguletu and Nyanga residents march to the Ikapa Town Council offices yesterday.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

ANC Twp 16/11/90 11A

## 2 000 in Gugs march

Staff Reporter

ANC leaders last night demanded the resignation of community councillors.

They handed a letter with their demands to Mr Kobus Olivier, chief executive officer of the Ikapa Town Council.

About 2000 people carrying banners marched from the Guguletu shopping centre along the NY1 to the Ikapa Town Council offices in Nyanga at 5pm.

They were led by regional ANC and UDF executive members, including Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Bulelani Ngucke, Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Willie Hofmeyr and Mr Graham Bloch.

Mr Ngucke said: "The ANC and all people demand the immediate resignation of all councillors, so that there will be peace in the townships. There will not be peace until they have resigned."

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hear the result proper-

Mr Fish said in his evi-  
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Mr Mandela



Dr Naude

# Mandela accuses FW in row over demos

App Times 16/11/90

117

**Own Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela last night accused President FW de Klerk and his government of trying to prepare public opinion for a "violation" of civil rights.

Speaking to the Foreign Correspondents' Association, Mr Mandela hit at government criticism of the ANC's strategy of mass demonstrations.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold meetings, processions and stage mass demonstrations.

"After close on three decades during which these rights were trampled underfoot by the SA state, there are signs that De Klerk and his colleagues are attempting to prepare public opinion for their violation."

Mr Mandela said it was accepted that extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activities constituted an interface that was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

As the rift between the government and the ANC widened, Dr Beyers Naude, former

secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday warned of serious consequences for South Africa if it was not resolved.

He referred to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's statement that the ANC's Western Cape "mass mobilisation" campaign seemed to "be a ploy to derail negotiations".

He said the impasse showed an "alarming lack of communication or difference in understanding between the government and the ANC".

He was "especially concerned" about the mood among young unemployed blacks, many of whom believed meaningful change was "deliberately being blocked".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the government should allow demonstrations. When police kept a low profile, they nearly always went off without problems.

"Then the onus is on the organisations to ensure that they enjoy their democratic right without encroaching on the rights of others," he said.

● ANC hits back — Page 2

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By CARMEL RICKARD

THE African National Congress Southern Natal regional conference this weekend could be decisive on whether high-level talks with Inkatha should continue.

A delegation from the ANC's National Executive Committee has been holding regular meetings with a senior Inkatha leaders for some months.

But talks scheduled for last week were called off by the ANC without explanation.

This week Southern Natal ANC official Sbu Ndebele said it had been decided to postpone the talks to a date still to be announced.

The decision had been taken to allow members of the NEC delegation to acquaint themselves with the situation on the ground, and to investigate violence which was beginning to erupt in the Midlands and at Bruntville outside Mooi River, where 16 people have died in two major incidents.

Although Ndebele and others believe the talks will go ahead, it is understood strong objections are coming from the Midlands region under the

w/Mail 16/11 - 22/11/90

# Natal peace talks in jeopardy after attacks on leaders

ANC's Harry Gwala.

A number of attacks on high profile members on both sides in the conflict over the last three weeks indicates that talks are badly needed, but also puts them in jeopardy.

On October 30, Arnold Lombo, who chaired the Mvundlweni branch of Inkatha, was gunned down in the Pietermaritzburg city centre furniture store where he worked.

Two days later another prominent Inkatha member, Lancelot Ntombela, was seriously hurt when a grenade thrown into his car exploded under the driver's seat.

Last Sunday Sigubudu Chiya, who chairs the ANC branch at the SJ Smith hostel in Lamontville, was taken into the middle of the stadium during an Inkatha meeting at the hostel.

There he was repeatedly stabbed in the head by armed men from the Inkatha-dominated area of Lindelani.

An official Inkatha statement acknowledges that Chiya was attacked, but claimed he was wearing an ANC T-shirt which provoked the crowd.

"This event should be judged against the background that United Democratic Front/ANC youths have made it a culture that wearing anything with co-

lours of an opposing political group is a crime worth life.

"No member of Inkatha would dare to wear Inkatha colours anywhere near an ANC function or in an area dominated by ANC comrades and hope to get away alive.

"Furthermore Chiya, as a leader of another organisation, should have informed local Inkatha leaders of his intention to attend an Inkatha meeting.

"In this way his attendance would have been known, Inkatha leaders would have taken a special interest in protecting him, and the whole incident would have been avoided.

"While the incident is regrettable, it should be noted that Chiya, as an ANC leader, was negligent and, in the prevailing circumstances, his actions could be regarded as provocative."

According to Inkatha, its members were attacked after the hostel meeting.

ANC official Ndebele, who listed other attacks on ANC members over the past few weeks, commented that it was precisely because the fighting was continuing that the talks needed to go on.

## Rifts threaten Saccawu again

By DREW FORREST

POLITICAL rifts are again threatening unity within the split-prone SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, following the release of controversial resolutions by the union's largest branch.

In a direct challenge to Saccawu's national leadership and Cosatu, to which the union is affiliated, the 50 000-strong Johannesburg branch attacks Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and SA Communist Party.

In a resolution adopted at a branch congress last Sunday, it argues that the alliance has not been canvassed within Saccawu and should not exclude other "progressive organisations" such as the PAC, Azapo and Wosa, a Trotskyite grouping.

From a hard-line socialist position, it also lambastes the ANC's proposals of a mixed economy as "another name for a capitalist economy".

The branch calls on Saccawu delegates to Cosatu structures to "clarify the nature of the tripartite alliance and discuss the reasons why other progressive organisations have been excluded".

Saccawu was formed a year ago from politically warring factions which split its predecessor, Ccawusa. The Johannesburg branch was identified as "workerist", but in fact contained a range of anti-ANC elements of Africanist, Trotskyite and Black Consciousness persuasions.

This week Saccawu's acting general secretary, Papi Kganare, warned that the actions of the Johannesburg branch might presage another split. The union's national executive committee would meet on November 23 to consider how to handle the matter.

"I have no problem with the resolutions, if they were reached democratically. But the proper thing would have been to raise them in the structures of the union before rushing to the press," he said.

"My fear is that this could harden attitudes in other branches. Once again, people may start retreating behind ideological barricades."

# Develop but do not destroy the environment

W/M/eng 16/11/90 22/11/90  
11A  
● From PAGE 30

ties in the management of wildlife resources, particularly in rural areas where wildlife utilisation on a sustainable basis represents a significant and viable land-use option. The ANC is in agreement with the policy approach of some of the neighbouring states which advocates full community participation in management of wildlife resources and the economic benefits flowing from this resource.

The ANC will therefore explore to the fullest the various modalities for rural development projects in these regions based on controlled rational harvesting of wildlife for supply of raw materials (ivory, skins) to be fabricated into finished products in rural-cottage-co-operative industries.

South Africa's marine resources are enormous, surrounded as we are by two major oceans (the Indian and the Atlantic) with extensive fish resources. But, like in many parts of Africa, the high pollution levels and degradation of coastal ecosystems threaten the life-support capacities of the oceans and undermine their role in the food chain.

The problem may be expected to be particularly acute around the highly populated and industrialised coastal zones. More than three-quarters of marine pollution is estimated to come from land-based sources, via rivers and direct discharges. The rest comes from shipping, dumping and oil production. The environmental challenge

here is to control and decrease marine pollution and establish regimes of environmental management of the oceans and coastal regions around South Africa.

A post-apartheid government would need to institute policies and measures aimed at preventing practices harmful to marine ecosystems. Such policies would include:

- Control of the discharge of industrial effluents and sewage
- Prohibition of dumping wastes, including hazardous and radioactive materials as well as disposal of hazardous residues and wastes from ships
- Regulations regarding spills from tankers and off-shore platforms
- Promotion of land-based technology for disposal of hazardous wastes.

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## ANC to host talks on science policy

ALAN FINE

11A

THE ANC is hosting a major conference on a future science and technology policy, with private and public sector and international specialists, including a World Bank senior consultant, taking part.

Convenor Ania Grobicki said about 150 people were expected at the November 24 conference at Wits University.

Grobicki said the private and public sectors, particularly Eskom, had been trying to discuss the subject of a future technology policy with the ANC and the conference was aimed at laying the groundwork for continued talks. *BIDW 16/11/90*

World Bank official Peter Glenshaw, an ex-South African, is attending in his personal capacity. However, it is understood the bank backed his attendance.

Jean Leger, of the ANC's science and technology group, said the conference would begin examining options including the question of whether the state should develop a technology policy or whether this should be left to the market.

Leaders of workshop discussions will include Eskom corporate strategy manager Jaap van Deventer; UCT Energy Research Institute's Prof Anton Eberhard; CSIR president-elect Brian Clarke; patent attorney Chris de Villiers; Foundation for Research and Development president Reinhard Arndt; the US Information Service's Henk Muller; and a German Ministry for Research and Technology senior official, Prof Pornschlegel.

# PAC founder back to form 'genuine' party

A FOUNDER member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr A B Ngcobo, has returned to South Africa from exile to try to re-launch the "genuine" PAC.

Ngcobo was elected treasurer general of the PAC at elections held in Johannesburg on April 6 1959. This put him number three in the hierarchy behind Mr Robert Sobukwe and Mr PK Leballo, he said at a Press conference in Durban on Tuesday.

The PAC was banned in April 1960.

Ngcobo said the strain of PAC, he represented wanted other persuasions that had emerged in the PAC while it was banned and which were outside of its philosophies to now dissolve and team up with the founders who still advocated African nationalism, Africanism and pan-Africanism.

Ngcobo was born in Melmoth. He is a gradu-

ate of the University of Natal, Durban, and of London University. In January he visited South Africa on a British passport, and returned to South Africa in September. He has taken leave from his job as an inspector with the Inner London Education Authority to pursue his political work in South Africa.

## Action

"I have come to re-activate the original Sobukwe PAC and to promote the ideology under which it was founded and organised," Ngcobo said.

The original PAC he represented had nothing to do with Mr Benny Alexander's grouping, Ngcobo said, and was not a Marxist-Leninist orientated organisation.

He is not going to the PAC congress in Johannesburg next month. The national executive he represented had been elected by the people of South Africa and was organising its own conference later.

As founders of the movement, his group would go into talks with the Government, because there was a time to talk and a time to fight, and because they believed people should engage in negotiation.

Ngcobo said he had attended an Inkatha peace march and meetings in recent weeks. The PAC's

relationship with Inkatha had always been good, and he hoped it would improve. He has met Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi since he has been back.

"African unity is important in itself. It would be a great step towards achieving African unity if the PAC and Inkatha united."

Ngcobo said his grouping had formed branches in Lindaleni, Kwamashu, Umlazi, Ermelo and Witbank. They were trying to trace people who were active in the PAC at the time it was banned and were pushing the philosophies the PAC advocated in 1959.

Ngcobo is not too sure when he and his family will return to South Africa permanently. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

## Women's council will seek Bill of Rights

The National Council of Women of South Africa will meet the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in Pretoria next Tuesday, in response to the invitation by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, for all interested bodies to take part in the constitutional negotiation process. *Sowetan 16/11/90*

NCWSA has welcomed this opportunity and will reiterate its policy based "on the unshakeable premises that South Africa is one country and one people, that the new constitution should include a Bill of Rights which must be justiciable, and that all forms of discrimination based on sex, race or creed be abolished".

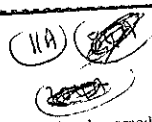
The delegation will also suggest strategies on how NCWSA, together with other women's organisations, could ensure the full participation of women at all levels of the negotiation process.

In the absence of the national president, Mrs Heather Tracey, the delegation will be led by the immediate past president of NCWSA, Mrs Catherine Schneider. It will include members of the national executive committee and the presidents of the Transvaal branches.

*Sapa*

## MAKE YOUR





# ANC's mobilisation plan attacked

Sowetan 14/11/80

The Government has launched a concerted attack on the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, a major point of disagreement currently being discussed in the joint Government/ANC working group on the ANC's decision to suspend armed activities.

Sharp differences have emerged, with the Government claiming that

the mass mobilisation campaign is part of the armed struggle - which the ANC has already agreed to suspend.

The ANC insists that the campaign is a separate issue and that it is justified in continuing with it as long as blacks lack the vote.

The issue is expected to be high on the agenda of the working group's next meeting in Pretoria today.

### Campaign

Over the past few days three senior Cabinet ministers have attacked the mass mobilisation campaign on the grounds

that it is a stumbling block to negotiations.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan raised the issue on Tuesday night. Foreign Minister Pik botha did so similar words in Prague, Czechoslovakia and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee followed up the attack in a strong statement on Wednesday night.

Directing his fire at a plan by the Western Cape branch of the ANC for a mass mobilisation campaign, Coetsee said it seemed to be a "ploy to derail negotiations."

He was reacting to ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Trevor Manuel who announced two marches in Cape Town and called on the Government to stop using ANC political prisoners and exiles as "pawns or hostages to try to force us into political positions on terms favourable to them."

### Release

He was referring to the Government's decision to link the release of prisoners and return of exiles, to the progress made by the armed struggle working group.

Coetsee said it was clear that Manuel's announcement had been made by people who are "not close to the ANC leadership."

He said the ANC's national executive com-

mittee had already agreed to to the plan for the release of ANC prisoners and return of exiles.

Botha and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo have also become locked in a war of words over the issue.

Botha attacked Mr Slovo accusing him of breaching the terms of the Pretoria Minute by advocating continued campaigns of mass mobilisation.

Slovo retorted by saying Mr Botha was either making political capital or was too "drowsy" to absorb the contents of the Pretoria Minute.

### Rejected

He said that the ANC delegation to the Pretoria summit had specifically rejected the attempt by the Government delegation to "inhibit mass action by disenfranchised blacks."

He also denied that the ANC had agreed to assist in identifying arms caches or to hand over its weaponry.

The armed struggle working group has apparently reached deadlock on the issue of whether the ANC may continue to recruit and train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These questions are expected to be discussed by President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela when they meet on November 27.

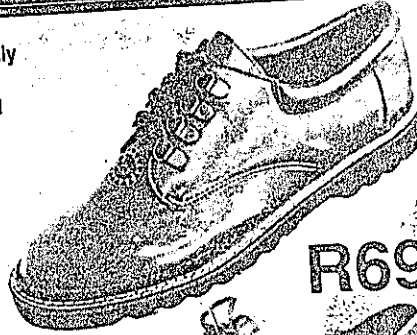
The mass mobilisation issue may also have to be referred to them if the working group fails to resolve it. - Sowetan Correspondent

## ALLAN EDWARDS

177 BREE STREET JOHANNESBURG  
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Colours:  
BLACK and  
BROWN

Ref.  
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Styled in Italy  
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RED,  
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# Maggie anxious over the ANC, says Buthelezi

Argus 16/11/90/114 (11/16)

The Argus Foreign Service  
LONDON. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher for an hour here in what could be one of her last meetings as Prime Minister.

She broke from the fight to retain her leadership to probe the Inkatha leader on developments in South Africa.

He said she had expressed anxiety on the prospects of negotiations being delayed because, as he put it, "the ANC still has to put its house in order".

Chief Buthelezi said she thought South Africa's prospects seemed much better than a year ago.

## PRAISED VISION

However, the pack of British pressmen outside 10 Downing Street were more interested in Mrs Thatcher's morale as she faces Mr Michael Heseltine's leadership challenge. "A lesser person would be wilting, but she just said: 'In politics one must expect this type of thing and not be dismayed,'" Chief Buthelezi said.

A Downing Street spokesman said Mrs Thatcher had expressed the hope that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela would get together soon and "praised Chief Buthelezi's vision of a multiparty democratic society".

The chief said he hoped to see Mr Mandela soon after returning to South Africa "some time this weekend".

**DOWNING STREET MEETING:** Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher after their meeting at No 10 Downing Street, London yesterday.

Iraq ready to talk if US drops demand

C



# ANC scaring off capital — banker

Cap Tooks 17/11/90  
Own Correspondent 11A

LONDON. — Another prominent South African businessman has warned that as long as the ANC continues to advocate nationalisation and wealth redistribution, overseas investors will avoid the country.

In a wide-ranging interview, published as an advertisement in yesterday's Financial Times, Mr Barry Swart, managing director of First National Bank, also expressed optimism that a future government, composed of "a series of alliances", would be beneficial to South Africa.

While he did not foresee new IMF loans in the near future, he was optimistic that fresh investment from the UK, Germany and Switzerland would be forthcoming in the "not-too-distant future".

"In order to attract foreign capital, South Africa must create an environment conducive to foreign investment. There are many ways of doing so. And there are many traps to avoid.

"Overseas investors will avoid South Africa for as long as the ANC continues to advocate nationalisation and wealth redistribution.

Mr Swart said the ANC was "trying to dominate other black parties".

# Atteridgeville council resigns

CMT 7/15  
17/11/90  
114

JOHANNESBURG. — The Atteridgeville Town Council's remaining nine councillors have handed in their resignations.

Thursday's dramatic announcement of resignations included those of the mayor, Mr Velaphi Mathebula. The council said the resignations resulted from intimidation by residents.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration said yesterday that it regretted the resignations, which a spokesman also attributed to intimidation.

The resignations came at a time when certain elements were involved in breaking down local authorities, he charged.

Asked whether the TPA would appoint an administrator to take over the administration of Atteridgeville, he said: "That is what we normally do ... but wait for a full statement."

The township's ANC branch hailed the resignations, inviting the resigned

councillors to join extra-parliamentary organisations in their "struggle against apartheid structures".

The ANC branch said it rejected out of hand allegations by the TPA and the resigned council that the resignation came as result of intimidation by certain elements.

"The resignation is a result of the ethnic approach and financial unviability of black local authorities," a spokesman said.

● The Mamelodi Civic Association congratulated the Pretoria township's Residents' Organisation and the community township for forcing the council to resign.

A police spokesman said security forces would not be withdrawn and the declaration of Atteridgeville as an unrest area would not be withdrawn until the situation had returned to normal. — Sapa

# FIRE, SAYS WINNIE

*Cross*

~~2/2~~ ~~2/2~~ 11A 18/10/90

WE'LL OPEN

ANC commanders will listen for the order to open fire if the government misbehaves, ANC head of social welfare Winnie Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking in Atteridgeville near Pretoria, she addressed several thousand people at a funeral service for youths who died during police action in recent unrest sparked by the disconnection of the township's electricity. The town council also collapsed last week.

Mandela said: "We still live in a country where the government thinks it is justifiable to kill people just because they allegedly reconnected electricity so they could eat and wash."

The ANC would not like to go back to the armed struggle, but that was up to the government.

"If they behave, peace will reign. If they misbehave, our commanders have... dug the trenches. They are standing to attention at bases and they will listen for the next order to fire.

"Our patience is not endless and the government must take note."

Mandela said the PWV region of the ANC had asked her to remind residents to create defence strategies. The local ANC branch would supply details, she said.

"Any agency which enters your township under the pretext of bringing peace when they want to create war must meet with the full might of the people."

Police set up a roadblock at the main entrance to Atteridgeville yesterday, but access to the stadium, where the funeral service was held, was exclusively controlled by youths in ANC colours.

## 'Our patience is not endless'

Mandela said Umkhonto weSizwe could not be disbanded because, in view of government's "brutal and dishonest record, how can we throw away our spears and shields, Umkhonto we Sizwe?"

She added: "If they continue with their unprovoked attacks such as the one I personally experienced here in Atteridgeville on Monday, we shall react.

"On Monday we were teargassed for no reason at all."

She said police denied this incident and were "chronic and compulsive liars".

"De Klerk and Malan tell us to stop mass action. The government cannot teach us how to fight against them and how to fight apartheid."

Turning to the detention of ANC members in Bophuthatswana, she said

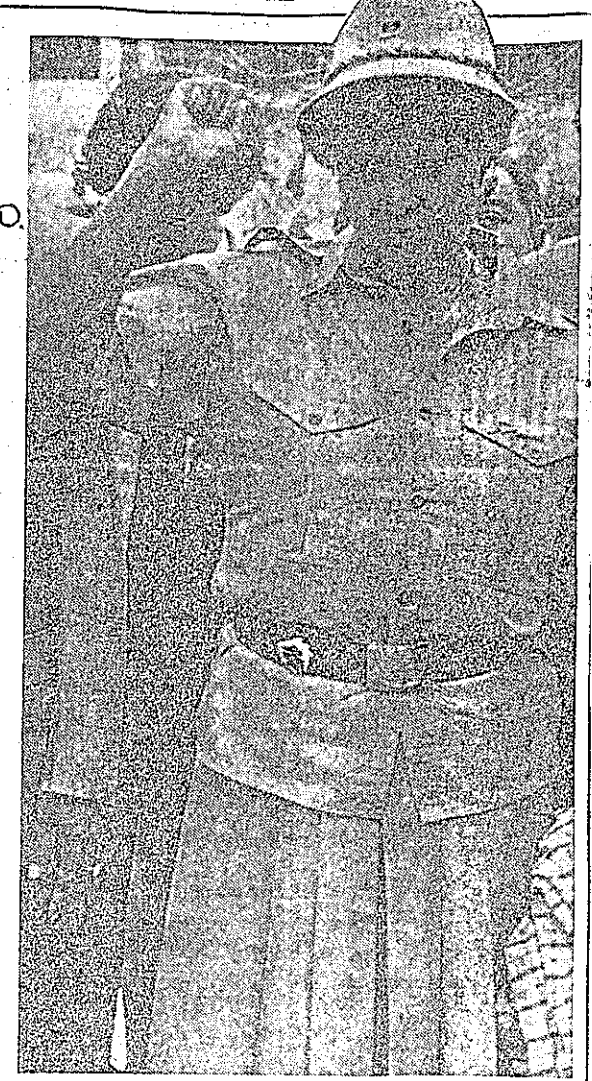
the ANC would crush President Lucas Mangope politically.

It was "absolute nonsense" that the ANC had planned to kill him.

"It is apartheid we want to kill, not Lucas Mangope. Or is Mangope the same thing as apartheid?"

The service was held for Lucky Phahlane and Prince Makhoba, plus George Tatane, who died in Lusaka. - Sapa

Fiery orator... Winnie Mandela, who says ANC commanders are ready to spring into action.



## Tambo in Ghana for talks

<sup>3 Times 18/1/70</sup>  
ANC president Oliver Tambo arrived in Accra yesterday on a two-day visit to Ghana, where he will hold talks with head of state Jerry Rawlings on developments in SA. Mr Tambo arrived from Nigeria, where he had talks with President Ibrahim Babangida. (11A)

# Mandela lashes out

**Sunday Times Reporter**  
S/Times 18/11/90  
ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela denounced the Sunday Times's editorial criticism of his part in the ANC's mass mobilisation call when he addressed a media dinner in Johannesburg this week.

The editorial criticised Mr Mandela for endorsing a call by Communist Party leader Moses Mayekiso for a campaign of mass action.

Referring to the editor of the Sunday Times by name, Mr Mandela countered that there was "no way a Ken Owen can hope to secure his rights by assisting the government to violate mine".

## Central

Mr Mandela also told the Foreign Correspondents' Association:

"While the linkages between freedom of speech and the media are seen clearly by most journalists, the same cannot be said of the right of the people to assemble, hold meetings, processions, public manifestations and stage mass demonstrations."

He added that democracy meant nothing more or less than "government of the people, by the people, for the people".

Mr Mandela said that, since its inauguration, the ANC had sought to entrench democracy and democratic values in the South African body politic.

"Freedom of the Press evolves as one of the central planks of a democratic dispensation because it is so closely related to freedom of speech," he added.



# Youths rejoice at Imbali truce

PROSPECTS of peace between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC at Imbali near Maritzburg have moved a step closer after a peace pact was reached by the youths of the two organisations in the area.

Youths from both parties informally agreed to lay down arms and stop the fighting.

KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works and leader of Inkatha in the area, Velaphi Ndlovu, expressed his appreciation of the move by the youths.

He appealed to parents to co-operate.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mandla Borgat Ndlovu, also expressed appreciation of the action.

The area has been plagued by violence since 1985.

Hundreds of people have been killed and hundreds more injured and left homeless in clashes between opposing factions.

This weekend, celebrations are transforming the formerly strife-torn streets, at the very places that have been "no-go areas" for opposing factions.

Soccer matches have been planned for today as part of the celebrations.

Meanwhile a meeting of all the area's residents is planned to endorse the initiatives. - Sapa.

# Zuma to lead ANC in S Natal

By S'BU MNGADI

JACOB Zuma, the ANC's military intelligence chief, is the new leader of the organisation in southern Natal.

Most of the 58 regions in the area voted for him at the southern Natal congress yesterday.

The chairman and other members of the regional executive committee will be elected at the end of the congress today.

About 500 delegates, representing 20 000 members, converged at the University of Natal for the organisation's first conference in the province in 31 years.

Zuma, 48, a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) and fighter for all 29 years of Umkhonto weSizwe's armed struggle, has recently been playing a behind-the-scenes role as peacemaker in current talks between his organisation and Inkatha.

His counterparts in the government-ANC Joint Working Committee on Negotiations - he heads the ANC delegation - and in Inkatha, praise him as an astute diplomat.

Even KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is said to be describing him in glowing terms.

In a hardline keynote address yesterday, ANC NEC member Steve Tshwete called for "discipline and militancy" - adding there was no contradiction between the two.

He said the fact the ANC was negotiating with the regime had brought no reconciliation between them.

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# Showdown on ceasefire

THE dispute about the interpretation of the ceasefire agreement between the government and ANC will top the agenda when President F W de Klerk meets Nelson Mandela on November 27.

The government's view is that the ANC's style of "mass mobilisation", which includes the recruitment and deployment of Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas, is included in the "related activities" the ANC undertook to suspend in terms of the Pretoria Minute of August 6.

The ANC holds that mass mobilisation is its democratic right while its followers do not have the vote.

The row has stalled the work of the ANC-government working group, whose task it is to pave the way to constitutional negotiations,

By **LESTER VENTER**  
Political Correspondent

senior government sources said this weekend.

A report by the working group due on September 15 — has not yet been finalised.

A government source close to the negotiations said this week the government did not object to meetings and rallies.

## Violence

But it ruled out boycotts, stayaways and strikes because of the violence and intimidation that invariably accompanied them.

The armed struggle and mass mobilisation could be seen as "two facets of the same thing", said the government source.

Amid other indications of a hardening government

attitude, the source said: "We are presently defining areas of no compromise."

Violence would be central to these.

"This is the watershed point," the source said.

This week several senior government Ministers strongly criticised the ANC's mass mobilisation and the delaying of an agreement on negotiations.

They included President De Klerk, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

It is believed the government is planning a "think tank" early next month with its seven-member Ministers' Committee on Negotiations.

Its purpose will be to discuss initiatives the government can take to get negotiations started and to consolidate the international acclaim it has received for its reforms.

It will also assess the outcome of the ANC's consultative conference on December 16.



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c/ Area 18/11/77

# Zuma to lead ANC in S Natal

(11A)  
(24)

By S'BU MNGADI

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# Mangope in clinic as Bop seethes

St Times 18/11/90

By JEREMY BROOKS, IVOR CREWS and DOMINIC JONES

PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope is in an exclusive German clinic this weekend as dissidents prepare for a massive protest meeting against his government tomorrow.

The ANC and the Bophuthatswana government exchanged insults this week after Bop security forces detained 48 ANC officials and supporters. The detentions followed Mr Mangope's disclosure of an alleged plan to assassinate him by "elements within the ANC".

## Sceptic

Official claims of the plot and of another — to kidnap his jet-setting son "Prince Eddie" — abound.

But the ANC and a close presidential aide — sent to retrieve Edward Mangope from New York, where he was living — deny such conspiracies exist. The Bop government, in turn, has provided scant detail about them.

This weekend it released

a statement saying it was considering joining negotiations and holding a referendum on Bophuthatswana's re-incorporation into South Africa.

The about-face was greeted with scepticism by ANC Mafikeng branch spokesman Job Mokgoro, who fled to Johannesburg after Monday's crack-down.

"While there is no doubt that this is a significant move, we cannot see how there can be a re-incorporation referendum if the Bophuthatswana government says it is going to retain its independent status," he said yesterday.

Bop's trade mission spokesman Anthony McCall-Judson in London said: "The President is on a brief holiday and cannot be disturbed."

He denied reports that Mr Mangope was staying at a "health farm".

"I can't tell you exactly where he is, but it's not a health farm. He needed some dental treatment, things like that to do with his health.

"Like any statesman, he is concerned about his health and likes to look after himself."

## Religious

The President favours a particular clinic in Germany, the Starnbergsee, which deals exclusively with the titled and wealthy. In two years, between 1987 and 1988 (before and after the abortive coup), he had 10 medical check-ups both at the Starnbergsee and Sandton clinics.

Apart from the concern about his health, the President also turned deeply religious after the coup, spending several hours a day in prayer by himself, says a former member of his inner circle.

Tomorrow he is scheduled to appear on the same platform as a senior ANC representative at a business symposium organised by the right-wing think-tank, the Hans Seidel Institute in Munich.

Also attending will be SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and an Inkatha representative.

In Johannesburg, the ANC branded Mr Mangope a "lonely old man hanging

desperately onto power as the world around him crumbles".

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said: "His old colleagues, the Sebes and the Matanzimas, are gone."

A number of activists who went into hiding after being warned about the Bop police raids, have now regrouped as the "Anti-Bophuthatswana Co-ordinating Committee".

Members met the ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, on Thursday.

# U-turn on referendum

Press 18/11/90

By CHARLES MOGALE and Sapa

# Bop

CONFUSION reigns in Bophuthatswana following the homeland government's about-turn on negotiations - the same week it cracked down on activists.

"Nobody knows that is happening, or what this government is up to," a Bop political observer said this week.

A statement released by the government late this week said Bop was considering joining negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa and would consider a referendum on reincorporation into South Africa.

The change came just weeks after the homeland's leader, Chief Lucas Mangope, emphasised he would not consider a referendum because the last elections had expressed the people's feelings adequately.

Mangope has been an arch-opponent of reincorporation and his cabinet ministers have repeatedly announced: "We were never a part of South Africa." The homeland's attempt to merge with Botswana was rebuffed.

Although Mangope himself has often pronounced his government as "free", it has been criticised for:

- Banning political dissent and harassing opponents;
- Banning "South African based" trade unions; and
- Discriminating against non-Tswanas.

Earlier this week, Bop security forces clamped down on ANC activists following allegations by Mangope that there were plans to assassinate him and make the homeland ungovernable.

More detentions were threatened as police investigated Mangope's allegations.

This week, pressure was mounted on Bop to release the detainees and review security legislation. By yesterday, only one person, lawyer Prakash Panchia, had been released following a National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) petition to the authorities.

# ANC in bid to salvage Cosatu pact

(11A)  
(2288)  
SITime  
18/11/90

Sunday Times Reporters

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party have taken steps to shore up their troubled alliance following grassroots unhappiness about their slow progress in forging joint policies and strategies.

The newly-formed, 27-member Co-ordinating Committee, comprising representatives of the three groups, met for the first time this week to discuss how best to co-operate.

The committee, initially called the Political Committee, was mooted on June 27 at a meeting between the secretaries of the three members of the alliance — but it didn't meet until Tuesday.

The delays had led to criticism among rank-and-file supporters that the alliance was no more than a paper pact.

Cosatu press officer Neil Coleman confirmed this week that there was unhappiness in the organisation about the lack of progress in forging the alliance, but he said this was beginning to change.

"We have to accept that the organisations have been underground for a long time and it takes time to get on one's feet again," said Mr Coleman.

## Lack

No formal statement was issued after the meeting but it is understood that discussions focused on ways to create local-level structures which would bring "the masses" into the political process.

Behind the new bid to build solidarity lies concern among unionists over the lack of consultation between them and the ANC about joint political strategies.

Sources within the alliance suggested this week that there were four problem areas: the ANC's delay in creating structures — after nine months in the open it still has only 150 000 members; an allegedly out of touch ANC leadership; lack of consultation about economic policies and the failure of the ANC to clearly spell out what role it envisages for an independent trade union movement in the future.

Meanwhile, a Workers Charter conference called by Cosatu this weekend has discussed possible constitutional options.

A working document of the conference states Cosatu's envisaged involvement in negotiations in the fields of workers' rights, civil rights in society, the economy and the "constitution generally".

## Tension

In dealing with collective rights the document states: "Unless the notion of collective rights is recognised by the constitution, it may well result in a constitutionally-protected individual being used by the courts to strike down collective interests."

Dealing with what it calls the "democratisation of the courts", the document says it will be necessary to remove judges appointed under an apartheid administration.

● The ANC's regional conference in Durban yesterday heard a strong plea for peace with Inkatha by Terror Lekota, ANC interim convenor.

The conference has to settle some key issues including a leadership struggle between present ANC co-ordinator Mr Lekota, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and veteran Communist Party member and former Robben Islander Curnick Ndlovu. There are also tensions between ANC and UDF members.

Keynote speaker Steve Tshwete said the ANC was not prepared to transform itself into a political party until apartheid had been fully abolished and a new constitution worked out.

# Maharaj denies ANC dissension

Staff Reporter  
and Sapa

Media reports and statements by Government Ministers claiming there was dissension within the ranks of the ANC leadership were attempts to denigrate the organisation, executive committee member Mac Maharaj said yesterday.

Sharing a platform with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at a rally in Lenasia, Mr Maharaj said: "We in the ANC have no interest whatsoever in delaying progress towards a peaceful solution.

"We are the ones who say the time is now — we want South Africans to march forward to a free society."

While the Government

had agreed to negotiate, it still persisted along the path of "undermining, emasculating and, if possible, destroying" the ANC.

If the Government succeeded with this tactic it would rob South Africa of the primary force for stability, peace and progress, Mr Maharaj said.

In his address, Mr Mandela called on members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives to resign and join the ANC.

"Turn your backs for once and for all on the apartheid system."

At a fund-raising dinner in Lenasia on Saturday, he proposed an urgent third summit with the Government.

A moderate faction of the UDF is said to have been isolated, reports Kaizer

NYatsumba

Sta- 19/11/90 (11A)

# Purge of the pragmatists

**T**HE recent gradual disappearance from newspaper headlines of once-prominent United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders such as co-president Archie Gumede, acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe (even before his departure for the United States) and general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa was by no means fortuitous, the latest issue of Freedom Bulletin claims.

Instead, it said, it was the result of a quiet but protracted struggle for influence and supremacy between two important factions in the UDF. The three leaders mentioned above, members of a secret cabal within the organisation largely responsible for moderate UDF and ANC policies, have been effectively sidelined by the now powerful "hardline factions" in the UDF/ANC/SACP alliance.

Freedom Bulletin is a newsletter of the South African chapter of the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), which this month focused exclusively on "The Role of the 'Cabal' in the UDF".

Freedom Bulletin said there was "increasing evidence" that a power bloc within the UDF, identified by its detractors as a cabal, had played a seminal role in influencing the thinking of internal

ANC-allied organisations, particularly with regard to the adoption of a more flexible approach to negotiations and the use of non-violent means to achieve political power.

The cabal, the newsletter said, had not only dominated key leadership positions within the UDF, but had also controlled the policy direction of the UDF's affiliates. Its main objective had been influencing the setting-up of ANC internal structures and orientating the organisation's position on negotiations.

"Despite finding itself increasingly marginalised by hardline factions within the SACP/ANC/UDF axis since the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990, the cabal still enjoys important influence in the UDF today," the newsletter said.

In its eight-page article, Freedom Bulletin described the cabal as not a structured organisation with secret membership, but as "a loose amalgamation of individuals" within the UDF who had been pursuing an autonomous agenda separate from that of the ANC.

Aspects of this agenda included support for the concept of "dual power", support for negotiations

and their immediate commencement, flexibility on the issue of pre-conditions to negotiations, a pragmatic approach to contact and co-operation with organisations not necessarily allied to the ANC and the SACP, support for a non-violent strategy rather than the armed struggle to attain political power, and concern over the apparently uncontrollable militant youth.

The journal said members of the cabal were also members of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP and, although they espoused socialism, they were not necessarily committed to a hardline Marxist-Leninist approach. Many individuals identified with the cabal were Indians and were therefore not fundamentally committed to the black nationalist militancy of their non-cabal counterparts within the UDF and the ANC.

Identified members of the cabal were Mr Morobe, Mr Moosa, Mr Gumede, Cosatu president Elijah Barayi, Natal Indian Congress senior member Fatima Meer, Transvaal Indian Congress president Cassim Saloojee, National Education Crisis Committee national co-ordinator Eric Molobi, senior western Cape UDF leader

Fari Essack and UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia.

The cabal, Freedom Bulletin said, first emerged during the 1985/86 state of emergency when the UDF's militant first generation leadership — including publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota and general secretary Popo Molefe — were arrested and later replaced by Mr Morobe and Mr Moosa respectively.

The volley of criticism against the cabal was recently unleashed by Release Mandela Committee chairman Aubrey Mokoena who, in a letter to the ANC in June this year, complained of "a secret clique of activists who have been doing what is perceived as good work on the surface but with a hidden double agenda".

Freedom Bulletin said the cabal made "a number of successful attempts" in 1988 to stamp its authority over the internal wing of the Mass Democratic Movement.

The cabal, the newsletter alleged, was behind the creation of the MDM, played a key role in Winnie Mandela's fall from grace as the much-revered "Mother of the Nation", agitated for closer co-operation with the Democratic Party (DP) during the 1989 gener-

al election, played a key role in the formation of the National Reception Committee (NRC) and adopted a conciliatory approach towards Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Freedom Bulletin said that, in denouncing Mrs Mandela, the three men had underestimated Mrs Mandela's support within the ANC and the militant South African Youth Congress (now the ANC Youth League). While the call for Mrs Mandela's isolation was initially successful, "key individuals within the MDM" such as Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane called for her gradual rehabilitation.

Freedom Bulletin said individuals associated with the cabal, "due to a variety of circumstances", had now been effectively sidelined. Mr Ramaphosa, a prominent member of the NRC on Mr Mandela's release, today remained "distant from public politics, (Mr) Barayi is no longer heard from, (Mr) Moosa has adopted a low profile while (Mr) Morobe, who has played a pivotal

P.T.O. →

role in the UDF, has been given a bursary to study abroad for one year at Princeton University".

Mr Gumede, who was publicly gagged by ANC national chairman Walter Sisulu for his criticism of the July national stayaway intended to isolate Chief Buthelezi, is now also a forgotten man.

The UDF's future, the IFF newsletter said, would be decided at the ANC's national congress in June next year. Freedom Bulletin said although it would not be disbanded, the UDF would probably be renamed and undergo further restructuring to fulfil its now downgraded status as a patriotic front.

"Despite the marginalising of the cabal, it has played a key role in re-orientating internal ANC-allied structures on a range of issues. The views of the cabal often did, and continue to, coincide with the pragmatic wing of the ANC headed by Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

"The cabal's demise, in the long run, will only serve to strengthen the militant faction of the SACP/ANC axis — placing increasing pressure on the successful resolution of South Africa's political problems," Freedom Bulletin concluded. □

561 19/11/90

# Natal ANC gives peace moves a major boost

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Negotiations with the Government and peace moves with Inkatha were given an unprecedented boost in Natal yesterday when African National Congress head of intelligence Jacob Zuma was unanimously elected chairman of the ANC's southern Natal region at their annual congress.

Members of the United Democratic Front's cabal in the province — who have recently been ousted from most positions of influence in Natal's ANC structures — failed to have any candidates elected to executive positions on the region's committee.

Former southern Natal convenor Mosiuoa Lekota did not stand for re-election.

## Secret

Mr Zuma — a Zulu — is one of the ANC's key negotiators with the Government and has been instrumental in setting up talks with Inkatha in an attempt to end the Natal violence, including secret talks with Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Political commentators heralded his appointment as being of immense importance for Natal. They said the 25 000 ANC members in the southern Natal region had confidence in Mr Zuma because of the major role he had played in setting up local peace accords.

Mr Zuma is one of the few national ANC leaders who has been in direct contact with Natal ANC members at grassroots level. He has also had discussions with many Inkatha chiefs in the province.



Stg 19/11/90  
**Bop, ANC**  
**meet for**  
**first time**

The Bophuthatswana government and the ANC met for the first time on Saturday in Pretoria.

This was confirmed in a statement on Saturday night from a Bophuthatswana Cabinet committee entrusted with negotiations which met members of the ANC's national executive committee.

The Bophuthatswana delegation's statement said: "Matters of mutual concern and interest were discussed. Further meetings are envisaged in the near future."

● The Bophuthatswana government has announced that police yesterday released a further 14 detainees held in the crackdown on the ANC and its affiliates.

This brings to 29 the number of detainees released since lawyer MP Panchia was released on Friday.

On Saturday 14 detainees were released.

They are O P Mogotsi, T A Matloko, H Mabilo, D Taunyane, M Tsiane, A Mapitsa, J Siko, V Dlamini, J Makgabo, S Bilankulu, L T Ngalo, L Makgoba, A M Mamashela and I Motlhabane.

The names of those released yesterday should be made available today.

# ANC does not want to share power - Tshwete

11A

so welfan  
19/11/90

THE African National Congress did not want to share power, ANC national organiser Mr Steve Tshwete told the Southern Natal regional conference on Saturday.

"Who, at any rate, will be sharing out power?" he asked.

Those who negotiated for a new SA and a new constitution must be properly elected in order that a constituent assembly draw up a new constitution, Mr Tshwete said.

"But while they are negotiating, who will be in power?"

His demand that President F W de Klerk vacate his position was greeted by loud applause from

## SA Press Association

600 people - 450 delegates and 150 observers.

Mr Tshwete alleged a prime task of the ANC was to render the National Party weak, destroy it and then remove it from power.

The ANC would remain a liberation movement until all vestiges of apartheid had disappeared. Only then would it think of becoming a political party.

"The NP must get out...our strategy must remain the transfer of power from white minority cliques to the people as a whole.

"There is no shift by us - we want power in the hands of the people."

Mr Tshwete alleged the aim of the NP had been to try and weaken the ANC.

"The regime says they are in power. But we say no, you can't be both a referee and player at the same time," he said. - Sapa.

# Bop

# talks

# to ANC

11A

Cronje  
19/11/90



LUCAS MANGOPE



NELSON MANDELA

**IN a surprise development, the ANC said yesterday it had held a top-level meeting earlier in the day in Pretoria with the Bophuthatswana cabinet to discuss recent events in the troubled homeland.**

A statement by the ANC's director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said matters of mutual concern and interest were discussed.

"Further meetings are envisaged in the immediate future," he said. Mbeki declined to release further

#### SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

details of the talks. He led the ANC's delegation and Mr Rowan Cronje fronted the Bophuthatswana cabinet members.

The Bophuthatswana government yesterday confirmed it had held a meeting with the ANC over the recent crisis in the homeland.

#### Statement

In a brief statement, a Bophuthatswana cabinet committee tasked with negotiations said they had met with members of the ANC's national executive committee to "discuss matters of mutual concern".

The homeland police on Saturday released another ANC member arrested during last week's raid, bringing the total number of people set free to 15. A total of 44 activists had been detained in the initial raid.

Meanwhile on Saturday the ANC deputy-presidents' wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, urged residents in Bophuthatswana to call on Mangope to resign his presidency.

Addressing mourners at a funeral in Atteridgeville, Mandela said: "There is no truth in the allegation that the ANC wanted to kill him."

Last week Mangope accused the ANC of attempting to depose him through an assassination attempt - an accusation the ANC strongly denied.

# Is the ANC meeting fund-raising snags?

Sowetan 19/11/90

118

SIR - The fall of Eastern Europe governments has directed the financial pledges of the ANC to the far-far East, in a dramatic style and urgency.

We see how the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, is flying in desperation around the globe to raise funds.

The ANC's past financial backers have fallen, so are the funds.

A deeper, closer look at the ANC's structures and activities, suggests

that the organisation is on the brink of a catastrophic political implosion that can only be averted by the pledge of dollars from abroad.

Amazingly the ANC strongly supports sanctions against South Africa, yet they expect money/finance to flow in from abroad, for themselves, so as to perpetuate their dominance in black political advancement.

What a state of confusion and controversy the

ANC finds itself in! They are playing a "don't-give-them, give-only-us" dirty-trick game.

**RAYMOND CLOETE**  
Irene



18<sup>00</sup>



908-4754

# Mandela denies ANC agreed to stop action

Sowetan 19/11/90

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

Nelson Mandela yesterday described as "totally untrue" claims by the government that the ANC had agreed to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions to highlight black grievances.

Addressing a rally attended by about 15 000 people at the Lenasia stadium, outside Johannesburg, the African National Congress deputy president called on his followers "to intensify the struggle" by using "all legitimate peaceful means".

These included boycotts, stayaways and civil disobedience.

Mandela did not specifically name the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, who was involved last week in a verbal clash with with South African Communist Party (SACP) general-secretary Joe Slovo.

## Claimed

Botha claimed in London that at the Pretoria talks in August between the ANC and the government, the ANC had

agreed to halt such forms of action. Slovo disputed this.

Mandela told the rally that when the government had asked it to stop mass action, "we rejected it and told them we would never do it".

The ANC had pointed out, he added, that unless mechanisms were created to address and focus on the grievances of black people, "we would continue to apply protest action".

Another speaker at the

rally, Mac Maharaj, who is out on bail for his alleged involvement in the SACP Operation Vula plot, referred to the Johannesburg clashes on Saturday between police and demonstrators which left two people dead.

## Deaths

Maharaj said the responsibility for the deaths was in the government's hands: "If the shootings were not authorised it is the duty of the government to bring every one of the policemen and soldiers to book."

In a meeting with

Lenasia activists and community organisations after the rally, Maharaj repeated an earlier warning by Mandela that the ANC might "renationalise" public assets and institutions that had been privatised.

He said privatisation was being conducted undemocratically because those who were affected by it had no say in the process.

Maharaj said the government should leave privatisation well alone until the country had a democratic structure.- Sapa.

CAP 4/11/90

## SA's only black nuclear physicist quits on threats

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's only black nuclear physicist says he has decided to emigrate because ANC "comrades" have sabotaged his science classes for children whose schooling has been disrupted by township troubles.

"When black activists start destabilising the best efforts of their own people, then it's the last straw," Dr Gordon Sibiyi said. "So I am leaving."

Dr Sibiyi, 40, was born and schooled in Soweto and obtained his doctorate in nuclear physics from Stuttgart University. He founded the Saturday Science Tuition Project at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1986. It began with 65 children who wanted to catch up with their studies at weekends. By 1988 the project had 1 200 students and 36 teachers.

But this year has proved a disaster. "February 2 effectively buried black education," said Dr Sibiyi — student organisations enforced boycotts, teachers' unions launched strikes and Mrs Winnie Mandela identified black schools as "legitimate military targets".

"There was a sharp drop-out rate from our Saturday classes from about March," he said.

"We seemed to be fighting a losing battle. The National Education Co-ordinating Committee is actually a political organisation, engaged in a power struggle. It should be fighting a war for development but, by its antics, it has instead called on African children to destroy themselves. I'll never forgive them for that."

Dr Sibiyi was finally forced to give up by death threats from ANC "comrades", ordering him to stop his Saturday teaching.

An NECC spokesman declined to comment on what she described as Dr Sibiyi's personal decision. — Daily Telegraph

# Zuma boost for Natal peace

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Negotiations with the government and peace moves with Inkatha were given an unprecedented boost in Natal when the African National Congress's head of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, was unanimously elected chairman of the ANC's Southern Natal region at its annual congress.

And members of the United Democratic Front's cabal in the province — who have recently been ousted from most positions of influence in Natal's ANC structures — failed to elect candidates yesterday to any executive positions on the region's committee.

Former Robben Island prisoner Mr Jeff Radebe was elected vice-chairman, with Mr Mzilikazi Khumalo treasurer and Mr Sibusiso Ndebele retaining his position as secretary.

## SECRET TALKS

Former Southern Natal convener Mr Mosiuoa Lekota did not stand for re-election, and it is believed he will soon be taking up a national position on the ANC.

Mr Zuma is one of the ANC's key negotiators with the government and has been instrumental in setting up talks with Inkatha in an attempt to end the Natal violence, including secret talks with Inkatha president and Kwazulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Political commentators heralded his appointment as being of immense importance for Natal.

19/11/80 11A  
They said the 25 000 ANC members in the Southern Natal region had confidence in Mr Zuma because of the major role he had played in setting up peace accords in the province.

Mr Zuma is one of the few national ANC leaders who has been in direct contact with Natal ANC members at grassroots level. He has also had discussions with many Inkatha chiefs in the province.

Commentators said the fact that Mr Zuma was Zulu was also important, as it directly countered the Inkatha jibe that the ANC was an organisation run by Xhosas, especially in Natal.

He was the first ANC exile to return to South Africa when he was sent to Cape Town in March by the ANC's national executive committee to work with government officials to set up the historic talks between the ANC and the government.

## ARMED STRUGGLE

As head of the ANC's intelligence network, Mr Zuma sits on the joint government-ANC working group that is looking into the practicalities of the ANC suspending the armed struggle, and also on the committee which is investigating the release of prisoners, the return of exiles and indemnities.

Mr Zuma said after his election yesterday that he was hopeful that the negotiations with the government would be successful.

He served 10 years on Robben Island for conspiring to overthrow the government and had been in exile since December 5 1975. He has been on the ANC's national executive since 1977.

# ANC meets Bop govt leaders

CMT 7/14 F  
19/11/90

JOHANNESBURG. — In a surprise development the ANC yesterday said it had held a top-level meeting earlier in the day in Pretoria with the Bophuthatswana cabinet to discuss recent events in the troubled homeland.

A statement issued by the ANC's director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said matters of mutual concern and interest were discussed. "Further meetings are envisaged in the immediate future," he said.

This was confirmed by the Bophuthatswana government.

Mr Mbeki headed the ANC's delegation and Mr Rowan Cronje led the Bophuthatswana cabinet members.

Bophuthatswana's attitude towards the ANC recently caused concern among anti-apartheid organisations, with Mrs Winnie Mandela publicly attacking the homeland's president, Mr Lucas Mangope, in Pretoria at the weekend.

Last week Mr Mangope accused the ANC of plotting to assassinate him. The ANC strongly denied the accusation.

At least 44 Bophuthatswana activists were detained, but 29 were released at the weekend.

Bophuthatswana government spokesmen stressed that the crackdown was aimed at certain elements within the ANC and its affiliates and not at the ANC as a whole. — Sapa

## University staff mission for Bop

JOHANNESBURG. — Union of Democratic University Staff Associations president Dr Ikey van de Rheede will lead a high-profile delegation of academics in a fact-finding mission to the beleaguered University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) this week.

The union last week said Bophuthatswana security forces had "besieged" Unibo. — Sapa



8/10 20/11/90

# Mandela, FW to meet as rift widens

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet next Tuesday to try to defuse growing differences between the Government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation and the question of whether the ANC should be allowed to continue recruiting and training members of its military wing could be the main subjects for discussion at the meeting.

Several clashes between the police and protesters at the weekend have underscored the sharp differences between the Government and the ANC over the ANC's strategy of mass mobilisation.

Mr Mandela made it clear in a speech in Lenasia on Sunday that the ANC intended to

"intensify the struggle" by using all legitimate peaceful means of pressuring the Government, including civil disobedience.

He strongly denied claims made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other Government spokesmen that the ANC had agreed at the Pretoria summit in August to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions.

## Intimidation

Yesterday senior Government sources said they believed the ANC's agreement in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes to terminate destabilising actions implied that certain mass actions would be called off.

They said it was important to distinguish between mass meetings and mass marches — which were acceptable as long as they were peaceful — and other mass actions designed to destabilise the situation, such as

consumer boycotts and the intimidation of black local councillors.

The sources said an attempt would still be made to resolve this problem at the meetings of the joint Government/ANC working group discussing the ANC's suspension of "armed actions and related activities".

The group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

Mr Mandela reiterated yesterday that the ANC was entitled to continue putting pressure on the Government through mass actions as long as blacks lacked proper channels through which to express their grievances.

Government sources replied that under the Pretoria Minute, it was agreed to set up mechanisms for this purpose but that the ANC had not co-operated in establishing these mechanisms.

Star 20/11/90

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## Bop ANC leader held after talks

By Dawn Barkhuizen

MMABATHO — The ANC's Mmabatho branch chairman, Job Mokgoro, was detained in Mmabatho yesterday, less than 24 hours after taking part in unprecedented talks between the ANC and the Bophuthatswana government.

Sources said the Bophuthatswana government had on Sunday assured a high-profile ANC delegation that "there would be no further

harassment of political activists and the release of detainees would begin".

A Johannesburg ANC spokesman said last night: "We view the detention of Comrade Mokgoro as a breach of the undertaking given at Sunday's meeting and will take it up with the Bophuthatswana government.

"It only further complicates the situation in the area and makes one question their (the government's) sincerity."

Bophuthatswana police took a struggling Mr Mokgoro from the Molo-po Sun hotel where he was attending a meeting.

A statement from the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations said Mr Mokgoro had been detained and assaulted in full view of a fact-finding group of academics.

Bophuthatswana police spokesman Colonel David George confirmed Mr Mokgoro's detention, but denied he had been assaulted.

Star 20/11/90 (11/11) (11/11)

## **Mandela smooths ruffled feathers**

MBABANE — African National Congress deputy leader Nelson Mandela smoothed ruffled Swazi feathers when he arrived yesterday by saying the visit had been delayed because of his world travels.

There has been much comment here that Mr Mandela had not visited Swaziland during his travels, although an invitation was issued to him in February.

Mr Mandela said he would be in Swaziland until Friday, when he hopes to meet leaders of about 18 African states arriving here for a summit meeting of members of the Preferential Trade Area organisation.

He told newsmen the ANC would not recommend an end to sanctions until there was an acceptable political solution. —  
Star Africa Service.

# Women have role to play in the ANC says Mavivi

118

So met on 20/4/90

NO one will place issues concerning women on the agenda of the African National Congress except women themselves, that is why there is a need for a women's section within the organisation.

This view was expressed by Mavivi Manzini, a returned exile and member of the Women's League Task Force, speaking at the launch of the Johannesburg Zone of the ANC Women's League at the weekend.

"It is true that problems of women are the same as that of society as a whole, but history has proven that there is no case where the oppressor takes up issues for the oppressed.

"Therefore, if men and society as a whole are exploiting us, we cannot expect them to fight for us. It is up to women to see to it that gender oppression is done away with," she said.

"If we leave it up to the ANC to address women's issues they are never going to be attended to, women must put them there. Already the ANC derives its policies on women from the Women's League so women should continue to use this opportunity."

## Action

She encouraged the zone to work towards formulating a programme of action through which they would reach out to grassroots women, the youth, professionals and housewives.

The women at the launch then discussed a programme of action for the branch. It came out that some of their immediate concerns were the plight of the domestic workers who work long hours and suffer from other poor working conditions, rape and violence.

# 2 whites elected to ANC top posts

So wefan 20/11/90

11A

TWO whites - Dr Mike Sutcliffe and Dr Ian Phillips - are on the African National Congress' southern Natal executive elected at the end of a two-day conference in Durban at the weekend.

Both are senior lecturers at University of Natal in Durban - Dr Phillips as a political specialist and Dr Sutcliffe in town planning.

They are in an executive committee of eight, elected from 17 nominees, who will serve

under newly-chosen southern Natal convener, Mr Jacob Zuma (48).

Mr Zuma, who heads ANC intelligence and has been its chief negotiator in talks with the Government, succeeds Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota who did not seek re-election.

He said at a Press conference on Sunday he expected to leave Durban shortly to take up an as yet unspecified top ANC post.

Mr Jeffrey Hadebe

will be Mr Zuma's deputy convener in southern Natal. Like Mr Zuma, he is a former Robben Island prisoner.

Mr Sibusiso Ndebele is secretary of the committee with Mr Zilikazi Khumalo the treasurer.

## Voted

An ANC spokesman said Dr Nkosaghana Zuma - wife of Mr Jacob Zuma - and Mrs Linda Zuma had been voted on to the regional committee.

Making up the committee are Mr Cleopas Ndhlovu, Mr Bheki Cele, Mr Mewa Rangobin and Mr Siyaeronga Cwele.

Dr Nkosaghana Zuma, followed by Ms Zuma, topped the polls in the election for the committee. ANC sources said this could be seen as a further vote of confidence for Mr Zuma.

He is an acknowledged supporter of negotiations with the Government, and is recognised as a campaigner for an end to Natal violence.

ANC sources said the new committee was representative of ANC "hard core thinking." It was equipped to make southern Natal the leading ANC region. Mr Zuma had expressed this as his goal. - Sapa

# Top level crisis talks next week

Sowetan 20/11/90

PRESIDENT de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will meet next Tuesday to try to defuse growing differences between the Government and the ANC over the negotiation process.

The ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation and the question to whether the ANC should be allowed to continue recruiting and training members of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe could be the main subjects for discussion at the meeting.

Several clashes between the police and protesters over the weekend have underscored the sharp differences between the Government and the ANC over the ANC's strategy of mass mobilisation.

Mandela made it clear in a speech in Lenasia on Sunday that the ANC intended to "intensify the struggle" by using all legitimate peaceful means of pressuring the Government, including civil disobedience.

Mandela strongly denied claims made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other Government spokesmen that the ANC had agreed at the Pretoria summit in August to stop or scale down mass protest and boycott actions.

## Important issue

Yesterday senior Government sources said they believed the ANC's agreement in the Pretoria Minute and Groote Schuur Minute to terminate destabilising actions, implied that certain mass actions would be called off.

They said it was important to distinguish between mass meetings and mass marches - which were acceptable as long as they were peaceful - and other mass actions designed to destabilise the situation such as consumer boycotts and the intimidation of black local councillors.

They said it was clear from his remarks on Sunday that Mandela did not make this distinction.

The sources said an attempt would still be made to resolve this problem at the meetings of the joint Government/ ANC working group discussing the ANC's suspension of "armed actions and related activities".

The group is expected to meet twice in Pretoria this week in a concerted effort to clear away mainly this problem.

However senior police sources have expressed grave doubts about the ANC's real commitment to resolve this issue.

They point to the fact that the head of the ANC's delegation to the working group - Umkhonto we Sizwe number two Chris Hani - failed to attend the second-last meeting of the group.

And last week the ANC withdrew from the last scheduled meeting of the group at the last minute. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

# Actstop wants rethink on the armed struggle

ACTSTOP secretary-general Mr Pressage Nkosi said at the weekend the organisation would ask the ANC to reconsider its suspension of the armed struggle - and ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said the demand was not unexpected or unreasonable.

They were commenting on police action at a mass march in Johannesburg on Saturday which was declared illegal. Two people died and 15 were injured in the street battles which

broke out. *Sowetan 20/11/90 (11A)*  
"Only the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe can protect us. The police used live ammunition on unarmed people. Some passengers in taxis were shot," said Nkosi.

Marcus said: "We have noticed an on the ground demand for weapons. Comrade Nelson Mandela has said this demand is not unreasonable. People have a right to self-defence."

She added the Government was derailing the peace process by publicly ridiculing and attacking its negotiating partner, the ANC.

"People will not tolerate it," she said.

Commenting further on the march Marcus said the contrast should be noted between the peaceful march in Germiston, where permission to march was granted, and Johannesburg, where it was refused.

"The police's behaviour was atrocious.

Marching is a fundamental right in every democratic society. Here where most people do not have political rights, it is even more important."

Nkosi said Actstop was considering asking the Johannesburg City Council to provide a burial place at West Park Cemetery for the first man who died, Mr David Tshoga.

"We want him buried in Johannesburg, not Soweto." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Indemnity refused for PAC leaders

Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT has refused to grant 14 exiled PAC leaders indemnity to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress next month.

A Justice Department spokesman confirmed this last night, saying the reason was that the leaders refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

The refusal could significantly affect the PAC's decision at the congress on whether to accept an invitation to take part in constitutional negotiations.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said exiled leaders refused indemnity included administrative secretary

Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gora Ibrahim, Sapa reports.

Alexander said government had told the PAC it had no principled objection to the external leaders attending former PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng's funeral at the conference.

Regulations requiring that people seeking indemnity give an undertaking binding themselves to peaceful solutions were recently gazetted by government.

The PAC has refused to abandon its armed struggle.

11A  
20/11/90  
SIP 20/11/90



# Union plan for housing

*Cap-Tank's*  
*20/11/90*  
*114*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) has proposed a R4 billion joint Cosatu/ANC/SACP/government plan to replace urban single-sex hostels with housing units integrated into surrounding communities.

Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso disclosed yesterday that the proposal was being discussed within Cosatu, which had approved the plan in principle although many key details still had to be finalised.

It is understood the plan has also been put to Seifsa which, together with Numsa and other unions administers the Metal Industries Group Pension Fund (MIGPF), whose assets amount to nearly R4 billion. Numsa has proposed that pension funds, primarily the MIGPF, provide up to a quarter (R600m to R1 billion) of the total project budget.

20/11/90

6 Cape Times, Tues

11A

## Buthelezi warns on ANC plan

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has to avoid winner-take-all politics, and the "political abyss" of a constituent assembly prior to negotiations should be avoided at all costs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a series of talks overseas, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader said trials of strength should be left until it was assured there would never be a dictatorship.

The ANC dream of a constituent assembly would produce a white right-wing backlash.

The IFP envisaged that negotiations would be turned into a political process in which opposition politics and political alliances would demand that the government legislate the negotiated agreements.

— Sapa

# UDF cabal slammed as 'undemocratic'

11A

THE presence of a cabal grouping in the United Democratic Front in Natal was slammed in a message

from Robben Island prisoners sent to the ANC's southern Natal region's annual conference this weekend -

the first time that the cabal's presence has been mentioned in public.

The Robben Island

paper attacked the undemocratic practices in the UDF, the almost non-existence of African leadership, their failure to

develop local leadership and the uneven distribution of resources within the grouping.

The paper - which also

discussed other issues - was enthusiastically received by the 600 delegates at the congress, who cheered loudly as it was read out.

"The democratic movement in Natal has failed to provide effective guidance and leadership on the ground and has failed to involve the masses in the decision-making process," the paper said.

consultation has done more harm than good, the paper said.

It pointed out that this had led to the youth in particular "to force the people into political campaigns".

As a result, various sections of the community were alienated and it provided "fertile ground for the enemy and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour."

## Cliques

"The ANC itself cannot be exonerated from this fact."

Referring to the UDF specifically, the paper said it was "plagued by infighting, factionalism, cliquism and uneven distribution of resources."

"It would appear that the UDF failed to adhere to proper democratic principles. In areas of struggle, particularly in the townships and villages, the leadership could not be found.

"The issuing of political decrees without proper discussion and

It said the absence of African leadership, in particular locally-based African leadership, had led to the ANC's enemies undermining and attacking the organisation as being non-African, anti-Zulu, Indian-controlled and Xhosa-led.

Against this backdrop, the paper suggested that the ANC should not appear as the UDF in another form, but should be an independent political organisation which should be careful not to make the same mistakes. - Sowetan Correspondent

# Govt rejects PAC leaders' indemnity bids

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

President F W de Klerk's Government has turned down indemnity applications for external Pan Africanist Congress leaders to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress next month, it was revealed yesterday.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander disclosed that on November 1 and 8 respectively, PAC lawyers had applied for indemnity for 14 of its externally based senior leaders.

The 14 included administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

The 14 were part of a total of 52 external PAC leaders who were supposed to attend the organisation's second national congress in Johannesburg next month.

The Government, according to a statement issued by Mr Alexander, had turned down the applications, which would have seen the external PAC leaders attending PAC president Zephania Mothopeng's funeral in Soweto a few weeks ago and the organisation's December 7-9 national congress.

No reasons were given for the refusal, according to lawyers Willie Seriti and Dikgang Moseneke.

The lawyers told the press conference this was despite earlier verbal assurances from Government spokesmen that Pretoria had "no objection in principle" to the PAC leaders attending Mr Mothopeng's funeral and the national congress.

Mr Alexander said: "This refusal comes after Constitutional Affairs Minister (Dr Gerrit Viljoen) wrote to the PAC's president requesting exploratory talks.

"The refusal furthermore exposes the lie that political or-

ganisations are totally unbanned and free to conduct their affairs normally."

The PAC leader said plans for the December congress would go ahead while the organisation's internal and external leaders consulted on the matter.

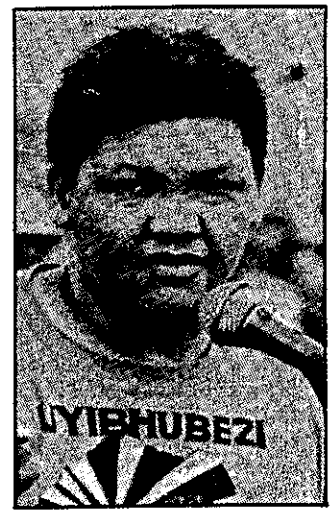
At the congress, the PAC would announce its response to the Government's invitation to hold exploratory talks, he said.

Mr Alexander said the PAC, which had incurred "great costs" by flying its external leaders to Frontline states so that they could "enter the country easily (for Mr Mothopeng's funeral) when approval is re-

ceived", had instructed its external mission to inform bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations about the Government's decision.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice yesterday said applications for indemnity were "treated in confidence" and he could therefore not comment on the PAC's disclosure.

Sapa reports that a Department of Justice statement said the 14 "refused to comply with even the minimum requirements ... by the Government, namely to subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and development in South Africa".



Benny Alexander . . . Plans for congress going ahead.

11/90

# Top man for a tough task

11A  
Zuma  
Zuma

20/11/90

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The ANC intends to transform Natal into a party stronghold, PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

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**T**HE election of Jacob Zuma at the weekend as chairman of the African National Congress's southern Natal region signals the priority which the ANC attaches to the province.

Mr Zuma, the ANC's intelligence chief, was elected to succeed "Terror" Lekota, a founder member of the United Democratic Front and a tireless worker for the ANC, at the ANC's southern Natal region conference.

Mr Zuma's high rank in the ANC is a clear indication that the ANC wants to consolidate and strengthen its position in Natal, where it is challenging the hegemony of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

His critical role as the ANC's intelligence chief aside, the self-effacing Mr Zuma is a member of the ANC's national executive committee and has served on its powerful political and military committee.

He is leader of the ANC delegation which has been holding talks with Inkatha officials in a bid to end the bitter war for supremacy in Natal.

His election may signify the ANC's awareness of the need for a rapprochement with Inkatha to end the violence and, as important, to pre-empt President de Klerk's not-so-subtle bid to woo Inkatha into an anti-ANC alliance.

Mr Zuma was unanimously elected, a mark of the high regard with which he is held in ANC circles. His election was not, however, a rebuff for Mr Lekota.

Mr Lekota did not stand for re-election. Having played a pivotal role in formally launching the ANC in southern Natal, he has been assigned a similar task elsewhere. His new area of responsibility is understood to be the Free State, where he was born.

## Election

The bearded Mr Zuma's election as leader of the region brings him shoulder to shoulder with an old comrade:   
He is a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

signed a similar task else where. His new area of responsibility is understood to be the Free State, where he was born.

## Election

The bearded Mr Zuma's election as leader of the region brings him shoulder to shoulder with an old comrade: Harry Gwala, ANC stalwart and chairman of the Natal midlands region.

Mr Zuma, like Mr Gwala, is a Zulu. He was born in Nkandla, in the heart of Zululand. His presence with Mr Gwala at the helm of the ANC in Natal gives the lie to the allegations that the ANC is a Xhosa organisation.

Mr Zuma is not a publicity-seeker. He avoids rather than courts the media. His apparent shyness masks determination, iron will and dedication to the ANC.

Now in his late 40s, Mr Zuma is the son of a policeman. His father died when he was young and his mother became a domestic servant in Durban, forcing the young Jacob to travel between Zululand and Durban.

He joined the ANC in 1959, a year before it was prohibited, having been influenced by an elder brother who was a trade unionist. After the ANC was banned in 1960, he became one of the first members of its underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He was arrested in 1963 while on his way out of South Africa for military training. He was convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Government and spent 10 years on Robben Island.

After he was released he again committed himself to the ANC cause. First he worked with Mr Gwala to re-establish ANC structure; then, after Mr Gwala was arrested, he left to work for the ANC in Swaziland and Mozambique.

There he played a key role in recruiting young South African exiles who had fled during the 1976-77 upheavals into the ANC; he presumably fulfilled the related function of filtering them back into South Africa as guerillas.

Since President de Klerk's decision to unban outlawed organisations, release their leaders and initiate discussions for a settlement, Mr Zuma has assumed an important role.

He is the leader of the ANC in the working group which is examining the problems of defining and releasing political prisoners and of facilitating the return of exiles.

Now he has accepted another task: to make — as he puts it — Natal the leading ANC region in South Africa, a position which it held when Albert Luthuli was president of the organisation. □

# ANC awaits its US tour millions

Argus 20/11/90  
(M) 25

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Millions of dollars given by the American public during Mr Nelson Mandela's tour will be handed over to the African National Congress once legal formalities have been completed.

The chief representative of the ANC in Washington, Lindiwe Mabuza, said yesterday there was no truth in rumours that the organisation was not to be given the money raised during the June tour of the United States by an ANC delegation led by Mr Mandela.

She said people who were trying to sow such rumours were attempting to drive a wedge between the ANC and its American friends.

A great deal of money had been collected during the 10-day tour, most of it in small contributions from ordinary Americans.

These funds had to be properly accounted for, expenses paid and all the figures legally audited before a final amount could be arrived at and the money transferred to those it had been raised for.

Miss Mabuza said any figure being bandied about was at this stage sheer speculation.

"Nobody promised the ANC any amount of money. Everybody promised to work as hard as possible in order to raise as much money as they could. We will be grateful to receive what they give us," she said.

It is believed the ANC can expect several million dollars from the tour.

Miss Mabuza said there was no anxiety on the part of the ANC about the money because it knew it was dealing with people of integrity.

"But we are a little suspicious about the people who are suddenly purporting to express concern. Why are they suddenly so concerned about the welfare of the ANC?"

## Key ANC member detained in Bop

*CAPE TOWN 20/11/80*  
JOHANNESBURG. A key member of the ANC in Bophuthatswana was detained yesterday and allegedly assaulted by a contingent of the homeland's security police.

Bophuthatswana police spokesman Colonel Dave George confirmed Mr Job Mokgoro's detention at the Molopo Sun Hotel in Mmabatho but denied that he was assaulted.

According to a statement from the

*(11/11/80)*  
Union of Democratic University Staff Associations, Mr Mokgoro, chairman of the ANC branch in Mmabatho, was detained and assaulted in full view of a fact-finding envoy of Uduza academics.

Mr Mokgoro emerged from hiding to attend an unprecedented meeting on Sunday between a high-profiled ANC delegation and members of the homeland cabinet in Pretoria, to iron out tensions between the two groups.



CMT 11/17/90  
20/11/90

# Govt refuses PAC request

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has refused to grant 14 exiled PAC leaders indemnity to enable them to attend the organisation's national congress next month.

A Justice Department spokesman confirmed this last night, saying the leaders had refused to "subscribe to the principles of peaceful solutions and developments in SA".

The refusal could significantly affect the PAC's decision at the congress on whether to accept an invitation to join peace talks.

## Regulations

Sapa reports that PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said those exiled leaders refused indemnity included administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi and foreign affairs secretary Mr Ahmed Gora Ibrahim.

The government, he said, had told the PAC it had no principled objection to the external leaders attending the conference.

Indemnity regulations require people to undertake to bind themselves to peaceful solutions.

The PAC has declined to do this.

# 'Govt wants only leaders' — Ndebele

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The South African government wanted to negotiate with ANC leadership and not with its membership, the secretary of the ANC's newly launched Southern Natal Regional Executive Committee, Mr Sibusiso Ndebele, said yesterday.

At a conference to introduce Mr Jacob Zuma, the new regional chairman, Mr Ndebele said the government wanted only people such as Mr Nelson Mandela at the negotiating table and wanted to talk to individuals rather than address the organisation as a whole.

In response to a question about the ineptitude of the ANC to make decisions, Mr Ndebele criticised the government.

"If you talk about ineptitude you talk about the South African government who have admitted they made a horrible mistake for the past 42 years in the creation of apartheid. They are inept in bringing about the return of exiles and inept in that they can't even send a fax from Pretoria to Robben Island to release political prisoners."



## Forget the past, Pik urges ANC

Star Foreign Service

MUNICH — In an impassioned plea at an international symposium in Munich, Foreign Minister Pik Botha called on the African National Congress to "let bygones be bygones" and to cooperate with his Government in building a new South Africa.

The Minister appealed to ANC representatives to help the Government arrange a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe. Such a meeting was essential for peace, Mr Botha said.

He also called on the ANC to drop its proposed economic programme, which would frighten European investors away.

"The Germans won't invest, the British won't invest, the Americans won't invest."

Earlier, addressing the symposium organised by the Bavarian Hanns Seidel Foundation, Mr

Botha complained that internal divisions within the ANC and the movement's links with the South African Communist Party were hindering progress towards a political settlement.

"We realise the ANC needs time to transform itself into a political party, but my Government cannot resolve their internal strife," Mr Botha said.

The main ANC speaker, Waledi Tsiki, said the fact that the movement was talking to the Government was proof of its good intentions.

But the ANC would not back down from its demand for a "mixed-market economy" because that was the only system to correct the injustices of apartheid.

Germany's Minister for Economic Co-operation, Juergen Warnke, said the time had come for European governments to drop sanctions against Pretoria. "They are senseless," he said.

# UDF plans to restructure, not disband

THE UDF will decide in the new year on a future direction and new structure which could involve the formation of a broad front, led by the ANC and incorporating the PAC, Inkatha and Azapo.

A document on restructuring the mass organisation was presented by the UDF's head office at a national executive committee meeting at the weekend.

Although outlining three options for restructuring the organisation, the document made no provision for it to be disbanded.

EDYTH BULBRING

The options will be discussed by the UDF regions before a final decision is taken at its national conference in February.

The future of the UDF has been debated since the ANC's unbanning in February.

The decision that the UDF should continue in a restructured form indicates a recognition by affiliates of a need to organ-

## UDF

ise autonomously from the ANC in certain areas.

The need to organise separately around grassroots issues was considered necessary in the event of a conflict of interest between mass-based organisations and the ANC's political agenda.

The three options are:

Maintaining an umbrella structure for mass-based organisations which would organise around "non-national" political issues such as rent, housing and squatting. The organisation would relinquish its national political activity to the ANC.

This could involve the formation of a new national civic organisation.

Restructuring the organisation into a national "united front" by incorporating other organisations that endorse the principles of non-racialism and democracy. It would exclude the ANC.

Setting up a national patriotic front led by the ANC and consisting mainly of national political organisations opposed to apartheid.

This could involve an alliance of anti-apartheid organisations and interest groups including the PAC, Azapo, homeland governments and possibly Inkatha.

In terms of this model, the UDF would abolish its national structures.

From Page 1

# ANC commitment to peace questioned

3/Day 21/11/90

11A

THE ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts and intimidation called into question its stated commitment to peace and had created a "great obstacle" to negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Addressing the American Chamber of Commerce, Viljoen said one could not negotiate with a party whom one was trying to destabilise through actions which repeatedly resulted in violence.

The ANC's commitment to mass mobilisation is expected to feature prominently at a meeting next Tuesday between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

Viljoen last night rejected demands for a constituent assembly and a "winner takes all" constitution.

He said a new constitution should include universal adult franchise with minority protection, the right to form political parties, an entrenched constitution and the maximum devolution of power.

While government agreed the present constitution was flawed, until there was a negotiated replacement, the country's administration should continue under present laws, he said.

In an apparent reference to the ANC demand for an interim government, Viljoen said there would have to be a "special relationship" between government and the negotiating body.

TIM COHEN

"It is unthinkable that joint decisions, and especially consensus decisions, of the negotiating forum could afterwards be arbitrarily rejected by one of the main participants after agreeing on it," he said.

Viljoen said whereas the Sullivan Code of Conduct had guided US business practices in SA during the apartheid era, a new initiative on the part of business was now required.

He said David Lazar, a member of the ANC's Association of Economists, had described the organisation's recent economic proposals as "flawed" and "lacking in economic vision".

Viljoen said there were rising expectations in SA fuelled by "exaggerated and irresponsible promises."

"I appeal to all businessmen to take the problem of economic illiteracy to heart and help create, especially among the less sophisticated masses of workers, an understanding of these issues," he said.

Viljoen said the reform process had reached an irreversible stage.

He added government realised the reform process could not succeed if the last vestiges of apartheid legislation such as the Land Act and Group Areas Act were not abolished to establish government's credentials as genuine reformers.

## Inkatha rejects claims

INKATHA Youth Brigade chairman Mr Musa Zondi has refuted claims by the ANC's Mr Steve Tshwete that the National Party was helping Inkatha to undermine the ANC. (S) (1A)

Zondi said yesterday that Tshwete's claims had strengthened the perception that Inkatha had no right to exist.

He said this was borne out by recent developments in which ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had stated his organisation was "going to have talks with the NP to determine which political parties will qualify to sit at the negotiation table". - Sapa.

# Hendrickse in heated TV debate

CAF-TV R 2/11/90  
Staff Reporter

11A  
IN a television interview last night Labour Party leader Mr Alan Hendrickse and a journalist argued heatedly over money given to the party.

During the interview by three journalists on the LP's role in politics, Mr Norman West of the Sunday Times made certain allegations to Mr Hendrickse regarding the "pocketing" of R50 000 of a R250 000 donation to the LP.

The question of the donations is at

the centre of a pending Supreme Court hearing in which a former LP trustee, Mr Roy Williams, wants to be re-instated as an LP member.

He was expelled for leaking details of the donations to the press.

Last night Mr Hendrickse threatened Mr West on the air with legal action because of his allegations.

Mr West responded that the public needed to know what happened to money donated to the Labour Party.

Sta 21/11/90 (11A) ~~11A~~

# Govt doubts ANC sincere over peace

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Negotiations have reached a critical point as the Government expresses growing doubts about the African National Congress's real commitment to a peaceful political settlement.

The ANC's determination to continue and even intensify its strategy of mass mobilisation and its refusal to stop training and recruiting for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, are causing concern.

In two hard-hitting speeches yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha both cast severe doubts on the ANC's desire to seek a constitutional solution through peaceful means.

And it is understood that the concern in Government goes right up to President de Klerk, who is expected to take it up with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela when they meet on Tuesday.

The ANC and Government will also try to thrash out their differences over the

ANC's mass mobilisation campaign in the joint working group on ANC armed actions which meets tomorrow and on Friday in Pretoria.

Dr Viljoen said last night the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts, intimidation and the building up of military power called into question its stated commitment to peace and had created a great obstacle to negotiations.

Mr Botha, addressing the Hans Seidel Foundation in Munich, said it was "a matter of serious concern" that the ANC could not say it was ready to implement its commitments.

He said that at the Pretoria Minute, agreement was reached on a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the return of exiles while the ANC agreed to suspend all armed actions and related activities.

Mr Botha said that apart from internal dissent, the ANC was also "burdened" by its close alliance with the South African Communist Party.

● Pik's plea — Page 11.

Sta 21/11/90

# Forex fraud probe follows suspensions

By Michael Chester

Police confirmed today that investigations had been launched into a suspected multimillion-rand new foreign exchange fraud following the suspension of three listed companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

A police spokesman said the probe was triggered by the Foreign Exchange Division of the SA Reserve Bank.

It was suspected that at least five private sector companies had broken forex control regulations on the movement of overseas currencies in and out of commercial and financial rand business accounts.

Shock waves were caused when the JSE ordered the suspension of three listed companies — the shopfitting firm of Norvic, the Lanchem door manufacturing company and the Osprey gold mine. It is understood the Reserve Bank has also ordered investigations into the affairs of two more companies suspended by the JSE earlier in the year.

● See Page 18.





# Mandela talks <sup>Gowder</sup> 22/11/90 sensitive

MBABANE - Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the African National Congress, said yesterday he was in Swaziland to discuss sensitive issues with the Swazi government.

He did not give details of the issues when questioned during a call on Prime Minister Obed Dlamini. (11A) (22)

However, the issues are believed to include the strict measures taken by the Government against the use of Swaziland by the ANC for political activity and insurgency in South Africa.

At a banquet hosted by King Mswati, Mandela said that while the ANC's relations with Swaziland had been good under King Sobhuza, problems had arisen after his death in 1982.

# Call smacks of racism

SIR As a white South African it horrifies me to read, in the black Press, calls for black unity and calls for "uniting against the enemy."

There are as many differences among blacks as there are among whites and any call for unity smacks of a new racialism (this time black).

It is also an insult to black intelligence.

Being able to think for oneself and express what you think is probably the greatest and most important of all liberties.

And who is the enemy?

Some of my fellow whites are far greater enemies to my hopes and prayers for a just and peaceful South Africa than all the millions of blacks who stand for the same ideals as I do.

There are also blacks who are not yet politically mature enough to accept a fully democratic, peaceful society. Blacks who do not yet accept the fact that the majority of whites think like De Klerk. His sincerity is beyond doubt.

He has taken massive political risks, resulting in an almost immediate change in hopes for

blacks instead of, perhaps, further decades of struggling and eventual bloody destructive revolution. (SIA) (SIA)

Perhaps it was too much to expect other leaders of the same calibre as De Klerk to emerge at the same time on the South African political scene.

It is essential for our future that black leaders come forward to call for unity, irrespective of race, of citizens who have similar ideals and who, in particular, will defend the democratic right of voters to differ democratically,

to say so and to vote accordingly - the essential tolerance of differences.

Only when such rights are accepted by all and when education has given everyone, who works for it, equal opportunities can we call everyone truly free. And only then can we together build a truly great and prosperous future for all.

Please let us have no more comments or blame on "imperialism," "colonialism," "apartheid regime" etc. We are too far advanced to a new South Africa for that sort of silly rhetoric.

Let us rather have calls for unity, for work and productivity, for multi-racial, multi-party democracy in an economic system that helps create wealth for all.

Above all, let us have calls from all responsible leaders for an end to violence - for peace to promote growth and wealth through education, investment and tourism, the concomitants of success.

SOVONG  
Cape Town

06/11/79  
Sovong

# ANC plans campaign of non-violent protest

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The ANC and the Government appeared to be on a collision course yesterday when the ANC's PWV regional committee announced a campaign of non-violent mass action barely 24 hours after senior Ministers had criticised the organisation for not distancing itself from mass action.

Chairman Kgalema Motlanthe yesterday said in Johannesburg the region had decided to embark on a campaign of non-violent mass action in an attempt to force the Government to implement agreements reached in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

The "Peace and Freedom Now!" campaign would be

launched on December 6 when marches would be staged in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

Speaking in Munich on Tuesday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said elements within the ANC were either opposed to reconciliation or were more interested in their own positions after Nelson Mandela was gone.

In Johannesburg, on the same day, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen told the American Chamber of Commerce that the Government could not negotiate with a party that was actively trying to destabilise the country through actions which repeatedly resulted in violence.

In a statement from the ANC head office, Mr Motlanthe accused the Government of dragging its feet in releasing political prisoners, allowing exiles to return home and repealing "repressive legislation".

The Government was en-

gaged in "a clear attempt" to undermine and smash the ANC and had consequently unleashed a campaign of terror against the people, he said.

While the ANC had "suspended the armed struggle in word and deed", no similar commitment to peace had been made by the Government.

The ANC reiterated its call for an interim government, saying the Government could not be both a player and a referee in the negotiations process.

Mr Motlanthe said the PWV region of the ANC was consulting its allies about other forms of mass action. Its demands included the reintegration of Bophuthatswana into South Africa.

In the event of these demands not being met, this region would recommend to the national conference that a programme of nationwide mass action be adopted for the first half of 1991," he said.

# 'ANC should now become efficient'

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

It was time the ANC, which had for long been merely "a good idea", became a great deal more and evolved into an efficient organisation, according to the latest issue of the magazine *Work In Progress* (WIP).

An editorial in the November-December issue said it was time the ANC became "an efficient organisation".

Once this had been accomplished, the ANC would then engage in "actually organising people on a large scale, aggregating their interests, thrusting the demands of most of the dispossessed and oppressed to the forefront, and seizing the political initiative

in the process".

If there were leaders who preferred the ANC "remain only a good idea rather than an efficient and democratic organisation", integrity demanded they step down or move aside.

WIP said a number of challenges confronted the membership and leadership at the December 16 national consultative conference inside the country. These included:

- Adopting a strategy and tactics for the months ahead and developing structures to serve them.
- Ensuring these structures were filled "by people who actually can and will do the work".
- Ensuring greater internal accountability and democracy were entrenched in the ANC, "with allowance made for the kind of flexibility the leadership will need to employ in the months ahead".

THE first official contact between the ANC and political parties in the tricameral parliament may take place soon — if members agree.

The ANC is presently engaged in an unprecedented mass consultation in which branches throughout the country are being asked to vote on whether the organisation should talk to tricameral parties.

The exercise comes at a time of widespread unhappiness in the organisation about high-handed decision-making by the national executive committee (NEC).

Now, the NEC has written to branches asking them to discuss the issue. Decisions are to be forwarded to regional offices.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo confirmed that a meeting with tricameral parties was on the cards but said the national office was still awaiting all the responses from regions before commenting on the members' decision.

**Support**

However, several regions had already discussed the issue by last week and had given their overwhelming support for the meeting.

According to Eastern Cape regional president, the Reverend Makhakenesi Stoffie, the ANC's talks with tricameral party leaders is a "non-issue because there is no difference between the leaders of the independent and non-independent homelands and House of Representatives leader Rev Allan Hendrickse or House of Delegates leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi".

The Transkei regional office reports that members there had "no problem" with the ANC meeting leaders of the tricameral parliament.

The ANC's former Transkei interim committee member James Kasi said he

# Overtures to the tricameral system

South 22/11 - 28/11/90

11A

**THE African National Congress is canvassing its members for their opinion on whether it should talk with tricameral parliament parties. The mini-referendum signals the first time the ANC asks for a direct mandate from its members. VUYELWA QINGA and REHANNA ROSSOUW report:**



Rev Arnold Stoffie



Amichand Rajbansi



Alfred Nzo

personally believed it was important for the ANC to talk to such people because it was the only way of informing them what the ANC stood for.

ANC members' support for a meeting with Hendrickse and Rajbansi is surprising, considering widespread protests against them this year.

Large numbers of the ANC's membership were recruited from within the ranks of the United Democratic Front — formed in 1985 to fight tricameralism.

Port Elizabeth's Northern Areas was hit by turmoil in August as residents took to the streets to protest against the Labour Party's failure to meet their demands.

It is these factors which lead the West-

ern Cape regional executive committee (REC) to decide they did not support the idea of meeting with tricameral leaders.

The ANC in the Western Cape had met with Hendrickse in August to discuss the sale of land in Mier, but talks broke down because Hendrickse would not agree to the ANC's demand to stop the sale and hold a referendum in the area.

"We do not intend to go the same route as other regions and hold a referendum on the issue," said Western Cape spokesperson Mr Trevor Mannel.

"The REC believes this will be an inappropriate exercise in futility.

"There was a commitment from the

ANC after the Mier talks broke down that there would not be further contact with the Labour Party."

Mannel said the REC was strongly against the meeting with the two parties and believed it reflected the wishes of ANC members of the Western Cape.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the ANC will take the objections of its largest region into account when making its decision.

ANC members have also participated in meetings where the discredited community councillors have been present, particularly in the Transvaal.

In many cases, the councillors were brought to the meetings as part of the Transvaal Provincial Administration

delegation but ANC members did not object to their presence.

The ANC's mini-referendum on this issue among members is believed to be the first time a direct mandate has been sought by the organisation.

Since the ANC was unbanned in February and allowed to operate openly, it has been difficult for some of its members — specially those used to the tradition of consultation and mandate in organisations like Cosatu — to accept the NEC taking major decisions without "adequate consultation".

However, it seems this consultation is one of the steps being taken to rectify that, a task made easier as branches have now been established.

Bid to get prisoners freed soon

11A

# Plan for mass action to force govt's hand

BID day 22/11/90

THE ANC is to embark on a mass action campaign in a bid to force government to speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The launch of the new campaign comes amid increasing tension between government and the ANC over the organisation's continued commitment to "mass mobilisation".

Announcing the new campaign, the chairman of ANC's PWV region, Kgalema Motlanthe, said it would be launched by the staging of marches through Johannesburg and Pretoria on December 6. This would be followed by other forms of "mass action".

In a statement issued yesterday, which Motlanthe said had the backing of ANC head office, the PWV region called for:

- The release of all prisoners and the return of exiles, as well as the suspension of political trials, before Christmas;
- The establishment of an interim government; and
- The re-incorporation of Bophuthatswana into SA.

The announcement of the campaign came just a day after Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen attacked the ANC for not distancing itself from destabilisation, mass mobilisation, boycotts and intimidation. Viljoen said these actions prejudiced and opened to question the ANC commitment to peace.

Mass mobilisation and violence flowing from various campaigns are expected to be the subject of heated debate when President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy

MIKE ROBERTSON

president Nelson Mandela meet on Tuesday.

The ANC has rejected government suggestions that mass mobilisation runs contrary to the spirit and letter of the Pretoria Minute in which it agreed to suspend armed action and "related activities".

In an interview earlier this week, Education and Development Aid Minister Stofel van der Merwe said government did not object to the ANC holding mass marches and rallies. But when these were accompanied by elements of violent coercion, as was evident in the attempt to destroy black local government structures, government regarded this as a related activity of armed action.

Members of the executive of the ANC PWV region argued yesterday that their call for the immediate release of all political prisoners did not contradict agreements reached by the political offences working group.

Government, they said, had developed a new strategy of linking the release of prisoners and return of exiles to the ANC suspending mass action. These people had effectively become hostages.

The new campaign, they said, was intended to strengthen the hand of ANC working group representatives encountering a reluctance on the part of government to remove obstacles to negotiation.

After initially indicating that the establishment of an interim government was a

□ To Page 2

## Action plan

10/11/90

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□ From Page 1.3

prerequisite for negotiations to continue, the ANC members later explained that rather than adopting such a hardline approach they believed this should be one of the matters discussed in negotiations.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, a member of the PWV executive, said government was untrustworthy and unable to manage the negotiation process. It did not make sense for government to be a referee and a player in the negotiation process.

Motlanthe, however, said the ANC still believed government was committed to peaceful negotiations. The ANC, he said, was confident that by employing various "persuasive methods" it would get government to legislate itself out of power so it could be replaced by an interim government consisting of "universally acceptable people, even retired judges".

This optimism flies in the face of repeated categorical rejections of the idea by Ministers.

# ANC membership soars in Natal

THE ANC's southern Natal region is satisfied with 25 120 members it has signed-up this year - and is confident that this number will soar during the next few months.

"Most of these people were recruited during the past two months," newly elected ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jacob Zuma told a Press conference this week, "and given the political atmosphere in Natal, I think the interim committee did very well indeed."

"We have 62 branches now in this region, and more are being launched continuously. I think we are doing remarkably well considering all the problems we have to deal with."

Such problems included the lack of efficiency in the ANC's administrative machinery, he said.

Situations often arose where the number of people attending a branch launch had been three times as many as the ANC was capable of signing-up.

He said the ANC still believed there were forces at work to destabilise their organisation. There were still areas where it was very difficult for people to meet freely and discuss recruitment campaigns for those areas.

What would make an enormous difference in the ANC's recruitment drive would be the official launch of the ANC Youth League in April next year, according to southern Natal secretary, Mr S'bu Ndebele.

He said that currently about 66 percent of South Africa's population was under the age of 29 years.

Because there were not yet any formal structures for the youth, membership figures were lower than they could have been.

He said many young black people still belonged to the South African Students' Congress (Sayco) and the national formation of the Youth League had slowed down the ANC's membership drive. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

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# Don't sacrifice basic tenets of democracy

THE issues of accountability and consultation came strongly to the fore at two different but significant forums over the past week.

While the urgency of a peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Africa is emphasised almost daily by the bloodshed in our townships, reasonable fears are being expressed about the lack of grassroots consultation on matters of vital importance to the future.

It is imperative that the leadership of organisations like the African National Congress, which has committed itself to the peace process, not get bowled over by too fast a pace. In such a situation it is inevitable that organisation and democracy get swept aside.

## Recommendations

It was in this vein that significant recommendations were made at a workers' charter conference convened by Cosatu in Johannesburg last weekend.

The key message was that the liberation movement and a future government would have to be accountable to the people.

Delegates to the conference em-

phasised that democratic procedure during the negotiation process and in a post-apartheid South Africa was "a non-negotiable".

They spelt out three "musts" for the process of negotiations — regular report-backs, accountability and proper mandates.

## Constitution

In a move to ensure that any future constitution reflects the views of the majority of South Africans, the conference threw its weight behind the demand for a constituent assembly as the only body which could draw up a new constitution.

The conference said this could only take place after the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The recommendations represent a clear signal that no decisions can be taken above the head of the people.

In a unique proposal the conference suggested that the people, not parliament should be the ultimate decision-making body with the right to petition for a referendum on unpopular laws. If accepted, it would be the first such proposal in any African country.

In drawing up these recommendations, Cosatu drew on its own experience. As the most organised component of the mass democratic movement, the federation has developed a strong tradition of internal democracy.

There has been growing disquiet in labour circles at what is perceived as a lack of accountability displayed by the ANC leadership in talks with the government this year as well as concern at the ANC's slow progress in building structures.

## Alliance

As a partner in the alliance with the ANC and SACP, Cosatu is determined to make its voice heard.

The ANC's other ally, the SACP, is also known to be concerned. There have been rumblings within the ANC as well. At the Southern Natal regional conference last weekend a group of former Robben Islanders circulated a paper expressing dissatisfaction with the way the democratic movement's leadership has been operating in the region.

The paper highlighted the lack of accountability and the uneven distribution of resources in the

region.

In discussions and other papers being circulated, similar criticisms are being levelled at the movement's tactics and manner of operation. There has been disquiet, for instance, at the lack of consultation on decisions like the suspension of the armed struggle.

## Criticisms

While it will be easy to scoff and make light of these criticisms as if they come from mere malcontents, it will be in the interest of the democratic movement in general, and the ANC in particular, to take heed.

The difficulties of the ANC — as it develops into mass movement representing divergent levels of our society with its attendant organisational and other problems — are well understood.

There is also widespread appreciation for the enormous pressure on the regional and national leadership.

It must, however, guard against sacrificing basic tenets of democracy in sorting out these short-term difficulties as this may give rise to greater problems in the longterm.



# Islanders slate UDF leadership

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

**AFRICAN National Congress prisoners on Robben Island have slated the UDF leadership in Natal for in-fighting, factionalism, uneven distribution of finance and failure to adhere to democratic practices.**

This was disclosed in a nine-page paper presented by former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Jeff Radebe,

South 22/11 - 28/11/90  
 to 410 delegates at the first conference of the ANC Southern Natal region last weekend.

The document alludes to the alleged UDF "cabal" or leadership clique which issued political decrees without proper discussion and broad consultation.

"The consequences of leading by political decree and pamphlets resulted in the use of coercion and threats, specially by the youth to force the people into political campaigns," it states.

## Undermine

The document attributed the weaknesses of the progressive forces in the region to the absence of locally based African leadership.

It claims that this shortcoming had been used to undermine and attack ANC leadership and organisations depicting them as non-African, anti-Zulu, Indian-controlled and Xhosa-led.

The document asserts that the ANC should emerge and be seen to be an independent political organisation in the region — and not appear as the UDF in another form.

"We must create these community based organisations rooted in common experiences rather than in organisational differences."

The document calls for tolerance towards Inkatha members who are genu-

inely committed to solving the problems of the region and matters of common concern, such as high rents, poor living conditions, anti-social elements and the effects of apartheid.

The dramatic elections at the culmination of the conference saw a general springcleaning of the "old order" in Natal with UDF stalwarts Archie Gumede, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Curnick Ndlovu and Natal Indian Congress officials Pravcen Ghordoun, Billy Nair and Farouk Meer outvoted.

The uncontested election

of ANC national executive member and Umkhonto We Sizwe intelligence chief Jacob Zuma as chairperson of the region, replacing Patrick "Terror" Lekota, is in line with the spirit of the document, say political commentators.

Lekota, who has been linked to the cabal, lost a bid for election as vice chairperson to Radebe.

Commenting on the paper, newly-elected regional executive committee member, Mr S'bu Ndebele, said the document reflected the general mood at the conference.

# Negotiations at 'danger point'

NEGOTIATIONS have reached a danger point as the government expresses growing doubts about the African National Congress's real commitment to a peaceful solution.

The ANC's determination to continue and even intensify its strategy of mass mobilisation and its refusal to stop training and recruiting for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, are causing concern.

In two hard-hitting speeches yesterday, Constitutional Devel-

*Sowetan 22/11/90*  
**SOWETAN Correspondents**

opment Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Foreign Minister Pik Botha both cast strong doubts on the ANC's desire to seek a constitutional solution through peaceful means.

It is understood that the concern in Government goes right up to State President FW de Klerk who is expected to take it up with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The ANC and Government

will also try to thrash out their differences over the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign in the joint working group on ANC armed actions which meets tomorrow and on Friday in Pretoria.

Viljoen said that the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts, intimidation and the building up of military power called into question its stated commitment to peace.

The Government was not

satisfied with the present state of affairs, especially in the light of violence in black townships.

Meanwhile Botha said the SA Government was "able, willing and ready" to implement its commitments on the release of prisoners and return of exiles.

"It is a matter of serious concern that the ANC cannot say the same. Indeed we are now almost daily confronted with contradictory statements by individuals from within the ranks of the ANC," Botha said.



# LP notes contradict leader's denial

Political Correspondent  
MR Allan Hendrickse's denial on TV this week that a Labour Party official recently warned his party's Eastern Cape congress of "desertions" is contradicted by an LP document.

The LP leader dismissed suggestions during the TV1 "Network" programme on Tuesday night that the official, Mr Norman Erasmus, had warned the congress that the party faithful were leaving.

However, a document prepared for presentation at the congress by Mr Erasmus, chairman of the northern areas management committee in the Port Elizabeth area, openly states that the party found itself in a situation where "former Labourites have deserted".

The document, which addresses itself to Mr Hendrickse as leader and other guests at the congress, also notes that former LP members had been "harassed".

He noted that on the local front in Port Elizabeth, LP branch structures were "weak".

# UDF to decide <sup>11A</sup> on future in 1991

*CHE. Times 22/11/90*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The UDF will decide in the new year on a future direction and new structure which could involve the formation of a broad front led by the ANC and incorporating the PAC, Inkatha and Azapo.

A document on restructuring the mass organisation was presented by the UDF's head office at a national executive committee meeting at the weekend.

Although outlining three options for restructuring the organisation, the document makes no provision for it to be disbanded.

The three options will be discussed by the various UDF regions before a final decision is taken at its national conference in February.

The future of the UDF has been debated since the unbanning of the ANC in February.

The decision that the UDF should continue in a restructured form indicates a recognition by UDF affiliates for the need to organise autonomously from the ANC in certain areas.

# Sacob members to observe trade talks

TWO senior SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) representatives will join ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as observers at the 20-member Preferential Trade Area (PTA) meeting which begins in Swaziland tomorrow.

Observers said yesterday it was "highly significant" that the Sacob members had been included in the meeting, which will be attended by senior government representatives from eastern and southern African member states.

The ANC has had observer status on the PTA since its inception in the late 1970s.

The two Sacob representatives are its deputy director-general Ron Haywood and trade secretary Bes Robertson.

The PTA, established in an attempt to create a trade grouping of countries stretching from Ethiopia to Lesotho, has in the past shunned contact with SA.

Research director of the SA Institute of International Affairs Andre du Pisani said yesterday the inclusion of the Sacob representatives might be a reaction to the creation of regional trading blocks in other parts of the world and a fear of the further marginalisation of Africa.

TIM COHEN

He said the inclusion was a significant recognition on the part of the PTA that a future SA could contribute considerably to the region's development.

It was also a recognition that the influence of SA in the region was something with which the PTA would have to come to terms, preferably in a negotiated way.

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Meanwhile, Sapa reports that early next year Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president Lionel Hartman will lead the chamber's first trade mission to the UK and Europe in more than a decade.

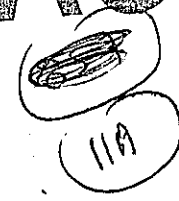
SABC radio news said the mission would spend a week in England visiting London, Manchester and Birmingham. In Germany the mission would conduct business in Dusseldorf, Munich and Hamburg.

Some members would also travel to Zurich.

Five years ago the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce trade mission visited the Far East.

# WCC funding to ANC, PAC under fire

Sowetan 22/11/90



GENEVA - The World Council of Churches' controversial "programme to combat racism" is continuing to give large amounts of financial aid to black groups in South Africa despite reform progress.

The programme, or "PCR," was established in 1970 and has been widely criticised because it concedes that it has no control over how its grants are spent.

The PCR stipulates that money should be used for humanitarian and educational purposes but has never denied that funds could be used to buy arms or at least free other money for weapons.

This year, an official PCR statement said, that a total of R1,4 million is being granted to 69

million is going to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

## College

The ANC will receive R425 000, with the funds earmarked for helping in the reorganisation of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Mazimbu.

That is necessary because of the ANC's return to South Africa, the PCR explained.

For its part, the PAC is getting R250 000. Funds are required, it was explained, to develop PAC publications on the organisation's policies and positions.

"Although the PAC has so far taken a position against negotiations with the South African Government, it nevertheless is committed to establishing its operation inside South Africa and will be seeking to return its

exiles to South Africa once the conditions do so are suitable," according to an official PCR document.

Both the ANC and the PAC have received similar grants since the programme was begun.

## Grants

Other grants to organisations involved in combating apartheid were R6 250 to the "action committee on Southern Africa" in Belgium, R10 000 to the "anti-apartheid movement" and the "information centre on Southern Africa" in Germany, R7 150 to the anti-apartheid movement of France, R6 250 each to Switzerland's "South Africa boycott action" and "anti-apartheid movement," and R25 000 to the "Washington office on Africa" in the United States. - Sowetan Correspondent

## Money

Including this amount, the total disbursed since 1970 is now more than R22 million.

Money for the grants - which are approved by the executive committee of the world council of churches - is contributed by member churches, individual congregations, anti-racism groups, and also some governments.

Sources said this week that about two-fifths of the 1990 grants of R1,4

## Police offer reward for killers of trio

A REWARD of R15 000 has been offered for information about the murder of two young members of the po-

# New row over Mandela capping

*Sowetan 22/11/90*  
A NEW row has erupted over the capping of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela with an honorary degree next week.

The Azanian Students' Convention announced yesterday it was boycotting a graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape where Mandela is to get an honorary doctorate on November 29.

This follows the settling of the controversy over who will confer a degree on Mandela at the University of Cape Town the following day.

Vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders announced yesterday that Mandela would be capped by the Chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

An unsigned letter to UWC rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel, accused the university of being biased in favour of "congress politics".

The author wanted to know why UWC was honouring Mandela and not the late Mr Zeph Mothopeng, former president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, or former Robben Island prisoner Dr Neville Alexander.

## **No bias**

Gerwel said UWC had no "institutional bias towards any political orientation except to be officially and firmly committed to the anti-apartheid struggle and the creation of a non-racial democratic order".

Azasco spokesman Mr Xolani Kalaote said the organisation would boycott, but would not demonstrate against the UWC ceremony.

He said: "We are discussing the wisdom of making heroes of people in the process of struggle. In our position, we believe . . . UWC should be given special consideration. - *Sowetan Correspondent*. in the process of struggle."

Mr Rashid Seria, the UWC graduation committee convener, said the ceremony had been organised along non-sectarian lines.

"While we respect Azasco's anti-graduation



APR 22/11/90

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# Five Bop detainees on hunger strike, says doctor

Five people detained in Bophuthatswana during a recent crackdown on ANC activists are alleged to be on a hunger strike, while at least two other detainees are apparently in poor health.

The five have not eaten since Monday, the publicity secretary of the National Medical and Dental Association in the area, Dr Fazel Randera, said yesterday.

He said Jomo Kgasu, a

diabetic, was on insulin injections. Dr Thabo Rangaka was a hypertensive patient.

The two were arrested at the weekend in a swoop in which more than 40 people were detained under Bophuthatswana's emergency regulations.

Dr Randera added: "We have evidence that soon after his arrest, Dr Rangaka suffered from a chest pain on his left side

— possibly as a result of a heart attack. Despite this, he was not taken to hospital.

"It is disturbing that the men are still detained after we had learnt that an agreement had been reached with the Bophuthatswana government that all detainees would be released."

Police spokesman Colonel David George was unavailable for comment. — Sapa.

# Peace indaba is ON!

South 22/11 - 28/11/90

11A

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's summit to forge black unity is on. The one-day summit, which suffered an early setback when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi declined an invitation, will be held at Bishopscourt, Tutu's Cape Town home, next Thursday.

Tutu's press liaison officer, Mr John Allen, said most of the major black political movements had by this week confirmed their attendance.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will represent his organisation at the summit.

## Summit

Tutu called for the summit in his opening address at the Anglican Church's synod last month.

The summit will deal with two major concerns — political tolerance and a joint strategy on negotiations.

Tutu extended the invitation to the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha Freedom Party and homeland leaders.

The aim would be for a black political summit — so that people could judge leaders who refused to attend as "enemies of unity, peace and liberation", Tutu explained.

It was this quote that Inkatha took issue with when they declined the invitation to the summit.

By REHANA ROSSOUW

Both the PAC and Azapo had accepted the invitation — with reservations.

Azapo has requested that Tutu add the issue of the presence of homeland leaders at the summit to the agenda.

"We have a long-standing non-collaboration stand on the homelands and are concerned about the presence of these people," said Azapo president, Dr Itumeleng Mosala.

## Attend

PAC spokesperson Ms Patricia de Lille said her organisation had not yet decided who would attend the summit but was definitely going.

"We have similar reservations as Azapo and have spoken to the archbishop about this," she said.

It is understood that most of the homeland leaders will be attending the summit.

Allen said he could not release the names of the leaders attending as Tutu was out of the country and would only be returning next Wednesday.

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# World boxing body

# ANC confiscates cards

By BEVERLEY GARSON

THE ANC has confiscated membership cards from workers in Fort Beaufort because they are members of a breakaway trade union. *South 22/11 - 28/11/90*

The workers are members of the Food Workers' Council of South Africa (FWCSA), an independent union formed after a split in the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) in the Eastern Cape last year.

Their cards were confiscated after they refused to attend a meeting called by ANC members to discuss problems the movement had with the FWCSA.

The secretary of the local ANC branch, Mr Mthuthuleli Mana, said the branch had not been aware of the decision which had been taken by the Zwide sub-committee.

Mana said the branch would return the cards to the workers. "The ANC does not believe that workers must only be members of Cosatu-affiliated unions."

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# ANC, Azapo agree to land transfer plans

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

8/22/11/90 (11A)

The ANC and Azapo yesterday cautiously agreed to the Development Bank of Southern Africa's proposals for the transfer of land to black farmers.

The administrator of the ANC's Land Commission, Derek Hanekom, said "many good ideas" were contained in the

study, which proposed that land earmarked for incorporation into the homelands and land farmed unproductively by whites be made available to blacks.

Mr Hanekom stressed that the issue should not be sensationalised and that the ANC was not insensitive to drought-stricken white farmers.

Azapo president Dr Itume-

leng Mosala responded positively, but cautioned that land should be viewed economically rather than simply as space.

As the controversy grew, Development Bank chairman Dr Simon Brand yesterday said it had neither been suggested that land be taken from present owners and handed over to blacks, nor that land be nationalised or transferred.

# ANC may air appeal for peace on SABC

THE ANC is considering conducting a radio campaign appealing for peace over the festive season and may approach the SABC for air time.

The ANC and Inkatha have expressed fears of a renewed, pre-Christmas outbreak of violence, but both say they will call for peace.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday a peace campaign should allow the message to be conveyed quickly, efficiently and to as wide an audience as possible. He envisaged a combined radio and pamphlet campaign. "That's if the

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LINDEN BIRNS

SABC gives us the air time."

Transvaal Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Themba Khoza said retaliation attacks could not be ruled out if hostels were raided during the festive period.

"But we hope this does not happen as it will break down all the progress made between us and the ANC since the heavy fighting ended in late September," he said.

Khoza said anyone attacking migrant labourers' hostels would not find them empty, defenceless targets. "There will be

people staying there because not everybody goes home for Christmas."

His party had made arrangements with the Law and Order Department to "ensure that no such attacks take place".

Jordan said the ANC abhorred "any sort of attack, either by residents on hostel dwellers or vice versa".

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said rumours of pre-Christmas attacks had been rife for the past five years. He could not say specifically how police would deal with a resurgence of violence.

# Strategy high on ANC summit agenda

ALAN FINE

A DISCUSSION of the political situation and ANC strategy and tactics; negotiations; and a national programme of action were the three basic agenda items for the ANC's consultative conference next month, conference organiser and executive member James Stuart said yesterday.

Of particular concern would be the ANC's reaction to what it saw as the "shifting of the goalposts" by government.

"When we agreed to suspend armed action and re-

lated activities in the Pretoria Minute, everyone knew 'related action' referred to the bringing in of arms and men. Now they are including everything under that category."

On the first item, subjects would include analysing the political forces at play in SA including violence, changing attitudes and laws, ANC organisation, alliances and co-operation with other groups, the question of a "broad front" strategy and

probably sanctions.

The second item, negotiations, would include every possible factor related to it. A major focus would be to set guidelines for the ANC's negotiators should constitutional guidelines proper begin early next year.

Stuart said it was hoped negotiations would begin early in 1991.

In contemplating a national programme of action, Stuart envisaged mass actions along the lines of those proposed this week by the ANC's PWV region.

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Tos Wentzel sets the scene for next week's meeting between F W and Mandela

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## 'Mass action' will be on the agenda

**T**UESDAY'S meeting between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will not exactly be another summit, but its aim will be to remove obstacles to negotiations.

The remaining barriers to the start of exploratory talks on negotiations are the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the question of violence. The latter issue includes the ANC's undertaking to suspend armed action, and the question of what it has deemed to be State violence.

It is this that is delaying progress towards negotiations.

While Mr Mandela has again committed his movement to an end of violence he has also committed himself to intensified mass action as a fundamental principle of democracy. He has also contin-

ued to express concern about what he maintains is the involvement of Government officials in some of the violence.

Mr de Klerk has in turn said that there are no indications of such a sinister "third force", and on-the-ground contact between the police and the ANC has been established in various regions.

The dispute between the Government and the ANC on this issue has been warming up before next week's meeting.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee has called ANC plans for mass action protests against the local government system a ploy to derail negotiations.

ANC spokesman Trevor Manuel called on the Government to stop using "our comrades (political prisoners and exiles) as pawns or

hostages to try and force us into political positions."

Winnie Mandela said that "our commanders" had dug the trenches and stood ready at their bases for the command to fire. The order would be given if the Government misbehaved.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is supposed to be the chief Government negotiator, said that the ANC's failure to distance itself from mass mobilisation, boycotts and intimidation called into question its commitment to peace.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said that elements within the ANC either opposed reconciliation or were more interested in their own positions after Mr Mandela had gone.

In answer to the ANC's demands that the present system of


black local government must be scrapped, the President himself this week told a delegation of the United Municipalities of South Africa that the existing structures of local government would be maintained until new structures had been created.

A working group on the question of violence and the suspension of the ANC's armed actions which was established in terms of the Pretoria Minute has been meeting rather irregularly and unsatisfactorily with Chris Hani, the head of Umkhonto We Sizwe, on occasions not turning up. The question is now whether the Pretoria Minute rules out ANC plans for mass mobilisation or action.

It is against this background therefore that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela will meet. □

# NP, ANC get a lashing

*Sowetan*  
*23/11/90*



NEITHER the African National Congress or the National Party had effective control over its own forces and both had failed South Africa by using violence as a political football, said Democratic Party MP for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle.

In a fierce attack he said both sides had forfeited their claim to high moral ground.

The country was "drifting towards chaos and the NP and ANC must take the blame," he told a report-back meeting in Kenilworth.

## No vision

Highlighting problems associated with violence and the campaign to make South Africa ungovernable, the conditions in townships, poor education and controversial local government, Carlisle said of the NP and the ANC: "They have appointed themselves the sole custodians of our future, yet neither has a vision of that future, nor a plan of how to get there.

"Neither has effective control of its forces and when the heat is on they become impotent spectators of the ensuing carnage - and then blame each other.

## **SOWETAN Correspondent**

grassroots level - in school and church groups and ratepayers' associations - that ordinary South Africans could be decisive in shaping the future of the country.

## Hostile

"In the end, both see specific advantages for themselves, regardless of the cost to South Africa and display hostile intolerance to those who stand in their way.

"Both are involved in covering-up evidence of the murderous thuggery of certain of their supporters and/or officials.

"The ANC and the NP have massively failed South Africa. From the heady days of February, the situation has steadily become worse and continues to do so."

However, a more positive reflection of change was the decision of white parents to open schools to all. This was the most significant change in attitude in South Africa's history.

And it was at this



# Zuma did not 'depose' Lekota <sup>(11A)</sup> ANC

W/Mail 23/11 - 29/11/90

●From PAGE 16

up a similar position as convenor establishing branches of the ANC in the Free State.

He did not initially make himself available for election, but during the conference his arm was twisted by some of his many supporters and, at the last minute, he reluctantly allowed his name to go forward for election as vice-chairman.

He was not elected to this position: his surprise nomination found many votes already committed through pre-election lobbying; and it could also indicate that people knew he was due to leave the region.

Like Lekota, Zuma is known to be committed to achieving peace in Natal and favours talks.

However, he has not blotted his copybook with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — one of the many who have welcomed Zuma's election.

While Lekota has made some speeches to which Buthelezi has taken exception, describing them as "war talk", Zuma is a comparative newcomer to Natal regional politics and has a clean slate. This could work to his advantage in negotiations with Inkatha.

Following his election he has another advantage over members of previous Natal peace talks delegations — he will act both with a local mandate (something which often proved a problem for previous delegations) and with the authority of a member of the national executive committee.

But his membership of the NEC could also present difficulties — there is some concern whether he will be able to devote adequate time to the special problems of the Southern Natal region, given his national commitments.

Speaking after his election Zuma said he did not yet know where he would be based and that this would depend on the ANC. "But I should spend a little bit more time here than before."

Conference resolutions on key issues such as national negotiations and Natal violence have not yet been finalised. The conference ran late and resolutions have been postponed to a separate meeting due to be held before the national consultative conference.

However, Zuma said he was "hopeful" on both issues, negotiations and peace.

Among the tasks he identified for the new executive was the organisation of the ANC in the region.

"We also see as our immediate and very crucial task to deal with the question of violence in this region, and to bring the ANC into the hearts and minds of the people of this region as vigorously as we can."

A final advantage for Zuma — which he discounts as being an "ethnic" consideration — is that he is a Zulu. His election counters the gibe often levelled at the ANC by for example elements within Inkatha that it is Xhosa dominated and that Zulus should not join the organisation as their political home "is in Inkatha".

Zuma was born in the Inkandla Forest area of Northern Natal but grew up and worked in Durban's Cato Manor and kwaMashu areas.

Against this background his election also neatly answers the call made by Robben Island prisoners to the conference — for the establishment of a local, African leadership in the region.

**MAGGIE'S FALL DRAWS MIXED SA REVIEWS**

**MIKE ROBERTSON  
and LINDEN BIRNS**

23/11/90

SOUTH Africans had cause to express great appreciation to outgoing British Prime Margaret Thatcher, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk said Thatcher had consistently shown faith in SA's ability to solve its problems in a democratic way. That faith was being vindicated. *5 iday 23/11/90*

Although Thatcher's resignation gave rise to a degree of uncertainty and concern in SA, he believed developments locally over the past year would be sufficient to ensure that relations with the British government under new leadership remained cordial. *(11B) 2000*

By contrast, ANC information head Pallo Jordan welcomed Thatcher's resignation, saying whoever took her place as Britain's political leader could not be as bad as her. Although Michael Heseltine, tipped to replace Thatcher, had not stated his stance on SA, there would probably be a shift away from present Tory policy. PAC foreign affairs secretary Patricia

de Lille said Thatcher had consistently acted as a racist in disregarding the oppressed people of SA.

The PAC hoped local racists would learn from her fall that the world was moving into a new era.

DP leader Zach de Beer said Thatcher had been an outstanding prime minister but it now appeared to be the right time for her to go. If Thatcher had resigned a year or two ago, it could have had serious consequences for SA. Now he believed whoever was elected would be sympathetic towards this country.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was in London recently "when the long knives were out. I was impressed by her attitude amid all this," he said. "All she said to me was that these things happen in politics and one must just not be dismayed."

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# Contralesa should not choose, say chiefs

NA

Sowetan  
23/11/90

**THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa had no choice but to co-operate with groups and individuals holding different political opinions.**

Reacting to accusations that he was dragging Contralesa into "bantustan" politics, the organisation's Mr Samson Ndou said yesterday that as an organisation of traditional leaders, from time to

### SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

time Contralesa found itself canvassing membership in the homelands.

Contralesa's Natal regional secretary, Chief ZM Mlaba, and KwaNdebele's Chief Cetswayo Mahlangu, had earlier released a statement disassociating the organisation from Ndou's "group". - Sapa.

(49) (11A) FM 23/11/90

Until now, the ANC has had only five people in its economics department. However, this will swell considerably during the coming week, when the entire department, which has recently been indemnified, returns from Lusaka to set up offices in Frederick Street, Johannesburg. Because of movement into and from the department, the only business comments that will be up for ANC debate will be those actually set down in black and white.

#### Not the only

Nationalisation is by no means off the agenda.

Last week black bus owners called for nationalisation of transport; there are growing signs of preference for a policy of land nationalisation; and the nationalisation of utilities and parastatals is a demand the ANC has not abandoned. Nor have many black business organisations such as the powerful SA Black Taxi Association.

But Sabta, which represents about 55 000 taxi drivers with an estimated aggregate annual income of R3bn, has also not tendered comments on ANC economic policy. Public affairs manager Mike Ntlatleng says that if the ANC formally asks for a submission Sabta will consider it — “but the ANC is not the only political organisation that has economic views; there is no reason why we should favour it.”

Within the ANC there are some economists and others — both in the leadership and rank and file — who are unhappy with the policy document, who reject nationalisation and statist solutions — who feel that economic inequality must be addressed. The lack of formal response from business does not strengthen their hand and, if anything, entrenches the positions of those who seek socialist solutions.

More than one ANC official, unhappy with the economic policy document, confides to the *FM* that they would not dare express their opposition to nationalisation to the powerful 1m-strong National Union of Mineworkers. “We would be lynched,” they say.

Anglo American says the document, among other matters, will be discussed in a meeting it hopes soon to hold with the ANC. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut says it has discussed the document informally, but will further evaluate a response after a meeting of its economic committee.

Sacob's Professor Ben van Rensburg says the chamber has not commented on the document — but neither has the ANC commented on its position paper. In fact, he complains that the ANC has not furnished Sacob with a copy of its policy document. “I had to beg for one.” He adds that Sacob will comment on the document once it has been discussed and would then arrange a meeting with the ANC to give their opinions “rather than put things on paper where there could be misconceptions.”

The Free Market Foundation's Leon Louw says his organisation hopes to have a

written response by early December. “We are taking this quite seriously.”

The foundation, Louw says, will address obvious issues in its response — including the land question, redistribution of wealth, nationalisation and privatisation. “We will also address issues the ANC does not look at adequately such as agricultural policy and transport policy.”

Another leading Johannesburg businessman, who does not want to be named, says part of the lack of response is “despair at the ANC's economic illiteracy. It is incredibly frustrating not knowing how to deal with it. Part of the problem is that the business community has been isolated from the ANC for so many years. The business community is partly insensitive — and partly lacks alternatives.”

For the moment the ANC wants something on paper.

ARTS

# 'Time to move beyond cultural boycott'

W/Mail 23-29/11/90

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THE immediate end of the cultural boycott is being mooted by two leading cultural activists.

Writing in their individual capacities, Junaid Ahmed, general secretary of the Congress of South African Writers, and Mike van Graan, of Cape Town's Community Arts Project, call for co-operation with institutions that were formerly "off-limits" (such as the performing arts councils and the SABC).

In a paper intended to serve as a basis for discussion at the launch of the National Consultative Conference in Durban next month they propose drawing on international skills, expertise and experience to assist in the growth of a vibrant, internationally influenced but locally rooted culture.

Also, "to counter the influence and hegemony of dominant western arts traditions in our country and to develop our art in what is primarily an African developing country", they seek close links with cultural workers in other African countries, particularly with those in the front-line states.

In the paper they concede that "since February 2 1990, the struggle has shifted from the sphere of coercion to the sphere of hegemony" and argue that even if other forms of pressure need to be maintained for a while longer, lifting the cultural boycott at this stage will make more political gains for the progressive movement than would its retention, even as part of a broad strategy.

The boycott had served its purpose in bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table. It had

A paper by two cultural activists urge the immediate end of the cultural boycott and the reassessment of cultural strategies.

**Weekly Mail Reporter**

helped to create restrictive organisations that had to go to make room for fresh organisations to develop unhindered.

"We have massive legacies of apartheid deprivation to overcome in providing literacy in the arts. Lifting the boycott will enable us to begin this work by recruiting skilled teachers from other parts of the world.

"As progressive forces now struggle for leadership within the new conditions, lifting the cultural boycott, hosting stars such as Sting and Tracy Chapman, as well as being responsible for British TV programmes becoming available to South Africa will draw many more people into the sphere of influence of the progressive movement."

The paper states:

"Whether one believes that the process of change is irreversible or not, the government has assumed the moral high ground. Whereas the morally repugnant system of apartheid and its brutality in repressing dissidents caused it to struggle to exercise hegemony despite its controlling the most important media and repulsed it from international community, the Pretoria government is beginning to win increasing

sympathy at home and abroad.

"The rules of the game and the nature of struggle have changed significantly. The progressive movement can no longer rely for support on grounds of its former status as victim ... The onus is now on the progressive forces to take the lead for the majority at home and of the international community; to convince them that their forces are better than the new-look, new-speak De Klerk government, to offer superior ideas and moral values to the present and future South Africa.

"The boycott arose under very different conditions and it gave rise to forms of cultural organisation and practice which, if they were necessary in the context of severe repression, are most counter productive within this transitional phase.

"Many cultural organisations had their genesis in the need to monitor and implement the cultural boycott. This function and the way it was executed led to these organisations being perceived as:

- Serving "primarily as censorship bodies whose primary aim was to control rather than facilitate culture, coming to be feared for their power rather than respected for their leadership.
- "Undemocratic with little tolerance for different points of view".
- Serving as "power bases for a few individuals.
- "Biased in favour of a particular ideology", and
- Existing "more to play political games in the cultural sphere than to represent the real interest of cultural workers.

"Accordingly many artists and cultural workers were alienated from progressive cultural organisations", which now had to overcome the legacies of both apartheid deprivation and the anti-apartheid cultural struggle.

Their task is to initiate a literacy campaign in the arts, to make skills and knowledge in the arts available on a mass scale.

The programme includes the training of human resources; the development of sophisticated leadership with the political and organisational skills and cultural sensibilities to be able to analyse, plan, strategise and practically advance a counter-hegemonic movement; the creation of the material base and organisational infrastructure to support grassroots cultural work, including the development of arts centres in rural and urban areas, and the development of new audiences, particularly in areas where there is no tradition of attending theatre or exhibitions.

The plan envisages the exploration of new aesthetic forms, more exciting ways of communication, new ways of creating and disseminating art and ways of looking at and thinking about the world.

It also urges the correction of historical imbalances in the distribution of skills, targeting women, rural dwellers and workers.

It also agitates for the introduction of arts syllabi at all levels of schooling, the recording and documenting of black cultural history and the democratisation of museums, galleries and libraries.

It aims to redress and counterbalance the flood of "sub-literature" and the lowest common denominator of commercial culture in all fields which ignored the cultural boycott and therefore "has come to dominate popular perceptions of literature and culture in our society".

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♐	SAGITTARIUS	84	♊	GEMINI	90
♑	CAPRICORN	85	♋	CANCER	95

Calls cost 2-315 Rand per 30 secs

## Staffrider to show art, photographs

THE 1990 Staffrider exhibition of graphics, paintings, sculpture and photography will be opened in the Market Gallery by Barbara Masekela, head of the Department of Arts and Culture of the African National Congress, on Sunday, November 25, at 6pm.

Awards to the value of R4 000 will be made and the winners of two scholarships made available by the British Council to an artist and photographer to study in the United Kingdom in 1991.



an adventure in obsession

LABOUR

# Cosatu seeks closer ties with ANC

W/Mail 23-29/11/90 (11A)

Labour's wish to put flesh on the bones of its partnership with the African National Congress was the unspoken agenda of Cosatu's recent workers' charter conference. Delegates laid the foundation for the federation's stand on a new constitution, reports **DREW FORREST**

**T**HE Congress of SA Trade Unions' workers' charter conference represents a key step in the union federation's push for closer ties with, and greater influence over, the African National Congress.

Held at the weekend in Johannesburg and attended by 350 delegates, the conference laid the foundations for a Cosatu platform on a post-apartheid constitution. It followed privately voiced but widespread complaints in the union movement about the ANC's lack of consultation with its alliance partners on the constitution and other issues.

"The conference decided we must work with the ANC's constitutional committee. We're not looking at drafting our own constitution, but at making an input into something essentially framed by the ANC," said Cosatu campaigns co-ordinator Lisa Seftel.

However, she added that the conference had "facilitated preparation" for a charter to be adopted at Cosatu's national congress next year. To remedy the poor worker response to the charter campaign, it is understood the charter committee has been told to prepare a programme of action.

The conference also proposed a "workers' summit", to which Nactu and non-aligned unions would be invited, to ensure broad worker participation in the charter process. Nactu's Cunningham Ngcukana said this week



Delegates at the Cosatu workers' charter conference, held at Wits University, stand for the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika

W/Mail 23-29/11/90

(11A)

Picture: AFRAPIX

he favoured the idea "in principle".

Although they only had recommending powers, the conference delegates reached broad consensus on key demands for a new constitution, including:

- The right to strike without fear of legal action or strike breaking, to strike pickets, strike funds, sympathy strikes and strike action over economic, social and political issues.

Cosatu's Jay Naidoo said these rights would apply only to procedural

strikes, as procedures in a post-apartheid South Africa were likely to be more acceptable to labour. A possible exception were wildcat strikes provoked by employers, which would be further debated.

Proposals for further discussion were an anti-lockout clause, whether employers should have a duty to bargain, and whether essential services should be excluded from constitutional strike rights.

Some delegates are thought to be criti-

cal of a "buckshot approach", arguing that many of these rights belong in labour statute or agreements.

- The right to organise freely, to join unions, to literacy for members and shop stewards and to hold unrestricted meetings.

- The right to union autonomy and to union participation in state structures relevant to labour, such as the National Manpower Commission. No consensus was reached on whether unions

should register, but there was some feeling that any registration procedure should encourage non-racialism and democratic practice.

It is understood there was sharp debate — and no agreement — on whether unionists should be able to hold state office.

- The right to referendums on planned laws — which have still to be determined — and the right to information, including access to state documents and press freedom, with the proviso that the press should reflect the views of all organisations. State monopoly of radio and TV was rejected.

- The right to a union role in economic planning and constitutional backing for the redistribution of wealth. It was decided to draft an economic programme for debate within Cosatu.

- Gender rights, including equality in marriage and on divorce, dual responsibility for domestic work, parity in pay, recruitment, education and training, safe work conditions for pregnant women, adequate maternity and paternity rights, protection from sexual violence and legal abortion.

The conference proposed that a "family code" be embodied in the constitution.

On the constitutional process, the conference endorsed Cosatu's call for a constituent assembly. However Naidoo said the issue of whether the constitution would be adopted in an assembly or at a subsequent referendum had still to be discussed.

Seftel said the conference had seen a clear shift away from the idea of a transitional government to "arrangements" for a smooth shift to democratic rule. This might entail a code of conduct or even international intervention to ensure the neutrality of the security forces, as well as impartial access to the media.

WHERE are the 600 000 supporters that the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance claims? Are they phantoms?

No, says the party's leader John Gogotya, just victims of a media conspiracy to ignore Fida and its activities.

This weekend, at its national congress in Johannesburg, Fida and its support base will be up for scrutiny.

In an interview prior to the congress, Gogotya revealed some of the organisation's sitting executive — names that were certainly not banded about at the time of Fida's controversial launch in 1987.

This is part of the line-up: John Gogotya, a 52-year-old former missionary trained at the Assembly of

# An unknown group reveals some secrets

God Spring Valley Bible Institute, is president of Fida. Prior to founding Fida he ran an organisation called Organisation Advance and Upgrade. He is also chairman of the Progressive Alliance, a grouping of eight churches and Christian organisations which uses religious networks to propagate an anti-African National Congress line in the United States.

Alfred Tekwane, mayor of Mhla-keng township on the West Rand, is vice-president. He is also principal of a high school in Kagiso, where his dual role of councillor sparked a school boycott some years ago. Described as a quiet man and a loner, he is said to keep

his distance from the people of Mhla-keng behind the customary councillors' guards.

Tom Mashinini, long-time unionist in the National Union of Clothing Workers, is Fida's national organiser. Mashinini's union career came to an end after the clothing unions joined to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union of South Africa. He was dismissed by executive decision of Actwusa, who saw his activities as divisive. He was believed to be associated with an abortive court application to pull a section of Actwusa members out of the union.

Dan Kriek, professor of political

science at the University of South Africa, is a Fida executive member. Kriek is described by those who know him as "dyed in the United Party wool" or an "old Blood-SAP" or "Mr Consociational Democracy". The last title relates to the role he played in developing policy for the defunct New Republic Party. His last political association was with the Democratic Party.

Maboyi Zondo is Fida's organiser in Secunda. Zondo hails from the Eastern

Transvaal town of Leandra where he was associated with the vigilante gang which stabbed and beat civic leader Ampie Mayisa to death in early 1986. Zondo was never convicted of any offence in relation to vigilante activities but he was temporarily interdicted by the supreme court in Pretoria.

Other Fida executives, according to Gogotya, include:

- Vincent Thusi, a community councillor in Dobsonville, who is at loggerheads with the civic association over allocation of houses.

- Colin Vale, lecturer in international relations at Wits University.

- Jakes Sibisi, former Bloemfontein journalist.

- Anthony Trowbridge, a consultant in regional development and linked to the New York-based Association for the Study of Man-Environment Relations Inc.

- Shadrack Seleka, former president of the Black Trade Union.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE

John Gogotya, the 'moderate' politician and churchman who is eager to join President FW de Klerk at the negotiating table  
Picture: KEVIN CARTER

# Fida's leader speaks — but still the questions remain unanswered

Where are their 600 000 members? Who foots the bill? Where does the money go? Who are they closest to — the PAC, Inkatha or the National Party? **JO-ANNE COLLINGE** speaks to John Gogotya, the leader of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance

**J**OHAN GOGOTYA is a moderate politician and churchman who tells Christians in the United States that those who follow the way of the "match-box and the necklace" in South Africa "eat the charred corpse of the Christian victim, chewing the burned flesh and blood of a body created in the image and like of God".

He is also the man who met President FW de Klerk last month to make it known that the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) — which he heads — was ready and impatient to sit down at the negotiating table.

Gogotya's extraordinary description of political cannibalism appears in a letter signed by Gogotya in his role as chairman of the Progressive Alliance (PA) which claims to represent 7.5-million Christians.

A large part of the letter is an angry attack on the African National Congress, whose power "is only possessed because of the death and destruction they hurl on those who righteously oppose them" and whose opposition constitutes "practically all who believe in God".

Richard Hart, the Washington lobbyist who has decided to further the cause of the PA, says his mailing of this letter to church groups in the US has drawn a response which is "90 to 95 percent favourable".

Harty is not the only US citizen offering expert services to Gogotya. Albert Blaustein, of Rutgers University in New Jersey, an internationally recognised constitutional expert with something like 20 national constitutions to his name, has drawn up the constitution which Fida hopes to take to the negotiating table, says Gogotya. It has already been submitted to the South African Law Commission.

Blaustein, described by a South African academic as a conservative liberal, is understood to have visited South Africa periodically over the last decade. He evidently made it clear that he was in the market for a South African constitutional commission — and found a taker in Fida.

But, it is said, Blaustein's competent services don't come cheap. Who foots the Fida bill?

Gogotya spoke to *The Weekly Mail* about the funding, policy and structures of Fida which was launched in 1987, a year after the State of Emergency had put thousands of political activists behind bars and effectively outlawed the campaigns of the United

Democratic Front and its affiliates.

Fida's sudden appearance in this vacuum aroused suspicion that it had been sponsored by the government as part of its counter revolutionary strategy.

Government sponsorship? Never, insisted Gogotya. Fida's money, he said, came from South African business.

"We had businessmen who came to the fore — businessmen from the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, from the Chamber of Commerce, individually. And other people who also made donations." He mentioned a few names.

Gogotya admitted: "We had a difficult situation where some of the business companies wouldn't touch us because they're afraid of the trade unions. But they would wait until it was the tail end of the financial year and whatever was left, they would just throw it at us and say, 'we didn't give'."

The international oil companies had "done a great deal" for Fida, said Gogotya, and the organisation was "looking to raise millions from them".

Fida does not hide its anti-Marxist position. For instance, it describes the campaign by the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal to "encourage" township councillors to resign as "one more piece of evidence that the stubborn Stalinist, Joe Slovo, persists in his attempts to rewrite the 1917 revolution in South Africa in spite of the fact that the entire Eastern bloc is discarding it".

Does Fida maintain ties with anti-communist groups abroad? (After all, International Freedom Foundation posters are part of the decor of the Fida Johannesburg office.) Yes, said Gogotya, with Christian Democrats in Italy and Germany.

"And we will be going to Poland to look at Lech Walesa's organisation. We have contact with some of the trade unions in Poland."

"Our natural allies would be Inkatha. As allies would be the Pan Africanist Congress. You would be surprised how much rapport there is between us and the PAC," said Gogotya, adding that Fida's East London organiser was a former PAC man who spent 20 years in exile.

"We are in constant contact with the PAC. We believe that the PAC has come out to be more pragmatic and more honest. We are aware we subscribe to different political tenets. Yet they are able to accommodate and tolerate us."

"No, we definitely don't find that with the ANC. At this point I would hate to describe them as our enemies. We differ greatly in terms of political outlook."

The view is consistent with the Gogotya of old who declared that the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was keeping himself in jail by his refusal to renounce violence. But in other respects, there has been an about face. On the question of one-person-one-vote, for instance,

In fact, the same factors that motivated contact with Walesa were behind recent contact between Fida and Zimbabwe Unity Movement leader Edgar Tekere. "We brought Edgar Tekere (to South Africa) to share with us his views about the one-party state and its results. He painted a sorry picture about the situation in Zimbabwe.

"It isn't physically possible to have an alliance with Tekere. Just like with Wa-

lesa, there's no way we can form an alliance. But we are talking to people like him ... because we must find out what problems they encountered in their struggle against communism and oppression."

Who does Fida see as its natural allies in South Africa?

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In 1988 he offered the opinion that "we have seen what this has done to the rest of Africa. It has brought oppression and deprivation to the whole continent".

Now it forms the basis of election to the lower house in the two-chamber parliament Fida proposals.

When asked about this Gogotya laughed.

"Well — evolution, evolution, evolution. Our interpretation of the one-man-one-vote principle is not the same as the ANC's. We speak about democracy. The ANC speaks about democracy. But they are speaking about the people's democracy which is in China and in Vietnam."

Fida supports "recognition of diversity" which, said Gogotya, amounted to the same thing as De Klerk's checks and balances. In the two-chamber system, proposed by Fida, the senate would act as a check on the lower house and would comprise representatives of states and "cultural communities". The latter would include traditional leaders.

The National Party's thoughts on a constitution are not too far removed from this. But Gogotya dismissed the notion of an alliance with the NP as premature.

"We still differ a great deal in terms of our interpretation of minorities. But that does not mean that we will not find common ground at a later stage."



w/m and 23/11 - 29/11/90

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“ Our natural allies would be Inkatha ... You would be surprised how much rapport there is between us and the PAC ”

THE INDEPENDENT PAPER FOR  
A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

THE  
WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 6, Number 45, November 23-29, 1990

How to end the  
slave trade

**T**HIS newspaper has exposed a thriving trade in human beings — young Mozambicans fleeing their country's civil war — in the Eastern Transvaal. That such revelations cause no more than a minor outcry is an indication of the tolerance we have all developed for stories of the most base human horror. What has happened to us that we see little surprising or unexpected in such revelations?

The key issue now is to find a way of stopping this trade.

The traditional South African reaction would be to put extra volts into the electric fence on the South African/Mozambican border in the hope that refugees will be fried before we have to bother about their condition and status on this side of the border.

There is another, more humane option.

The root causes of the trade are twofold: the brutal war that sends people in flight from their homes, and the fact that South African legislation on the treatment of refugees is among the most vicious in the world.

The Aliens Act and the Illegal Entry of Persons into the Republic Act allow junior policemen and customs officials to deport any person suspected of being an illegal immigrant — and specifically excludes the power of any court to quash this decision. At least 3 000 Mozambicans are sent back over the border on this basis every month.

It is the threat of deportation that gives the traders ultimate power over refugees — if they don't co-operate, they can easily be returned to the war, a fate most consider worse than slavery.

The refugees, therefore, have little protection in South African law except in small homelands that have chosen to deal with the problem humanely, such as kaNgwane and Gazankulu, but neither has the resources to deal with the influx.

The government should recognise the refugee problem as an unavoidable reality and seek ways to give these people some legal status and therefore protection against exploitation. This would remove the power of those who take advantage of refugee vulnerability.

The government should also recognise its substantial culpability for the Mozambican war, having given sustenance to one of the most vicious and brutal opposition organisations for many years when it would otherwise have probably faded into oblivion. The second half of an anti-slave trade strategy should be for us to do all we can to restore peace to our neighbouring country and help undo the terrible destruction caused at least partly by Pretoria-inspired destabilisation.

Protest and the law

EARLY this year, President FW de Klerk declared that peaceful protest was legal.

He should try telling this to those who tried to march through the streets of central Johannesburg last weekend and found themselves facing the wrath of police.

This is just one of a spate of incidents in which police have prevented or broken up "illegal gatherings".

One fact cuts through all the hot air about people's right to gather, to protest, to express their views: the 14-year-old ban on all outdoor meetings that requires a magistrate's permission for any gathering of more than two people. It is renewed each year without much questioning or fuss, indicating how much we have come to accept it as part of the normal state of affairs. In fact, it is an abomination, a leftover from a repressive past when basic human rights were the plaything of magistrates accountable to no-one.

These magistrates have reversed the tolerance shown earlier this year, when De Klerk himself showed us how peaceful, healthy and joyous public demonstrations could be. Their refusals almost inevitably lead to conflict, rather than help prevent it, because the police feel — for some bizarre reason based more on habit than good sense — that they have an automatic obligation to prevent or break up these protests.

The state president has the power to lift the ban immediately and allow decisions on protests to be confined to practical questions of the disruption of traffic and the prevention of violence. He should do so immediately.

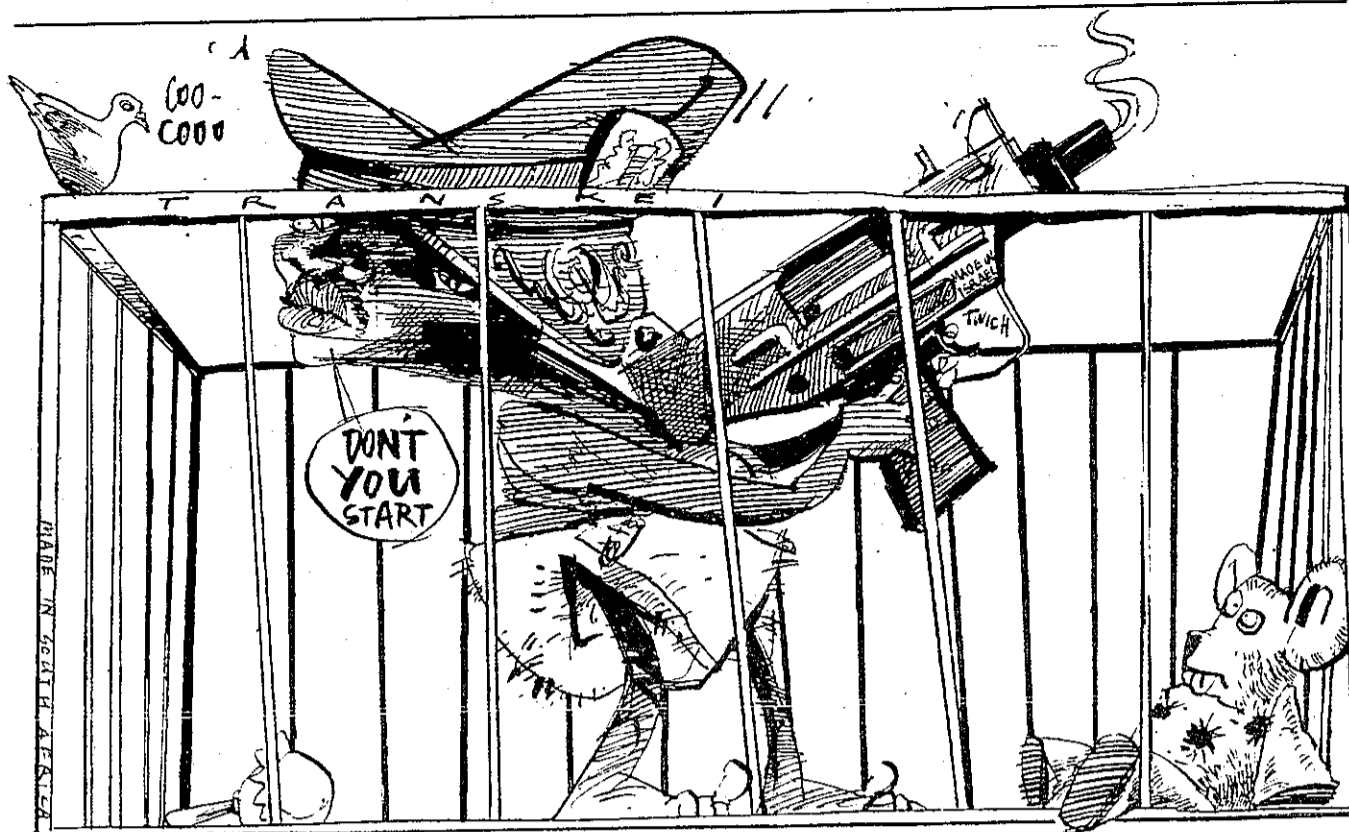
The ANC, for its part, should put the issue high up on its agenda of demands. This would help defuse a point of conflict, though it would — rightfully — put the onus on them, or other protest organisers, to ensure that these events are peaceful and disciplined.

LAST WORD

"A lioncub/ weaves an iron dub / in roaring lines/ for a lioness/ who writes/ the might/ of blight/ in a bullet/ in flight/ who reads/ the needs/ of a land/ that bleeds/ with the speed/ of a warseed/ taking root/ beneath the jackboot..."

From *Raplines for a Lioness* by Lesego Rampolokeng, written for Nadine Gordimer and read at a birthday celebration this week hosted by the Congress of South African Writers

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



State must take a bold  
step in fight against Aids

**A**S the government moves to reinforce its efforts against Aids, questions are being asked why steps were not taken sooner. Nine years after South Africa reported its first case, the country has no high level interdepartmental forum to co-ordinate efforts, no comprehensive pooling of data and no programme for Aids education in schools.

These are now in the pipeline. An interdepartmental committee will meet in January, surveillance is being stepped up and young people have been targeted for a major education campaign.

And Health Minister Rina Venter may make an announcement next week to coincide with World Aids Day on December 1.

But last week Johannesburg's City Health department reported that 100 000 South Africans are already infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which causes Aids. Much water has flowed under the bridge — pressure will mount on the government to act.

The Department of National Health and Population Development does not concede that it failed to act swiftly enough. "In 1985 it was a disease in the white homosexual community only," says Dr JH Lombard, director of medical services. "There were no women and no black people involved. The HIV was only identified in 1983 and there was then some suspicion that it was connected to homosexual practices. In 1985, when a test for the virus became available, we acted very quickly to protect blood transfusion services. And from 1986, we began issuing Aids information."

Director of Epidemiology, Dr Horst Kustner, says: "For many years, type two Aids — heterosexual transmission — was not an issue. I even had hopes that this might just pass us by. That hope was dashed at the end of 1987."

The department also argues that it cannot be held solely responsible for the Aids effort. "The containment of Aids is not a medical problem, it's a community problem and the private sector and community organisations will have to do their part," Lombard says.

But others in the field take a different view. Johannesburg's acting medical officer of health, Doctor Nicky Padayachee, says city officials "knew it was only a matter of time before there would be heterosexual spread. We knew this on the basis of evidence from other sexually transmitted diseases and the experience with Aids of other countries, and we acted".

Dr Malcolm Steinberg, head of Aids research at the Medical Research Centre, says

While the basic causes of Aids have to be dealt with at community level, the government departments should have taken a lead. **JOHN PERLMAN** asks why the state has been so slow in its response to the disease



the number of cases should have had "nothing to do with the setting up of programmes to handle the epidemic. There was a complete lack of understanding that the fundamental causes of Aids would always have to be tackled at a community level."

"There should have been preparation and the department of health should have taken the lead. Aids does have many other facets which makes an integrated approach essential, but it is at root a health issue," Steinberg says.

The department of national health clearly intends to step up its fight against Aids, including a strong push for business support, but it is going to have to negotiate some tricky currents.

The involvement of community groups is seen as essential and the 10 Aids Training and Information Centres set up around the country are seen as the vehicle for this. Workers in these centres say they are well-placed to do this, but they are hopelessly short of resources. "We are being swamped," says one. Add in the complications of national politics — most of the R350 000 allocated in the national health budget to assist community Aids organisations was never applied for — and it be-

comes clear that there is a wide gulf to be bridged.

The department also plans to monitor the epidemic more closely, using local authority studies, blood transfusion services and other sources including its own surveys. Education efforts to date will also be assessed.

But the department will still not have access to all data. "We don't have access to all information generated at local level," says Kustner. "We have to wait until this is published or reported in the press."

The success of the inter-departmental forum will depend on other arms of government — and reveal the extent to which national health has been preparing for a joint effort. The SABC, for instance, is considering the department's application — not the first — to screen condom adverts. And programmes in schools depend ultimately on the education departments. In Johannesburg, for instance, city health is effectively barred from state schools.

"We have no right just to go into schools," says Doctor Manda Holmshaw, a clinical psychologist responsible for Aids education at national health. "There is not much sex education in schools but education authorities say it must come from them. We are trying to give them a greater sense of urgency."

Efforts in schools will also have to reconcile differing moral perspectives in government. Holmshaw says that "the more moralistic education is the less people react to it"; Kustner's view is that "people are justifiably wary of eroding what norms exist through the fight against this disease".

A further handicap is that the government is not yet ready for a campaign in schools. "There is hardly any material available," says Holmshaw. "We really have to start almost from scratch."

Lack of material and of trained educators, says Steinberg, is the biggest indictment of government Aids efforts to date. "The lack of these is the measure of the time that has been lost," he says.

Padayachee accepts the government is trying to move. "Little is served in asking why they didn't do these things before. What matters is what they do now. If within a year there is no major change, the number of HIV infected may have reached 200 000."

"But we can still have an impact. The government must start allocating more resources and not just to its own programmes. Every rand we spend now will save us R30 in years to come. Most of all, the government must start being bold. Difficult problems do have to be resolved. But in the end the health of the community must come first."





First Southern Natal regional congress of the ANC ... Jacob Zuma was elected convener, a position that was held before by Terror Lekota

Picture: RAFS MAYET, Afrapix

THE heritage of Robben Island strongly influenced the African National Congress Southern Natal regional conference last weekend.

Not only were half of those elected to the executive former inmates jailed for political offences but the current inmates also had a voice in the conference — a document, apparently smuggled out of the prison, was read on their behalf.

This extraordinary paper is headed "A frank and critical look at the situation in Natal", and it contains the kind of public self evaluation rarely allowed by any political organisation.

It was read on behalf of the islanders by a former inmate, now projects organiser of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers Natal branch, Jeff Radebe, who was elected by the conference as Southern Natal vice-chairman.

The analysis is critical of the government and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, blaming them for the continuation of the violence. However, it also stresses that all organisations, including Inkatha, have the right to propagate their political views.

Its most surprising feature is a frank acknowledgment that all was not well within the leadership ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement during the States of Emergency. There is understanding that the Emergency made conditions difficult but the islanders say this is not a good enough excuse for the abuses that crept in.

The writers of the document acknowledge the hard work of many organisations which kept the "Congress tradition" alive, but add that "serious weaknesses characterise the democratic movement.

"(i) has failed to provide effective guidance and leadership on the ground. The ANC itself cannot be exonerated from this fact.

"The UDF as it existed in the region was plagued by in-fighting, factionalism, clique-ism and uneven distribution of resources.

"In areas of struggle especially in the townships and villages the leadership could not be found.

"The issuing of political decrees without proper discussion and broad consultation with the people has done more harm than good. The difficulties experienced with the State of Emergency have been carefully appreciated but they provide no justifiable basis to abdicate from exercising accountable leadership and direction."

According to the writers, the long-term results of this tendency were extremely serious.

"The consequences of leading by political decree and pamphlets resulted in the use of coercion and threats, especially by the youth to force the people into political campaigns.

"This tended to alienate various sections of the oppressed and also provided fertile ground for the enemy and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour."

They say it is crucial that these problems do not contaminate the ANC, and that locally-based leadership, drawn from the region, should be encouraged.

"One of the weaknesses of the progressive organisations in the region has been the absence of African leadership, in particular locally-based African leadership.

"This has seriously watered down the full potential of our organisations.

"Furthermore, this shortcoming became a

# The Island graduates dominate Natal ANC

W/Week 23/11 - 29/11/90

Half of the recently elected Southern Natal African National Congress leadership are former Robben Island prisoners. Not only did they dominate the meeting, the current inmates smuggled a paper to the conference.

CARMEL RICKARD reports

focal point for the enemies of progress, specifically Buthelezi, to undermine and attack our leadership and organisations, depicting them as non-African, anti-Zulu, Indian-controlled and Xhosa-led.

"It must be emphasised that whereas we stress the immediate need for African leadership, all the ANC, be they black or white, Indian or coloured, should form part of the ANC leadership based on the principle of equal participation and non-racialism."

The document then deals with the continuing dilemma of relations between the ANC and the United Democratic Front, saying the ANC should be seen as "an independent political organisation and not appear as the UDF in another form".

In addition to promoting democratic practices in its own ranks, the ANC is urged to ensure the growth of a "culture of political democracy" in the region, ensuring that all

organisations, including Inkatha, have the right to propagate their political views.

Despite conceding this political freedom to Inkatha, the writers pull no punches in their criticism of the organisation, calling it an "agent of reaction", a "junior partner of decaying apartheid policies" and "strike breakers".

But not everyone in the organisation is to be dismissed as a "sell out".

"We must be in a position to identify and isolate the most reactionary criminal elements in it, while still (being) committed to finding common ground with those genuinely committed to solving the problems of the region."

The solution to the violence and problems like high rents requires "that we must learn to coexist with those Inkatha members.

"We must tolerate and accept differences of opinion and differences as regards tactics."

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about this document is that it was read during the only open session of the conference when the media and outside observers were present.

Asked why it was read in public when it would have been easy to keep it until a closed session, ANC officials said there was a tradition of self-criticism in the organisation.

Southern Natal executive member Nkosazana Zuma said this was "one of the strengths" of the ANC — "that it is able to look at itself and point out its mistakes and try to correct them, rather than pretending they do not exist".

Her colleague on the executive, Sbu Ndebele, added: "Democracy cannot be built secretly."

Perhaps the public self-criticism was made easier by the fact that it was directed primarily at the "internal organisations" rather than at the ANC, but it was all the same an unexpected and welcome development.

# Zuma did not 'depose' Lekota

W/Week 23/11 - 29/11/90  
THE election of the African National Congress' first southern Natal regional chairman, Jacob Zuma, has met with widespread approval.

He is head of the ANC's military intelligence and he has "officially" been back in the country from exile since March.

Since then he has played a key role in several peace efforts including the Umfolozi Accord in Northern Natal, and in talks over the troubled Ndwedwe area. He also led the ANC side in several rounds of talks with senior Inkatha officials.

His executive brings a new look leadership to the region, and many who dominated extra-parliamentary politics in Durban are now taking a back seat.

Among those no longer at the helm are United Democratic Front national president Archie Gumede, UDF national chairman Cumick Ndlovu, Natal Indian Congress officials Yunus Mahomed, MJ Naidoo and George Sewpershad, and several prominent figures detained over the Operation Vula affair — Pravin Gordhan, Jabu Sithole and Billy Nair.

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In comes Zuma's deputy Jeff Radebe, sec-

it has been known for some months that Terror Lekota would not be staying in Natal for long. Allegations that Zuma, who was elected ANC southern Natal convener over the weekend, deposed Lekota are unfounded. By CARMEL RICKARD

retary Sbu Ndebele, treasurer Mzikazi Khumalo and eight other executive members.

Six of the 12-member executive are former Robben Island political prisoners, there are two women and two Natal University academics.

From the beginning there was little doubt Zuma would be elected. Some delegates were so sure they arrived at the conference carrying ANC flags bearing Zuma's picture. He was the only nominee for the post and was unanimously chosen.

Speculation since then that the head of the convening committee Patrick "Terror" Lekota had been "deposed" by Zuma after a leadership tussle are however unfounded.

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# Trial: People crossing border to join ANC

DELMAS. — Up to 60 people a week have been crossing South Africa's borders into neighbouring territories to join the ANC for military training, a special Supreme Court here heard yesterday.

This was evidence submitted by security branch Captain Henning Brand in a bail application for the three remaining accused in this long-running trial. They are facing a total of 51 charges which include murder, attempted murder, terrorism and illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

The other nine accused escaped from the Modderbee Prison east of Springs on February 18 this year.

The accused applying for bail are Mr

*Case Files 23/11/90*  
Godfrey Velaphi Mokube, 41, of Bloemfontein and Mr Peter Holmes Malaleka, 25, and Mr Phuti Bernard Mkgongana, 26, both of Mamelodi. They have been held since their arrests in October 1988.

Lawyers for the three accused submitted affidavits on their clients' behalf in which it was stated that all had applied for official indemnity against prosecution for criminal acts committed before the May signing of the Groote Schuur Minute.

Prosecutor Ms Louisa van der Walt told the judge, Mr Justice W J van der Merwe, that she had been instructed to oppose the application.

Captain Brand also said that despite the ANC's curtailing of its armed struggle, as

outlined in the Pretoria Minute on August 6 this year, 39 terrorist acts had been carried out which had the hallmarks of ANC operations.

He had compiled his list from a host of incidents which had occurred since the signing of the Pretoria Minute, detailed in secret files at security police headquarters in Pretoria.

Captain Brand was asked if he would be able to produce this evidence and said he would do so today.

He also said three trained ANC cadres were arrested earlier this month in connection with two incidents in Natal where arms and a handgrenade were used, and another incident in Bloemfontein.

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## A case of too many chiefs?

114  
23/11/90  
JOHANNESBURG. — A split in the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) seems imminent.

The Natal regional secretary, Chief Z M Mlaba, and his Transvaal counterpart, Chief Cetswayo Mahlangu, yesterday dissociated themselves from strongman Mr Samson Ndou.

In a statement they accused him of dragging Contralesa into "bantustan" politics.

In reaction, Mr Ndou said that as an organisation of traditional leaders, from time to time Contralesa found itself canvassing membership in the homelands.

— Sapa.

# Bop's showing signs of softening its hard facade

U/Mar 23/111 - 29/11190

As the pressure mounts, Bophuthatswana seems to be reconsidering its hardline stance. Or is it?

By MARK GEVISSER

**O**N Sunday, Bophuthatswana African National Congress leader Job Mokgoro came out of hiding to attend a landmark meeting between homeland authorities and the ANC.

The meeting was attended by ANC national executive committee members Thabo Mbeki and Joe Modise as well as three members of the Bophuthatswana cabinet, including Minister of State Affairs Rowan Cronje, who is said to be Mangope's right-hand man. The ministers undertook to begin an easing of the repression in the homeland and, so carried away were they by the spirit of reconciliation, that they even volunteered a Bophuthatswana jet to fly the ANC leaders to Mmabatho for the next round of talks, on November 28.

Not surprisingly, Mokgoro, who is president of the Staff Association of the University of Bophuthatswana and chairman of the ANC's Mafikeng branch, felt it safe to return to Mmabatho. But less than 24 hours later, he was apprehended outside the Moloopo Sun while on his way to a meeting with the commissioner of police, PJ Seleke.

Within the hour, Cronje and another senior official involved in Sunday's meeting, Minister of Education Clement Sehume, were at the Mmabatho police station. They apologised to Mokgoro for the "misunderstanding" and promised to secure his release immediately. The police, however, continued to interrogate him for a further five hours and searched his house.

On the same day, the 18 ANC activists still in detention after last week's crackdown were transferred from detention under the homeland's Emergency restrictions to detention under section 25.1 of the Internal Security Act, Bophuthatswana's carbon copy of South Africa's section 29.

It is possible that the detainees have been transferred to section 25.1 in preparation for the scrapping of the Emergency regulations, which could happen as soon as this week, according to sources in the Bophuthatswana government. Even if the Emergency were scrapped, this would enable the authorities to keep the 18 in detention.

But there is another reason: on Friday, Professor John Dugard, of the Wits Law School, was planning to bring an applica-

African government. "We respect the sovereignty of Bophuthatswana," said Rusty Evans, director of Foreign Affairs' Africa desk, "but after last week's confrontation, we were anxious to bring the two sides together to talk in the same spirit of negotiation that we are fostering in South Africa." At ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's request, Evans had been acting as a go-between for the ANC leader and Mangope even before last week's crackdown.

Both sides have made concessions: until Sunday, the ANC was on record as saying it would not talk to Bophuthatswana until the Emergency had been scrapped and, in communication with the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mangope had said he would not talk to the ANC until there was a commitment not to make the homeland ungovernable and reincorporate it into South Africa.

But then the national executive committee of the ANC stepped up its urgings to local Bophuthatswana branches to ease their "reincorporation-or-death" rhetoric so that the two sides could talk, and more enlightened members of the Bophuthatswana government took advantage of Mangope's absence to open the way for talks.

The tactic seems to have worked. When Mangope returned from Germany this week he announced that his government would consider calling a referendum on the homeland's constitutional position. However, he said his government would not embark on "a simplistic course" leading to a referendum on reincorporation into South Africa. The road to peace, he said, was via the negotiating table and talks with the ANC were a positive step in that direction.

The breakthrough in Sunday's meeting came when Mbeki said that Bophuthatswana had a rightful place in the negotiating process.

So, the Bophuthatswana ministers agreed to Mbeki's point in principle, and the ANC followed with two demands: the State of Emergency must be lifted, and the right to freedom of political association must be guaranteed. The latter would mean that opposition political parties could organise without harassment, permission would not be needed for political meetings and, ultimately, that "foreign" unions like the Congress of South African Trade Unions could operate within the homeland.



President Lucas Mangope

tion to the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court calling for the release of five detainees. Instructing attorney James Sutherland explained that "we intend to argue that the State of Emergency is unconstitutional because it violates the Bill of Rights in Bophuthatswana's own constitution". This would have been the first legal challenge of the Emergency and it would have brought Bophuthatswana much adverse publicity. Now that the detainees are being held under the Internal Security Act, there is no case.

However, perhaps Bophuthatswana's authorities are reconsidering the situation. Three ANC members were freed on Wednesday night and a further five yesterday. Legal sources said the Bophuthatswana authorities had told them the remaining ANC prisoners would be released in stages.

On the issue of Mokgoro's detention, Sehume and Cronje explained the "misunderstanding" by saying that Sunday's undertaking had not yet been conveyed to the police department. But rumours abound that there are divisions within the Bophuthatswana cabinet, and that many officials, particularly those in the departments of manpower and police (which fall under the jurisdiction of Mangope, who is minister of law and order) are angry at the undertaking made on Sunday.

Sunday's meeting was set up by the South

**BOOKS**

SHELAGH GASTROW'S *Who's Who in South African Politics* is in its third edition in five years. There are two reasons for this.

First, because it's the only easy reference on the lives of the country's political leaders and past editions have been in enormous demand.

Second, because the country's political scene is changing at such a rate, its leaders are coming and going far quickly than it takes to write about them.

Of those who have appeared in past editions 92 have not made it into this one — only 11 because they've died. The list of exclusions is littered with political casualties of the process of change — PW Botha, Pietie du Plessis, Kaiser and George Matanzima, Louis Nel, Lennox Sebe, Pat Poovalingham. Many others have simply been forgotten.

What the book does very well is to provide pen sketches of the lives of 131 South African political leaders. As such it provides an ideal reference for journalists, academics, political researchers and activists.

It is also an extremely interesting book for those concerned with the forces and influences which shape the lives of political leaders, and throws up some surprising facts.

The articulate and urbane African National Congress leader Jacob Zuma, for instance, never attended school. (The book, however, misses the point that he went on to become the movement's chief of intelligence).

The low-profile Lukas Daniel "Niel" Barnard has headed the country's National Intelligence Service since the age of 30 — for almost 11 years.

Among the achievements of former policeman and Western Transvaal rugby player Eugene Terre'Blanche is a play called *Sybrand die Watermaker*, prescribed in Cape secondary schools during 1982 and 1983.

The ages of the leaders are interesting, and often surprising. It's hard to think of Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a 62-year-old, or Andries Treurnicht as a man of nearly 70, or Govan Mbeki as an 80-year-old.

**Who's who struggling to keep up with SA changes**

*W/Mail 23/11 - 29/11/90*

11A  
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**Out in the cold ... one of those who might have been chosen is Robert van Tonder, Boerestaat Party leader**

**WHO'S WHO IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS, Third Edition by Shelagh Gastrow**  
(Ravan, R49,95)

The youngest of those included is Inkatha Youth Brigade Leader Musa Zondi (30) and there are several in the ANC camp who are also in their early 30s — including Sydney Mufamadi, Cheryl Carolus and Mkhuseleli Jack.



**In ... Musa Zondi, leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, the youngest of those included**

Four of the ANC's rising stars — Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Pallo Jordan and Chris Hani — were all born within a few months of each other in 1942.

Rather irritatingly the book does not include the ages or birthdates of several leaders. One would have thought after three editions the author could have found out how old Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu or Mac Maharaj are.

Quite correctly Gastrow deals with the leaders' histories in a purely factual way — without

comment.

The difficulty which any author undertaking such a task is to decide who to include, or rather who to leave out.

Gastrow's choice here is balanced. There are few burning exclusions. Still, everyone has his personal preferences or views of who is who.

For my money there are a few who could have made it and a few who could have been left out.

From past editions, for instance, there's Broederbond chief JP de Lange, who certainly wields more influence over the country's policies than he did two years ago, PAC chairman Johnson Mlambo and perhaps Harry Schwarz.

There are others who might have been chosen: Thozamile Botha, Barbara Masekela and Albie Sachs from the ANC, Ronnie Kasrils and Jeremy Cronin of the South African Communist Party, Clarence Mlakwethu and Gora Ebrahim of the Pan Africanist Congress, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party, the Transvaal Provincial Administration's John Mavuso, Foreign Affairs director Neil van Herden, and so on.

There are also some curious inclusions. Idasa's Alex Boraine made it into the first edition, was replaced by his son, Andrew, in the second, and is back in the third.

And one wonders whether the likes of David Curry, Rowley Arenstein, Henry Fazzie, Amichand Rajbansi and Stone Sizani remain significant enough to be included among the chosen 131.

One remarkable feature of the current list is the number of leaders who have been released from prison or have returned from exile since the last edition. But the fact that some are currently in jail or detention suggests there is still a way to go.

An unfortunate exclusion in this edition is a list of the office bearers of political organisations and of government ministers and deputies. But perhaps, in today's political climate, these are likely to change so fast that they would have dated the book before the year is over.

**Gavin Evans**

F1M 23/11/90 MASS ACTION AND THE ANC

11A

# CASTING THE NEXT STONE

If the intention of the latest round of mass action reflects the political inventiveness of the ANC, it has run out of ideas. Aimed at removing black councillors from local government, the protests have a fairly chilling resonance of the slogans of the mid-Eighties: making the townships ungovernable — and all that.

The point is that we are no longer in the mid-Eighties. When Afrikaner churchmen stand up in public to confess to the sins of apartheid, a great deal has changed in the emotional climate. Whether it be sin or bad management, it is agreed that the state of the townships is appalling; that something must be done is equally easily assented to. But something *is* being done.

Surely the ANC has noticed?

To fan the flames of mass disaffection on an issue which has been decided for some years actually seems to be yet another attempt at all-or-nothing politics. An unwillingness to be merely one of the participants at the all-important constitutional talks which are meant to begin next year. After all, the luckless black councillors fleeing from office were in any case to have been replaced by more representative figures, in a structure yet to be negotiated.

The agreement to negotiate should have meant a moratorium — to use a vogue word — on bloody street theatre designed to persuade government to negotiate.

There is a serious contradiction in the ANC's thinking on the issue. Obviously, it is a democratic right to protest — and to debate the limits of protest. How else can the voteless otherwise express their views? But since the stage has now been set for constitutional talks on power-sharing at all levels of society, these protests, the upheavals in Johannesburg and so on, could all too easily gain their own momentum and own rationale.

Nor does it say much for the ANC's credibility that, in taking to the streets to make an aversion to apartheid once more apparent, it risks tearing apart the fabric of society.

The ANC leadership would counterclaim that it is doing no such thing. That the black councillors and black local government as a whole are tainted beyond redemption and this is the way to show the feelings of the people.

Intimidation has been denied — and no one has suggested that councillors who do not leave office will, say, be necklaced. However, the killings of black policemen and others implicated in apartheid structures obviously mean that the fear of violence must be persuasive.

The fabric of society means more than peace on the streets. It also means an understanding of what taxes, rents and the payment of electricity bills are actually for. Services — including housing and schools — do not merely arise on the veld. If no payments are made, services deteriorate and finally cease. No more water is pumped nor foundations laid. If payments are not made this month, they may not be made next month — whatever the complexion of the recipient authorities.

Nothing is strange a second time and the longer such boycotts and associated protests last, the more difficult it will be for, say, the ANC to call them off when it, say, is in charge.

The really damaging effects of such strategies is apparent in education. The famous call for "no education before liberation" has seen the life prospects of hundreds of thousands of black children destroyed; there will be no education after liberation either and everyone's future will be scorched by that fact.

The reluctance of the ANC to accept responsibility for the consequences of its mass action is a measure of its immaturity as a political entity. In fact, it is behaving not just as it did in the mid-Eighties, but as it did in the Sixties. There are certainly those within the ANC who are only comfortable with ideas and programmes which are decades out of date, invalidated and destructive. They continue to hold to their own agendas.

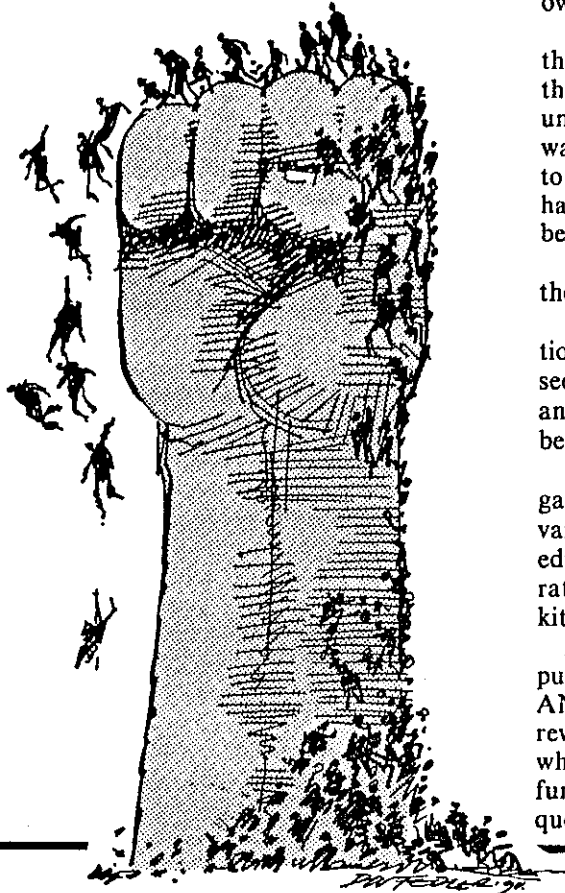
Two things have assisted in making this stance possible: One is the claim to the moral high ground, to the extent that until the unbannings of February 2 it was necessary in the West to be opposed to Pretoria — whatever doubts may have been held about the ANC's actual beliefs and tactics.

The other is the financial support for the ANC.

The ANC no longer has sole occupation of the moral high ground. It is being seen more accurately for what it is — and financial support, accordingly, has been waning.

The pledges which Nelson Mandela gains abroad are now inevitably tied to various specific projects — involving education or the repatriation of exiles — rather than going into an unsupervised kitty.

Rather than take up the challenge of pursuing a promising political path, the ANC clings to memories of an exciting revolutionary phase of mass action in which there was at least an assurance of funds for its limited purposes — and no question of who was right. ■



ECONOMIC POLICY

**OUT TO LUNCH**

FIM 23/11/90  
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Has nationalisation really been shelved by the ANC? It seems not. A senior source in the ANC's economics department complains that it has not received a single written response from business on its policy document released two months ago. He adds that pressure from ANC members may prompt the organisation to commit itself anew to nationalisation.

His precise words are: "The SA business community is not seriously addressing itself to issues of building a new economy. Some will have to be coerced by legislation." The economic policy document was issued in late September and ever since Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders have made repeated calls for business to forward comments.

But while business has torn the ANC's document to shreds — quite justifiably —

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they have tendered no formal responses. Accordingly, the ANC's economics department says the lack of a formal response "makes it easy for us to go ahead and compile a programme on the basis of responses from membership. The membership wants a clear commitment to nationalisation, particularly of mines and certain corporations."

The ANC's amended economic policy document will be issued in May or June.

One ANC official agrees that business has expressed varying degrees of dissatisfaction with the document: "Some businessmen were encouraged by our move toward a more formal debate, while others felt there was a heavy statist emphasis, and not enough space for the role of the private sector. Some saw veiled threats of nationalisation."

His main charge is that business has ignored calls to submit "clear viewpoints on the broad mechanisms of achieving specifications (for wealth distribution and economic restructuring)."

It appears that some in the business community believe that informal meetings with officials like Max Sisulu and Tito Mboweni — both of whom are expected to take up posts at a new economic think-tank at the University of the Western Cape next year — will paper over the differences. Within the economics department itself, however, the feeling is that little can come from such discussions.

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Until now, the ANC has had only five people in its economics department. However, this will swell considerably during the coming week, when the entire department, which has recently been indemnified, returns from Lusaka to set up offices in Frederick Street, Johannesburg. Because of movement into and from the department, the only business comments that will be up for ANC debate will be those actually set down in black and white.

#### Not the only

Nationalisation is by no means off the agenda.

Last week black bus owners called for nationalisation of transport; there are growing signs of preference for a policy of land nationalisation; and the nationalisation of utilities and parastatals is a demand the ANC has not abandoned. Nor have many black business organisations such as the powerful SA Black Taxi Association.

But Sabta, which represents about 55 000 taxi drivers with an estimated aggregate annual income of R3bn, has also not tendered comments on ANC economic policy. Public affairs manager Mike Ntlatleng says that if the ANC formally asks for a submission Sabta will consider it — “but the ANC is not the only political organisation that has economic views; there is no reason why we should favour it.”

Within the ANC there are some economists and others — both in the leadership and rank and file — who are unhappy with the policy document, who reject nationalisation and statist solutions — who feel that economic inequality must be addressed. The lack of formal response from business does not strengthen their hand and, if anything, entrenches the positions of those who seek socialist solutions.

More than one ANC official, unhappy with the economic policy document, confides to the *FM* that they would not dare express their opposition to nationalisation to the powerful Im-strong National Union of Mineworkers. “We would be lynched,” they say.

Anglo American says the document, among other matters, will be discussed in a meeting it hopes soon to hold with the ANC. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut says it has discussed the document informally, but will further evaluate a response after a meeting of its economic committee.

Sacob's Professor Ben van Rensburg says the chamber has not commented on the document — but neither has the ANC commented on its position paper. In fact, he complains that the ANC has not furnished Sacob with a copy of its policy document. “I had to beg for one.” He adds that Sacob will comment on the document once it has been discussed and would then arrange a meeting with the ANC to give their opinions “rather than put things on paper where there could be misconceptions.”

The Free Market Foundation's Leon Louw says his organisation hopes to have a

written response by early December. “We are taking this quite seriously.”

The foundation, Louw says, will address obvious issues in its response — including the land question, redistribution of wealth, nationalisation and privatisation. “We will also address issues the ANC does not look at adequately such as agricultural policy and transport policy.”

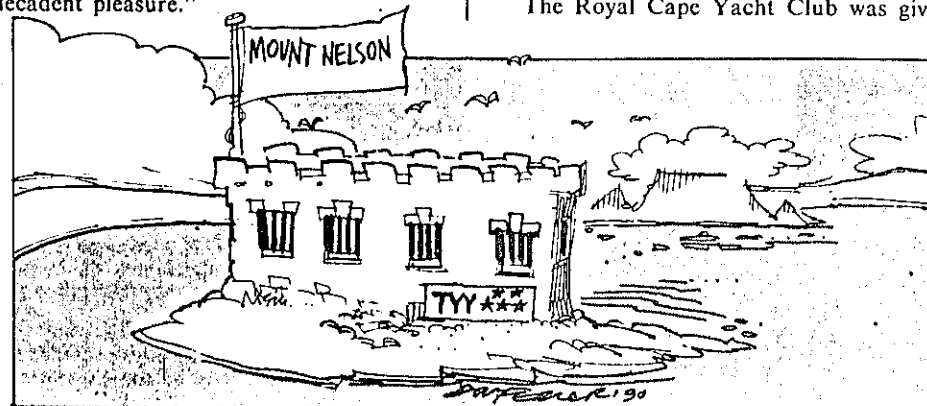
Another leading Johannesburg businessman, who does not want to be named, says part of the lack of response is “despair at the ANC's economic illiteracy. It is incredibly frustrating not knowing how to deal with it. Part of the problem is that the business community has been isolated from the ANC for so many years. The business community is partly insensitive — and partly lacks alternatives.”

For the moment the ANC wants something on paper.

## ROBBER ISLAND IN THE SUN?

**Should Robben Island** — SA's Alcatraz — be transformed into our own Coney Island? Or at least a major tourist attraction?

Yes, says Cape Town businessman Nick Malherbe and Trade, Industry & Tourism Minister Kent Durr — who see a redeveloped Robben Island as an international tourist mecca. No, says the western Cape branch of the ANC, whose regional co-ordinator Trevor Manuel wants it to become a monument rather than a “flippant place of decadent pleasure.”



Malherbe has formed FRIC — the Future of Robben Island Committee — and uses whatever opportunities arise to punt the wider opening of the island to the public. He is being backed by Durr who has pledged his support in writing.

In reality, neither wants to see Robben Island become the neon-and-nightclub hub of the region. Lack of water and an ultra-sensitive ecology rule out extensive development. But some development is possible and at the same time there's no reason why part of the island, the prison perhaps, shouldn't be preserved as a monument. To many South Africans it could become a shrine of sorts, reminding them of the struggle for equal rights and the sacrifices of those who served

long and arduous prison terms for opposing what they believed was unjust.

Both tourism and a monument could be accommodated in a national park — which is in line with Malherbe's thinking. There's no denying that the 500 ha island 8 km off Cape Town lends itself to managed conservation. It's been under the control of the SA Prisons service for 25 years, during which time considerable conservation work has been done, including the re-introduction of a penguin colony and the ongoing eradication of alien vegetation.

The prison buildings themselves occupy only a small area on the north-east of the island. There is also a village for warders and their families which includes a number of historic buildings, a legacy of more than 300 years of permanent habitation.

During World War 2, an airfield and a harbour were built and massive guns — whose rusty hulks are still in place — were taken to the island to protect Cape Town from enemy attack. They were never fired in anger. The prison buildings are now regarded as antiquated, but the cost of replacing them on the mainland — estimated by Justice Minister Kobic Coetsee at R65m — means they will remain in use for the time being.

The best that potential redevelopers can hope for in the foreseeable future is a further easing of access to the island. In recent years, the Prisons Service has allowed interest groups to visit Robben Island but not the prison. According to Coetsee 33 661 people visited it last year (including people visiting prisoners).

The Royal Cape Yacht Club was given

permission some time ago to build an ablu-tion block and a braai area on the shores of Murray's Bay (the harbour) for use by members who regularly sail over at weekends. Access is either by private boat (with prior permission) or aboard one of the Prisons Service's high speed ferries. ■

## UNIONS

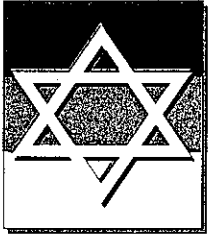
### HIDE AND SEEK

**Moves** to form a federation of politically independent unions are under way, initiated by the Transvaal Leather and Allied Trades Industrial Union. This is a relatively old

SA'S JEWS AND THE ANC FIM 23/11/90

# ON THE EDGE OF DISQUIET

## BENEATH THE SURFACE OLD FEARS ARE REASSERTING THEMSELVES



**SA's Jewish** community is not the largest in the Diaspora (dispersal) — it has about 120 000 people — but it is certainly one of the most affluent — and most supportive of Israel. As the prospect of non racial govern-

ment edges closer, the attitudes of the major black component of the new SA, the ANC, to this talented and versatile community has caused it increasing disquiet.

Though there have been no recorded acts of anti-Semitism by the ANC — which boasts a large (in relative terms) and supportive Jewish following — the ANC strongly identifies with the Palestinian cause, is deeply critical of SA-Israel military ties and has a large, influential and radical Muslim constituency. Judaism has no more bitter foe than radical Islam.

Jews try to downplay these issues, but a recent leading SA Jewish envoy who approached the Israeli government about an official visit to that country by Nelson Mandela was turned down flat. Controversy about a recent address by the ANC deputy-president in Temple Shalom in Johannesburg has still not died down. The man behind the invitation, Reform Rabbi Ady Assabi, says he has received 23 death threats, mostly from Jews. He also admits that most of his colleagues objected to the invitation.

He says that in SA, anti-Semitism (hatred of Jews) has become synonymous, inaccurately, with anti-Zionism (those who may reject either the policies of Israel at a given time, in particular toward the people of Palestine, or those who do not acknowledge the right of the State of Israel to exist).

Survival is the watchword which underpins Jewish life. And to many South African Jews, the survival of Israel is a pivot of faith and a symbol of Jewish security. In recent weeks, many have been disturbed by the Anglican synod motion condemning the Temple Mount shootings. In this country, the Anglican church leadership has become closely associated with the ANC. Then — as part of what is becoming a long history of such statements — ANC executive council member Steve Tshwete, speaking at a Palestinian solidarity rally in Lenasia recently, accused the Israeli government of trying to "wipe out Palestinians" with "successive outrageous campaigns."

Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the ANC (who spent six weeks in Israel in 1953) says that an ANC government would resist any negative action against Palestinians. And the attitude of such a government to Israel is

taken as a touchstone of possible attitudes towards SA Jewry.

One ANC misgiving is that at least some SA Jews place Israel first in their loyalties and SA somewhere after that. Ahmed Kathrada, ANC National Executive Committee member and one of the Rivonia trialists, finds such a view "very unfortunate" but not unusual. He notes the Indian community in previous years retained strong ties with India. But, "SA citizens should have their first loyalty to SA in times of war and peace."

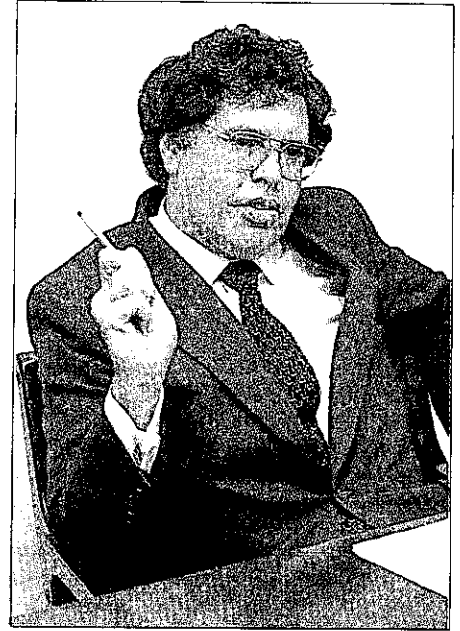
Michael Katz, president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, quotes another famous South African to explain the bond between SA Jewry and Israel. "Jan Hofmeyr said: 'Jews would be poorer, not better, South Africans, if they lightly turn their backs on their own traditions. One can love one's mother as well as one's father and the two loyalties are by no means incompatible.'"

Most of the community was deeply offended when Mandela hugged Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat in Zambia in March and then went on to visit Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. Mandela initially brushed off Jewish anger at his embrace of Arafat with an ill-considered "it's too bad." This remark he later denied, but it was one recorded by the more than 100 journalists present.

The ANC cites what it claims has been massive military dealings between Israel and SA. Israel, it says, not only helped smuggle embargoed weaponry to SA — but also assisted with military intelligence and training. SA sold large amounts of arms to Israel, too.

Mandela, in his deference to Arafat and Gaddafi, is paying off old debts. The Arab nations provided military training and equipment to the ANC and particularly close relations were established with the PLO and Gaddafi — who also assists in military training and the supply of arms to the Pan-Africanist Congress. Egypt, for example, was one of the first nations to give refuge to SA exiles in the early Sixties. Israel is not one of the 44 nations around the world in which the ANC has offices and this relates not only to that nation's close ties with Pretoria, but to ANC links with Arab nations.

Assabi also notes that, "for almost 40 years, the Jewish Board of Deputies, the representatives of the Jewish people in



Board of Deputies' Katz ... explaining the bond

SA, made no public statements against apartheid; the first was three years ago."

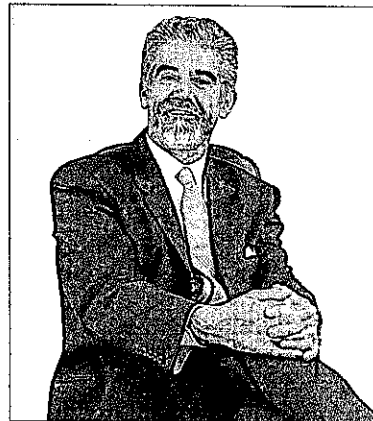
The ANC and SA Zionists have a relationship a little like that which the ANC has slid into with the Nat government. While personally some of the leaders like each other and publicly brush aside differences, privately there are unhappy eddies of suspicion that occasionally break to the surface.

Will, for example, Zionists be able to send the millions of rands they now do to Israel? Gerald Leissner, chairman of the Jewish Board of Deputies, says this figure is R30m a year; however, the real figure is believed far higher and certainly the Reserve Bank has bent the rules in this respect.

Kathrada says this would depend on the financial situation the country finds itself in.

"But it does, again, raise the question of where one's first loyalty lies. SA needs and will continue to need vast sums of money and material assistance in the new SA."

But there are those who argue that a statement like that conflicts with the moral philosophy of Judaism. There are no logical economic arguments for exchange controls — only political ones. And once apartheid goes, in a liberal dispensation they should have



Harris

no reason to exist. But control over capital flows is stated ANC policy — supposedly to despoil the whites. On the possibility of large outflows of money to Israel, the ANC says it is a matter it has still to discuss.

As the ANC has become a master of ambiguity, an answer like that is bound to cause Jewish disquiet.

Similarly, while the ANC is unlikely to interfere with Jews working on kibbutzim, or receiving military training in Israel, it might not be happy if it cannot see similar enthusiasm and energy being used in rebuilding SA, by SA-born Jews.

Of the Jewish SA population, about 65 000 live in Johannesburg and 25 000 in Cape Town. It is a primarily urban, white, middle-class community. The first great wave of Jewish immigrants arrived here from Russia at the turn of the century; the next large influx came during the Twenties and Thirties from Germany, Poland and Lithuania. Leissner says there has also been considerable immigration from Israel over the past 10 years. It is a community whose values are deeply rooted in Western civilisation and culture. It is unashamedly capitalist.

While the ANC seems to have an imperfect understanding of the emotional significance of Zionism, some argue that the Jewish community has not always displayed great sympathy with the immense difficulties a possible ANC government — or, indeed, any government that addresses itself to a nonracial future — will face. While certain ANC and Jewish leaders have met, it seems both constituencies need closer grassroots contact to reduce suspicion.

While local Jewish spokesmen insist that it is in the nature of Jews to be capitalist and ANC economic policies are matters for grave concern among the Jewish community, Israel was established as a socialist society centred around the significance of communalism, to bind communities torn asunder during the Diaspora. But experience has moved it increasingly away from collectivism and a command economy.

Jews, like Afrikaners, don't easily recognise in their own struggle similarities to that of black South Africans. So points of mutual strength can too easily become the focus of division. The visit of Mandela to Temple Shalom is a case in point.

Nonetheless, Mandela spoke to a capacity congregation and was loudly applauded. In his speech, he rejected anti-Semitism and recalled that it was some time before Arab nations would have dealings with the ANC, because it worked with Jewish organisations and, he failed to say, has many Jews within its ranks. (Well-known Jews include Selma Browde, Albie Sachs, Audrey and Max Coleman and their son Neal Coleman of Cosatu, Joe Slovo and many others.)



**Rabbi Assabi ... controversial invitation**

Mandela said that if "Zionism means the right of the Jewish people to live in secure boundaries, to have their own State, to contribute toward peace, to live in a manner that affords them the right to fully express their culture, traditions and religion, then we consider Zionism a healthy movement. This is what we understand Zionism to be."

The catch is secure boundaries. The *FM* asked Kathrada which boundaries were meant by "secure" and he said the pre-1967 borders.

Solly Sacks, head of the Zionist Federation, says: "We do not believe pre-1967 borders are secure. We don't need the permission of the ANC for Israel to exist." Katz says any authority "that was anti-Israel would result in tension between the SA Jewish community and any such authority."

Herein lies another aspect of Zionism which the ANC, and perhaps others, find troubling. Sacks says: "It has always been the policy of this community and of the SA Zionist Federation to back the government of the day in Israel, right or wrong, because of our spiritual attachment to Israel. While in the Diaspora we feel it is not becoming of us to criticise or attack the government in power, while we don't have to suffer the consequences."

However, other local Zionists argue that: "Israel has to find a way of working in peace with Arabs and changing the PLO, as the ANC is being transformed, now that the door has been opened." This is precisely why Rabbi Assabi is so controversial in the local Jewish community. He does not hesitate to attack Israeli government policies which he believes are wrong, particularly with regard



**Leissner ... consider the 'lifeline'**

to its policy on Palestinians. Indeed, he criticises this community for supporting the hawkish policies of successive Israeli governments when few local Jews take part in that combat or live under the fear of eternal war. (Assabi himself was injured in battle during the 1973 Yom Kippur war.)

Kathrada says the ANC's relationship with the PLO will remain close. "Israel is doing what not even the South Africans did. One never heard of SA bulldozing houses because a child from one of the houses threw stones. Israel does it and continues to justify it. It occasionally deports Palestinians forcefully, which again SA never did."

The 1975 General Assembly motion equating Zionism with racism has exacerbated matters. It was backed by Arab nations and the Third World, which, as the early Seventies oil crisis peaked, increasingly aligned itself with oil-rich Arab states.

Some Zionists are concerned that SA could follow Zimbabwe, which Sacks says has 14 Arab embassies, including a PLO one — but not an Israeli embassy. There is no direct flight to Israel and there are restrictions on Zionist youth activities. The Jewish population in Zimbabwe has dwindled to 2 000.

Leissner says Jews may leave SA too, if SA Jewry feels lifelines to Israel are being cut. The ANC, while clear that the PLO would be accorded full diplomatic status, also sees no potential of a break in diplomatic ties with Israel. The ANC and Israeli government officials have met and have cordial relations.

Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris says: "We want to be friendly with Mr Mandela; we admire his struggle, but we don't want to be told what we have to do about matters as close to our heart as the wellbeing of the State of Israel. Feelings run high on this issue." But in a piece he recently wrote for *Jewish Tradition*, the national newspaper of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues of SA, Harris noted that the Jewish community "has done precious little to build bridges of communication with other groups" or engage in "formulating a nonracial SA."

A Zionist businessman comments: "Nowhere are the similarities as great as between SA and Israel — and, if SA can succeed, it could enhance the hope that Israel and the Arabs might find their way to a better future."

The Jewish community here has contributed greatly to the general development and the creation of wealth, from which blacks have benefited substantially compared to those elsewhere in the sub-continent, though inadequately when compared to whites. As a community, Jews could do little to reverse Grand Apartheid. Instead, they contributed mightily to general prosperity.

Judaic cohesion and ethical intransigence has withstood extraordinary onslaughts in many countries over many years. Those more powerful than the ANC who have chosen to confront Jewish tradition and ethical values have invariably been the worse off for it.

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# MARCHING TO PRETORIA

Last weekend's running riot in central Johannesburg illustrates two truths about the state of SA politics.

Both the leading parties to talks on power-sharing have drifted far from their constituencies and both now recognise the need to play to the people who will give them legitimacy — or undermine their ambitions.

In suspending the armed struggle the ANC has had to face serious questions from its followers about the wisdom of that move, particularly as people in the townships have simply gone on to experience successive waves of violence. The SA Institute of Race Relations says 10 people a day are dying as a result of political violence; and there is also disquiet in the townships over the agreement reached between the official working groups into the release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

The NP has to deal with the radical Right. It also has to face up to the fears of the relatively wealthy whites who are the core of national economic wellbeing. They applaud the steps taken by President FW de Klerk but worry whether he can control events sufficiently to avert disaster.

Both groups of whites are united on one point: mass action increases their fears and they are strongly in favour of police action to stop such demonstrations. A recent Idasa survey of white student attitudes showed that stern action against such protests was favoured by 73,8% of CP students, 60,8% of NP students and 13,6% of DP students.

So while the ANC needs mass action as a mobilisation tool and unifying symbol, and an indicator that the organisation is not going soft on government before apartheid has been removed, the Nats need to show that they will be the arbiters of who marches, when and in what streets.

The problem with playing to constituencies is that tensions are worsened. SA Communist Party spokesman Essop Pahad says the right of peaceful protest is the right of all democratic systems and that mass action will be used even in a future SA. "Government must understand that mass action must continue and they must rely on the organisers to discipline marchers, as happened in Germiston." On the day of the abortive Johannesburg march, a march around the same issues took place peacefully in Germiston.

Pahad questions why only a few weeks back an Inkatha march — where heavily armed members took part — was permitted and allowed to continue with a minimal police presence.

Cas Coovadia, of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), which organised last weekend's march to call for the dismissal of black councillors, says they held

a meeting with senior police officials on Monday. It was agreed to set up links between Cast and the SAP to discuss marches before they take place.

While this appears to be the most positive development, from a fiasco that claimed two lives and terrified hundreds of innocent shoppers and tourists in downtown Johannesburg, the question has to be asked whether or not it will actually function.

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, 96 police officers around the country were seconded to liaise directly with a similar number of ANC officials in the various centres to promote police and community links and to defuse trouble. The system has been a serious failure and little has been done to improve its efficacy. The *FM* was not able to find one case where the system had been used by any of the 96 officials on either side to defuse any situation. Police claim it is almost impossible to contact ANC people because few have phones and those who do are rarely available.

In August, as violence in Soweto soared, Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok flew into Soweto among clouds of dust and the glare of media arclights to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. The result was an agreement to set up Peace Forums where



Johannesburg ... signs of Beirut

members of the community would meet regularly with police to discuss community issues and grievances and to promote links and understanding between police and communities. The only way violence and anarchy in townships can be quelled is for such forums to be implemented and regularly used.

The Soweto Peace Forum has yet to have a meeting and no others have been established. The concept has disappeared into obscurity.

There is a critical need for township residents and the police to get to know and respect each other; only then will violence and death tolls begin to subside and crime be effectively tackled. Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani tells the *FM* that

the ANC recognises the need to reintegrate black policemen into their communities. However, the ANC is attempting to do this quietly through union structures. It needs to be done publicly.

The mass action programme is a major cause of friction between government and the ANC. Neither the Groote Schuur Minute nor the Pretoria Minute addresses the issue, though the Pretoria Minute clearly says: "No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place." Government says this includes mass action.

Both sides have constituencies but, more important, both sides have a negotiated peace and a new constitution to work out. Reconciliation is hard work and neither bullets nor rhetoric will make the task easier. ■

## CONFESSING TO APARTHEID

### MEA CULPA MAXIMUS!

FIM 23/11/90  
Rightwing opposition leader Andries Treurnicht — who left the pulpit of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk some years ago to pursue a political career — has flung himself into the furor which has followed the public confession of the "sin" of apartheid by a NGK theologian. Next week, he will take part in a hastily convened church conference organised by known CP church members which is expected to denounce the NGK leadership.

However, Treurnicht has yet to condemn CP frontbencher Koos van der Merwe, who last week told a political meeting that "we will, if necessary, do the same with him (President FW de Klerk), as Romania did with Nicolae Ceausescu." Is Treurnicht's silence a sign that "we have to believe that he approves of the Romanian option?" *Beeld* asks pertinently in an editorial.

Treurnicht is not the only politician who has entered the church fray. Former President P W Botha has said that he phoned newly-elected NGK moderator Pieter Potgieter to voice his dismay over the confession (see *People*). In fact, he telephoned Potgieter twice.

Another former NGK minister turned CP politician, Brits MP Andrew Gerber, also called Potgieter — at home — to complain. Since the NGK began to revise policy under its previous moderator, Pretoria theologian Johan Heyns, four years ago, some members and officials have abandoned the church to form a conservative version, the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk.

At its last general synod in Bloemfontein, the NGK resolved that apartheid had been

# deration launch put on ice

## Culture fe

The NICCC's national cultural forum will not be launched next week as planned. Cultural groups have asked for more time to consolidate their structures, reports **PAUL ALEXANDER**

THE launch of a national cultural federation by the National Interim Cultural Co-ordinating Conference — to have been held next Saturday — has been postponed.

A consultative conference of cultural organisations will be held in its place. *W/Mail 23-29/11/90*

Regional cultural structures have blocked the launch of the federation, as it would come prior to "ground level" consultation at regional level.

Omar Badsha, the NICCC's national treasurer, told *The Weekly Mail* that the decision to postpone the launch in favour of a consultative conference "is not a unanimous one". It follows requests from regional organisations that they be allowed to strengthen themselves first. This would also ensure comprehensive representation at the conference — and would hopefully avoid overlapping of organisations. It will also help to stabilise the agenda for the conference.

Giving an example, Badsha said the Natal Cultural Congress would include the Congress of South African Writers (Natal branch), the Musicians' Alliance of Natal, the Natal Visual Arts Organisation, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions' Cultural Locals. These would be grouped as one body, the regional unit representing Natal at the proposed conference.

Under the new plan, the cultural structures in each region will, this weekend, hold unifying meetings in preparation for a second conference.

"The meetings," said Badsha, "will give each region a chance to get together and discuss some of the issues they intend to put forward at the consultative conference. The discussions include how the new federation should be structured and its programme of action and the cultural boycott. With the help of regional structures, it will look at the state and semi-state institutions such as the performing arts councils, in relation to cultural organisations, and in relation to the new body; the returning exiles, and a funding structure for the exiles, amongst other things."

The NICCC was "mandated" to look into some of these things at the time of its formation.

Transvaal NICCC spokesman Mxolisi Godana said the date for the launch of the national cultural body will be set at the consultative conference.

Godana denied allegations that the NICCC had been pressured to postpone the launch because of opposition due to political and personal differences among individuals in the national cultural movement over the demise of the cultural boycott.

"Some of the reasons behind the delay in the launch are that there was no clear indication on how the regions will be represented at the consultative conference, and that there was a general feeling that not enough groundwork had been done in the regions."

Though the Pan Africanist Congress was aware of neither the consultative conference nor the launch of the cultural federation, it has welcomed the idea.

PAC culture and sport secretary Mopholosi Morokong said: "The PAC's cultural department has for some time been raising funds for a cultural seminar. The seminar was planned for October, but due to the recent political developments we have postponed it until the beginning of next year."

According to Ronnie Mabena, a representative of the African National Congress' Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and a former member of the NICCC, the DAC has tactically withdrawn from the weekend meeting "on the advice of comrades close to the matters surrounding the boycott issue".

## Cultural front launch delayed

*W/Mail 23-29/11/90*  
●From PAGE 17

Mabena's comment seems to be in line with the general perception that the establishment of a national cultural body and the clearing of the confusion surrounding the boycott is being left to cultural organisations of the pre-February 2 era.

This withdrawal by the ANC will leave longstanding and newly formed cultural bodies — such as the Pretoria Arts, Music and Drama Association — to decide on the future of cultural issues, among them the boycott.

It also seems to follow the trend of other liberation organisations such the PAC, the Black Conscious Movement, and the Azanian People's Organisation, who have kept a low profile, leaving it to individual cultural groups to determine policy.

Cultural observers are speculating that behind the low-profile stance being taken by the ANC lies the increasing inter-personal conflict which stands in the way of the lifting of the cultural boycott.

Speaking on the attitudes and operational procedures of some cultural organisations, Mabena said the DAC has "come into something that has already been discredited".

●To PAGE 18

**DEBATE ON CULTURAL BOYCOTT HOTS UP — SEE PAGE 18**

# ANC,

## Row brews over the <sup>Star 24/11/90</sup> right to (U.A.) 'mass action'

AN OMINOUS confrontation — both verbal and physical — is looming between the Government and the ANC over the issue of "mass action".

This week, President F W de Klerk and Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen warned that the ANC's insistence on employing the tactics of mass action could delay or even halt the negotiations process.

### Protest

In response, the ANC announced a concerted protest campaign for next month.

The issue is likely to top the agenda of a crucial meeting between President de Klerk and ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria on Tuesday, but the prospects for compromise are poor — it seems likely that mass action, and the response of the security forces to it, will be the political touchstone in South Africa for the foreseeable future.

Underlying the ANC's position is an insistence that protest activity, including demonstrations, strikes, the withholding of rent and service payments and holding of

**SHAUN JOHNSON  
and  
PETER FABRICIUS**

mass meetings is an inalienable democratic right, constitutionally entrenched in many countries.

To this is added the strict proviso that for these forms of action to be acceptable, they must at no time "involve violence initiated by us". The armed struggle was suspended with the signing of the Pretoria Minute, says the ANC, but peaceful mass struggle was not.

In the absence of the vote, mass action is the black majority's only political vehicle, the ANC argues, and it is perfectly legitimate. Those who reject this, it is suggested, are discriminating racially: the right of, for example, Romanians to embark on mass action was never criticised by white South Africans.

It is, of course, in the matter of mass action leading to violence that the core disagreement between the Government and the ANC resides. The ANC insists it is pre-emptive security force action

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# Violence

● FROM PAGE 1.

which leads to clashes, while the Government charges protesters with deliberately provoking them.

The Government, however, believes that some ANC mass action campaigns — such as the call for black councillors to resign — were “like hiding a gun behind your back and suggesting ‘do this or else.’”

That was why it regarded these campaigns as part of the “armed

Star 24/11/95  
actions and related activities” which the ANC had agreed to suspend.

Although “mass action” is not forbidden in so many words in the Groote Schuur or Pretoria Minutes agreed to by the Government and the ANC, the Government believed certain mass actions involved intimidation and led inevitably to de-stabilisation and violence — which were in conflict with the minutes.

● Full reports of the ANC's and the Government's standpoints on mass action on pages 6 and 7.

# ANC, Govt draw battle lines

Saturday Star November 24 1990

## Mandela

FROM PAGE 1.

lifting of sanctions.

"We are very keen that South Africa should join the international community in all spheres, including trade. But a political solution must first be reached in South Africa. We are still very far from that," he said.

Mr Mandela urged African states which were considering trading with South Africa not to do so until apartheid had been completely eradicated.

## Potential

He said that since Mr de Klerk's February 2 speech, there had been an increase in trade between African states and apartheid South Africa.

He said South Africa's economic potential could only be utilised once apartheid had been removed. And apartheid could only be speedily eradicated if African and international countries applied sanctions and other pressures on the South African Government.

"A deviation from this course will result in a delay in the peace process which would have disastrous consequences."

He also warned against moves by the South African Government and international financial institutions in tent on locking other African countries into economic agreements which would make it difficult to redress the social and political inequalities caused by apartheid.

Supporting Mr Mandela's call was the chairman of the Organisation for African Unity and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni.

Mr Museveni also called on the summit to

increase support for the anti-apartheid movements, which should close their ranks and intensify their struggle.

He further appealed to African countries to resolve their internal conflicts, which were diverting resources that should be used for development and the prevention of misery and poverty.

The Kenyan president, Daniel Arap Moi, who is the outgoing chairman of the PTAA, said he welcomed the positive steps taken by

Mr de Klerk towards the elimination of apartheid. He hoped the current negotiation process would move quickly and seriously towards a non-racial South Africa.

"I look forward to welcoming a democratic South Africa to the PTAA."

Sue Olswang reports that Mr Mandela, on his return to South Africa late yesterday afternoon, said one could expect the Government and the ANC to have differences of opinion on the issue of an interim government.

Asked what would happen if the Government continued to oppose an interim government, Mr Mandela said: "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it."

Mr Mandela would not be drawn on his and the ANC's recent criticisms of security measures in South Africa.

## Duty

"It is the Government's duty to maintain law and order. They have not done it."

Commenting on Foreign Minister Pik Botha's recent claim that certain European countries were reluctant to invest in a country governed by the ANC's present policies, Mr Mandela said: "Mr Botha must have been asleep when he said that."



at the Hong Kong tent at the 702/Saturday Star Taverns of the week on the Karaoke sing-along machine. Showing them how it's done are (from left) Transvaal cricketer Clive Rice (who is a d'Avray (obscured), fashion agent Helga van Lochem, singer d'702 dee Jay Rick Emdin (MC for the Taverns of the World).

## Mandela will demand interim government

MBABANE — The African National Congress is to call for a constituent assembly and an interim government in its next round of talks with President de Klerk and his Ministers on Tuesday, Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Addressing the ninth summit of the Preferential Trade Area Authority (PTAA), the ANC deputy-president said his organisation was beginning to have serious doubts about the South African Government's willingness to continue the negotiation process.

### New constitution

He would be visiting Mr de Klerk on Tuesday to try to get the process back on the rails. "I am going to urge him to heed the call for a constituent assembly to determine how a new constitution for South Africa is to be drawn up. I will also discuss with him the establishment of a interim government for the country."

Mr Mandela said this was a democratic process recognised throughout the world.

Any organ of negotiations should be based on democratic principles and elections should be held to choose a constituent assembly as soon as possible.

KEN DANIELS

He said the ANC had adhered to agreements embodied in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes, but the Government had acted in bad faith. It seemed intent on weakening the ANC and reducing its strength to a new low, he claimed.

The strategy seemed to be to weaken the ANC hierarchy and support so that it would not be able to emerge from negotiations in a leadership position.

"Personally I am finding it increasingly difficult to persuade my colleagues that President de Klerk is a man of integrity."

"When I was in prison, I held talks with him and other government Ministers and persuaded my colleagues that they were men who could be trusted."

Mr Mandela also accused the National Intelligence Services and military intelligence of orchestrating "the slaughter of our people".

He said the beginnings of a Renamo movement were now being seen in South Africa and Mr de Klerk and his government had so far not been able to give any satisfactory explanation as to why the killing could not be stopped.

Mr Mandela also said that the ANC demanded a political solution in South Africa before it would recommend the

TO PAGE 2.



# Tutu peace summit in city

By DALE KNEEN *w/t-Argus*  
Weekend Argus Reporter *24/11/90*

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's summit of all major black political groups is to take place in Cape Town next week.

The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha and the homeland leaders have been invited to Thursday's summit to hammer out a joint strategy on negotiations.

Some of the organisations have already indicated they would be attending and confirmation from others was still expected.

Archbishop Tutu's Press secretary, Mr John Allen, said he could not release the names of those who had said they would be at Bishops court next week.

"I am not willing to speculate about who will be attending the summit and who will not," he said.

Inkatha's Freedom Party has already stated it would advise its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to decline Archbishop Tutu's invitation.

*(11A)* Inkatha invited the archbishop to clearly state whether he thought Chief Buthelezi was an "enemy of unity, peace and liberation".

The clergyman had suggested this was the way people would judge leaders who declined to attend the meeting, said Inkatha.

Mr Allen was not able to confirm if Chief Buthelezi had informed the archbishop of plans to decline the invitation.

## PAC attending

A representative from the ANC would be attending the summit, said ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

However, he was unable to confirm if ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would attend.

Asked what the ANC hoped would be achieved at the summit, Mr Kathrada said: "I am unable to say what they are hoping for at this point."

The PAC was also attending the summit but still had to decide who their representative would be, a PAC spokesman said.

Sta 24/11/90 (11A)

MASS ACTION

# 'A legitimate cry for justice'

**JOHNSON:** Why is the ANC insisting on promoting mass action at this fragile stage of negotiations?

**JORDAN:** Mass action is an aspect of the democratic political process. There is no country in the world which considers itself democratic, where various forms of what is referred to here as "mass action" are not entrenched in the constitution.

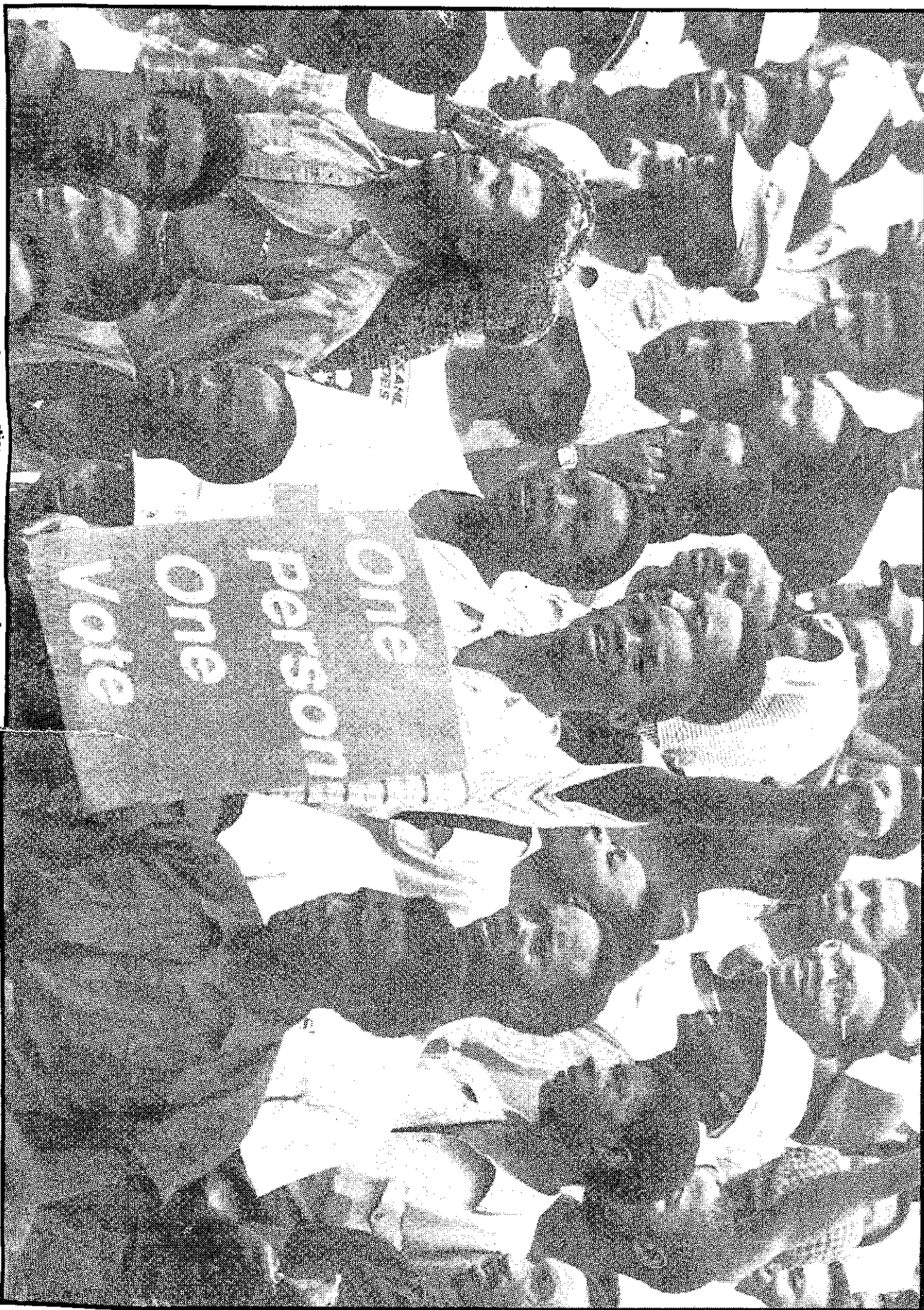
The US constitution specifically entrenched it... the same is true of Britain, France, West Germany, Canada — you name it. I don't see why those rights should be qualified in South Africa, be abridged or be at the discretion of the government of the day.

It's not as if we are claiming something which is extraordinary and new. Afrikaner Nationalists used to demonstrate... why do they want to qualify this right when it applies to African people, to black people?

**BUT you are accused of not really caring if this mass action leads to violence...**

NO, the demonstration (in Johannesburg last Saturday) was not a product of that. What happened is that people exercising an absolutely legitimate right were refused permission to do so, and the police dispersed them violently — as they're accustomed to. That is what people should be complaining about.

And it's useless for people to deceive themselves and think that "Oh, it's just happening to those *schwarzes* out there, it can't happen to me". Your rights are only secure to the extent that you defend the next person's rights. It's not an intellectual nicety.



PEOPLE POWER: Is mass action a necessary aspect of current political activity, or is it getting in the way of negotiations?

**AWB?**

THE AWB doesn't seem to be having any problems with its mass action, does it? They even march with arms in the street and no one squeals about that. The same applies to Inkatha. Really, this is the problem we face: double standards.

**THE government accuses the ANC — very strongly — of having breached the clause of the Pretoria Minute in which you agreed on the suspension of the armed struggle "and related activities"...**

I KNOW it's not polite to say so, but these guys are lying through their teeth. There is no possibility that they could have understood it like that.

Even at the press conference, in the early hours of the morning in Pretoria, the issue of mass action was raised — it was put to Mandela. And it was made clear — and De Klerk didn't dispute it — because that was the understanding that emerged from there. They're lying through their teeth.

**NOW if the Government does not concede on this point (of mass action), and neither do you, must we conclude that the whole process of negotiations is in jeopardy?**

IT'S not up to me to say. But if you're going to agree on one thing today and tomorrow say something different, it does throw into doubt the whole exercise of confidence-building.

## Tin-pot dictator

It's a question of human rights. Every Tom, Dick and Harry who wants to be a tin-pot dictator pleads "law and order". Law and order is raised to a supreme value which somehow cannot be contested. That's absolute twaddle. It means, in fact, not permitting people to challenge illegitimate authority.

**BUT President De Klerk has said his door is open, there's no need to kick it down.**

THE fact is that De Klerk undertook at Groote Schuur to free political prisoners. They have freed less than 100. They agreed at Pretoria they would look at the return of exiles. It's a drop in the ocean, the number who have been able to return.

So where is this open door? Or if it is open, De Klerk opens and closes it as he sees fit. We're not going to accept that.

**HOW do you counter the argument that in a fragile situation of negotiations, the ANC is being irresponsible in insisting on mass action? People, black and white, are jittery — and this makes them more so.**

WHITES might be very jittery, the blacks might be jittery, but they're jittery for different reasons. There are millions of black people living out there in far from adequate shelter. Not through any fault of their own or lack of effort. Blacks are jittery because they want more. And they deserve more. They will demand more, and keep on demanding until they get it. That is why mass action is essential for them. Now the

whites might not like it — like Mr Bumble in Oliver Twist. But unlike Oliver Twist, the black people at least have some power. They have the power of their numbers, they can withdraw their labour, they can withdraw their consumer power.

Oliver Twist didn't have those sorts of options, so Mr Bumble could tell him "you ain't gonna get more", and beat the hell out of him into the bargain. That is the difference.

**SURELY it's not just moral? Surely this mass action also has an organisational purpose — to have the maximum number of people "mobilised" before negotiations?**

NO one would go out there unless they felt that they were doing it for themselves. People who are impoverished don't have power unless they act in a united fashion. And this is so with any movement which is trying to bring about change.

## Added bonus

Look, it has an organisational aspect in this respect: in order to get people out there, you have to organise them, motivate them. If you can motivate them, then, as an added bonus, some might also say yes, why don't I take out membership with the ANC?

But that's not the principal objective. The principal objective is

## A 'football' that could explode

"MASS Action" is South Africa's most inflated political football, with the Government and the ANC trading ever-louder insults about the permissibility of protests, boycotts, pressure — and violence.

But while both sides say the mass action issue is so serious it could jeopardise the entire negotiations process, very few of the combatants ever define exactly what they mean by it.

In this in-depth interview, political writer SHAUN JOHNSON presses ANC publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan on mass action: what is it, why is it necessary, and for how long will it be a part of our lives?

to address the grievances that the people feel.

**COULD you define, in the aftermath of the Pretoria Minute, the precise parameters of what you regard as "acceptable" mass action now?**

ANY form of action which does not include violence initiated by us. It includes the right to strike. It includes the right to engage in mass demonstrations, mass meetings, rallies, marches, consumer boycotts, you name it.

Any form of action which does not involve the initiation or the employment of violence is an instrument of policy by us.

And if one examines most of these incidents (which erupted in violence), they're usually provoked by the police, as the (Goldstone) Commission showed.

**WELL then, to turn that ar-**



PALLO JORDAN

gument on its head for you as an organisation — if you know what the police are going to do, do you therefore have the right to use people as cannon fodder?

WERE not using the people as cannon fodder. The fact is that if you let a bully-boy Government like this one push people around, it will continue doing that and there'll be nothing to stop it.

**IS it a matter of concern to you that perhaps the ANC doesn't have the capacity or the resources to control the mass action?**

THE organisation has the capacity to control the crowds and it attempts to do so at all times. What happened last Saturday was that all the people who came there as marshals for that dem-

onstration were the first ones to be picked up. The police made certain that our capacity to control the situation was reduced.

**At what point might you stop urging people to take mass action?**

THE only time when you can urge people not to take mass action is when you think that they have no reason to take it. But I would say even that would be highly presumptuous for anyone, even the ANC leadership.

If people feel that the only way they are going to get action from a government — be it a Nationalist, DP or an ANC government — is to take mass action, I would say it is their right to do so. The only qualification to that is non-violence.

**DO you regard yourselves as**

**But is there not a possibility of the ANC being forced to concede on mass action, as it did with the armed struggle?**

THE ANC did not concede on armed struggle. The ANC took an initiative. We went there having made up our minds that if we get certain undertakings from the Government, we will stop armed actions.

**BUT I'm raising precisely that possibility, that you could go to another meeting with the Government and say that if you get more concessions you will stop mass action as well.**

NO. You can't ask people to stop mass action. How could we?

**How how do you see mass action developing until the negotiating table is set? Will it escalate and, if so, how?**

MASS action is going to take whatever forms it needs to, on the basis of what we feel needs to be done. We are in a situation where, having decided to enter discussions about removing obstacles, a whole number are still in place. These are issues that mass action is going to have to address.

Also, will the majority of people have confidence in a transition which is presided over by the NP? We have said we require an interim government.

Now how are you going to arrive at that? Obviously, you will have to push for it, and mass action will be one of the means.

Mass action doesn't necessarily mean marches in central Johannesburg. It could be rallies, it could be a convention of the type that the Congress of the People was... other forms. It depends on the particular problems that need to be addressed.

## Took initiative

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**DO you regard yourselves as**

**PRESUMABLY, then, you would extend that right to the**

# Certain ANC activities involve intimidation – Meyer

The Government also felt that as an alternative method of forcing change, mass action conflicted with the general commitment to negotiated change by the ANC in the minutes. The following questions were put to Mr Meyer:

**Why do you object to the ANC's campaign of mass action? Is peaceful protest not a democrat-**

ic right?

The Government's viewpoint all the time has been that peaceful mass protest is part of the political scene and for that reason we have no problem with it.

What we do have a problem with it when activities occur that lead to destabilisation and violence; and in particular one could think of destabilising local

authorities and boycotts of service charges and that kind of thing, which obviously is not part of the political rules.

The Government would like to get negotiations going as soon as possible to change government structures at all levels, including local government. But, in the meantime, the existing structures should be kept in place to maintain management and services.

The ANC tends to include activities of a destabilising nature. If that is true the question is whether the intention is to create ungovernability with a view to achieving political goals.

Before February 2 that was part of the strategy of the ANC. But our view obviously is that after February 2 that policy is not necessary any longer because change can be brought about through the political process of negotiation.

## Unacceptable means

**At what point does protest become unacceptable?**

I would consider it unacceptable to threaten (black town) councillors that they must resign by a certain date. That is intimidation. That is undesirable in terms of the political process.

This is especially so, knowing that the very thing they are protesting against (ie the system of local government) is going to be reformed.

The proof of that is that the Government has taken the initiative in asking the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government to come up with alternative proposals.

**Surely it is normal and acceptable for civic organisations to call on township councils to resign?**

Yes. That is like the Conservative Party asking the Government to resign. That's just political rhetoric. But it depends what happens afterwards; if there is physical intimidation, which does follow in many

# Countdown to talks

# ANC wants an interim government

W/E ARGUS 24/11/90 11A

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**MBABANE.** — The African National Congress is to call for a constituent assembly and an interim government in its next round of talks with President De Klerk and his ministers on Tuesday.

Addressing the ninth summit of the Preferential Trade Area Authority (PTA) in Mbabane yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said his organisation was beginning to have serious doubts about the government's willingness to continue the negotiation process.

He would be visiting Mr De Klerk on Tuesday to try to get the process back on the rails. "I am going to urge him to heed the call for a constituent assembly to determine how a new constitution is to be drawn up.

"I will also discuss the establishment of an interim government."

## 'Acted in bad faith'

Mr Mandela said this was a democratic process which was recognised throughout the world and elections should be held to choose a constituent assembly as soon as possible.

He said the ANC had adhered to agreements reached in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes but the government had acted in bad faith. It seemed intent on weakening the ANC, he claimed.

"I am finding it increasingly difficult to persuade my colleagues that President De Klerk is a man of integrity.

"When I was in prison I held talks with him and other government ministers and persuaded my colleagues that they were men who could be trusted."

Mr Mandela also accused the National Intelligence Services and Military Intelligence of orchestrating "the slaughter of our people".

He said the beginnings of a Renamo movement were now being seen in South Africa and Mr De Klerk and his government had so far not been able to give a satisfactory explanation as

to why the killing could not be stopped.

Mr Mandela also said that the ANC demanded a political solution before recommending the lifting of sanctions.

"We are very keen that South Africa should join the international community in all spheres, including trade. But a political solution must first be reached. We are still very far from that," he said.

Frontline states were given special dispensation by the United Nations in applying sanctions because of their geographical dependence for trade and transport on the continent's economic giant.

Mr Mandela urged African states which were considering trading with South Africa not to do so until apartheid had been eradicated.

He said South Africa's economic potential could be used only when apartheid had been removed.

Supporting Mr Mandela's call was the chairman of the Organisation for African Unity and Ugandan president Mr Yoweri Museveni.

## Intensify the struggle

Mr Museveni also called on the summit to increase support for the anti-apartheid movements, which should close their ranks and intensify their struggle.

Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi, who is the outgoing chairman of the PTA, said he welcomed the positive steps taken by President De Klerk towards the elimination of apartheid. He hoped the current negotiation process would move quickly and seriously towards a nonracial South Africa.

"I look forward to welcoming a democratic South Africa to the PTA."

● Shortly after arriving at Jan Smuts Airport late yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela said the government and the ANC could be expected to differ on an interim government.

The ANC and the government could not be expected to share an identical point of view.

# Inkatha leader had 'weapons arsenal'

SAW 24/11/90



**THABO LESHILO**

THE driver of a car in which police allegedly found an arsenal of weapons at Sebokeng Hostel, where 42 people died after clashes involving Inkatha, hostel residents and the army, was Themba Khoza, Inkatha's Transvaal youth leader.

Captain Jacobus van der Westhuizen, commander of the Lekoa Municipal Police, yesterday told the inquest into the deaths of 42 people at the hostel that he had arrived at the hostel complex at 6.30 am after receiving a report at 4 am that there was trouble at the hostel.

On arrival at Hostel 3, he had found five cars burning and another overturned, a man lay dead in Room 27 and three other bodies lay at the main entrance to the hostel. People were running away.

Captain van der Westhuizen said he also found a group of 100 to 200 frightened Inkatha members standing in the middle the hostel. The men wore red headbands and

were armed with fighting sticks, pangas, spears and shields.

Before he could ask the men what was wrong, a blue Sentra came on the scene and the driver identified himself as Themba Khoza.

Mr Khoza then told Captain van der Westhuizen that the Inkatha men had come to fetch their belongings from the hostel. Mr Khoza was the leader of the Inkatha men, said the Captain.

Meanwhile, another group, about 150-strong, armed with fighting sticks, sharp weapons and petrol bombs stood at the entrance. This group was very aggressive and wanted to kill the Inkatha members.

The group, which grew bigger, demanded that the police leave the scene so that they could kill the Inkatha members whom they

accused of having killed their friends.

None of the Inkatha men carried any luggage. They carried weapons only, Captain van der Westhuizen said.

Warrant Officer Anthony Slinger said this week that police had found an AK-47 rifle and magazine, three AKM weapons and four magazines, a R-4 rifle and two magazines as well as a home-made and a .38 pistol and a magazine in the car.

Colonel Petrus Fourie, the SAP's District Commissioner for Vereeniging, said earlier that Mr Khoza had told him that the car was his and had asked him to ensure that the car would leave the scene safely.

Captain van der Westhuizen said he was not on the scene when the weapons were found in Mr Khoza's car.

Mr Khoza and the vehicle were subsequently taken, together with 136 other Inkatha members, to the Sebokeng police station.

MASS ACTION

# 'It's a spark that will light fire of violence'



**WATER POWER:** Township residents feel the heavy, wet hand of the law. By no stretch of the imagination can these people have merited such severe treatment.

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
Political Correspondent

SOME ANC mass action campaigns — such as the call for black councillors to resign — were “like hiding a gun behind your back and suggesting ‘do this or else.’”

That was why the Government regarded these campaigns as part of the “armed actions and related activities” which the ANC had agreed to suspend, said Mr Roelf Meyer, deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, and a member of both joint ANC/Government working groups — on political prisoners and exiles and also on the ANC armed struggle.

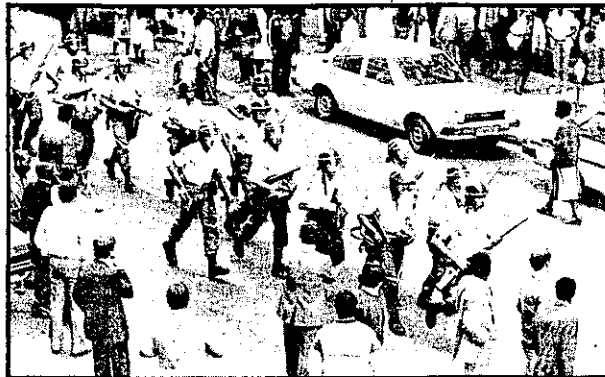
Although “mass action” is not forbidden in so many words in the Groote Schuur or Pretoria Minutes agreed to by the Government and the ANC.

**Intimidation factor**

Mr Meyer explained in an interview this week that the Government believed certain mass actions involved intimidation and led inevitably to destabilisation and violence — which were in conflict with the minutes.

Paragraph one of the Groote Schuur Minute reads: “The Government and the African National Congress agree on a common commitment towards a resolution of the existing climate of violence and intimidation from whatever quarter as well as a commitment to stability and to a peaceful process of negotiations.”

The relevant section of paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute is the ANC’s agreement to suspend armed actions and related activities”.



**OVERKILL MARCH:** Heavily armed police, some with grenades, make an unnecessary parade of force where no crowd threatens.



**THE BIG STICK:** Riot policemen chase a protester who, face screwed up with pain from a heavy blow, tries to flee a beating-up.

cases. Those utterances create an atmosphere that causes violence and attacks; to the extent that councils have resigned apparently on account of fear.

The basic question is do we accept the peaceful process and try to expedite it... You can't say you are in favour of the peaceful process of negotiation and on the other hand use other methods which are directly or indirectly responsible for violence.

Isn't it a little far-fetched to regard mass action as being an activity related to armed action?

The Government has not demanded that mass action must stop. It's a particular part of it that we argue is part of “related activities” and must stop because it leads to destabilisation and ungovernability.

To put it figuratively, the difference between “armed actions” and “related activities” is the difference between pointing a gun at you, or hiding it behind your back and suggesting “do this or else”.

**How can you blame the ANC mass action campaign for actual violence on the ground?**

It's a question of the atmosphere or climate that is often stirred up with calls which lead to the fact that people perceive they have the right to behave in a certain way.

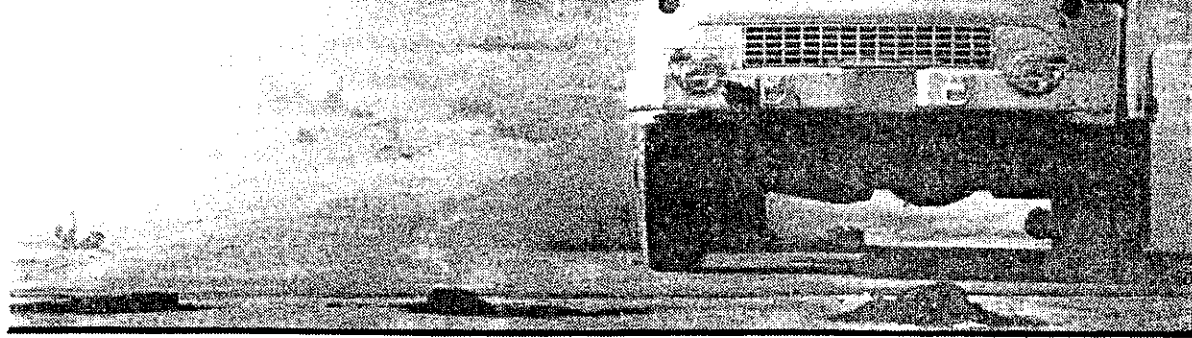
We are concerned about the net effect — apart from the public utterances and the political games and constituencies. What concerns us is that there is, no visible end to violence directly or indirectly caused by mass action through intimidation.

**Road to violence**

The kinds of action you disapprove — such as rent and service boycotts — seem to fall under the general heading “civil disobedience”. Do you find civil disobedience unacceptable by definition?

Civil disobedience causes destabilisation by definition in the sense that normal services can't be provided. And that leads to violence in the (black) community because people are frustrated.

The ANC says it is justified in continuing mass action because the Government has acted in bad faith by including the release of prisoners and re-



law. By no stretch of the imagination can these people have merited such severe treatment.



Police officers chase a protester who, face screwed up in pain, tries to flee a beating-up.

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**The ANC says it is justified in continuing mass action because the Government has acted in bad faith by making the release of prisoners and return of exiles dependent upon a satisfactory outcome of the discussions on the ANC struggle. Comment?**

If you look at paragraphs two and three of the Pretoria Minute (paragraph two is about the release of prisoners and return of exiles, and paragraph three about the ending of armed actions) there is an obvious connection just from reading it. One is dependent upon the other.

**But is the Government's insistence that the ANC abandon mass action not slowing the negotiation process since the next phase cannot start until this is resolved?**

No. It is obvious from the Pretoria Minute that paragraph three (in which the ANC agrees to suspend "armed actions and related activities") is a very important part. The Government has had one particular condition from the start; we can't negotiate unless the (ANC's) commitment to violence as a political instrument stops. We can talk but not negotiate just as they said they can talk but not negotiate until prisoners were released, exiles returned, the state of emergency lifted, among others.

It's important to resolve what was agreed to in the Pretoria Minute.



# ANC-govt meeting off at last minute *Mc Klerk's*

PRETORIA. — Tuesday's planned meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk will be held against the background of an unexplained cancellation of yesterday's meeting of the ANC-government working group. *22/11/90*  
*NA*

The group met on Thursday but yesterday's scheduled meeting was cancelled by the ANC, according to observers.

No immediate explanation was available from the ANC's offices, while Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok declined to comment.

Mr Vlok heads the government delegation while MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani leads the ANC delegation. He attended Thursday's meeting, after having missed a previous meeting.

The working group is charged with clearing up issues surrounding the ANC's undertaking to cease its armed actions and related activities, in terms of the Pretoria Minute. — Sapa

## Good response to Tutu

CAM-Tevis 2/27/11/90  
Political Correspondent 11A

**MOST** of South Africa's major black political movements appear set to attend the one-day summit called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu for next Thursday.

The summit, which will be held at Bishopscourt, will deal with the need for political tolerance and for black political groupings to develop a common strategy on negotiations.

A number of prominent church leaders are also expected to attend the meeting.

Invitations were sent to the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and homeland leaders.

Archbishop Tutu's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said yesterday that Inkatha was expected to decline.

However, the ANC is expected to be represented by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The PAC and Azapo are expected to attend but both organisations are understood to have reservations about the presence at the meeting of homeland leaders.

# HOPES RISE FOR ANC, PAC UNITY



press 25/11/90 (11A)

## Leaders jointly call for interim govt

THE ANC and PAC are forging closer links following this week's announcement by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that the ANC would demand from the government the election of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The PAC yesterday endorsed Mandela's call for a united front which would demand a constituent assembly.

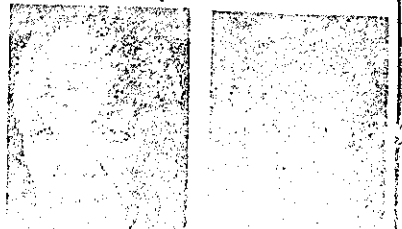
This follows a speech this week by Mandela before the ninth summit meeting of the Preferential Trade Area Authority of 18 eastern and southern African states in Mbabane, Swaziland.

PAC vice-president Clarence Makwetu, who also attended the Mbabane summit, told the meeting yesterday he was in favour of bringing together the different liberation groups to confront the government with one voice.

On Friday Mandela appealed for closer links with the PAC and said Makwetu's election as a leader had given him greater hope for bringing about unity between the two groups.

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Makwetu said he agreed with Mandela that both organisations should work together in opposing the government.

He promised the meeting he would seek to bring together the government's various opponents so that "we can confront (President FW) De Klerk with a demand for a constituent assembly".

When dealing with De Klerk, organisations should exercise caution - "don't take everything he says as conclusive".

Mandela said the ANC was beginning to have serious doubts about the government's willingness to continue with negotiations.

He would visit De Klerk on Tuesday in an effort to get the process back on the rails.

"I am going to urge him to heed the call for a constituent assembly.

"I will also discuss with him the establishment of an interim government for the country."

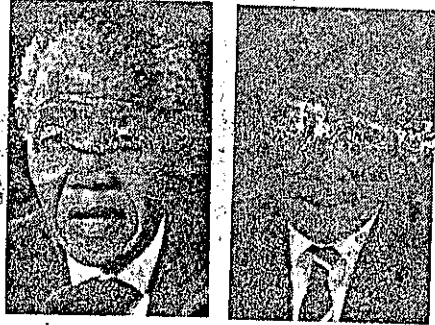
Mandela said since De Klerk's February 2 speech there had been an increase in trade between African states and apartheid South Africa.

South Africa's economic potential could only be used once apartheid had been removed, he said.

Mandela also accused the National Intelligence Service and military intelligence of orchestrating "the slaughter of our people".

He said the beginnings of a Renamo movement were now being seen in South Africa and De Klerk had not been able to give any explanation as to why the killing could not be stopped.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe joined Mandela in attacking De Klerk for slowing down negotiations. - Sapa



Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu

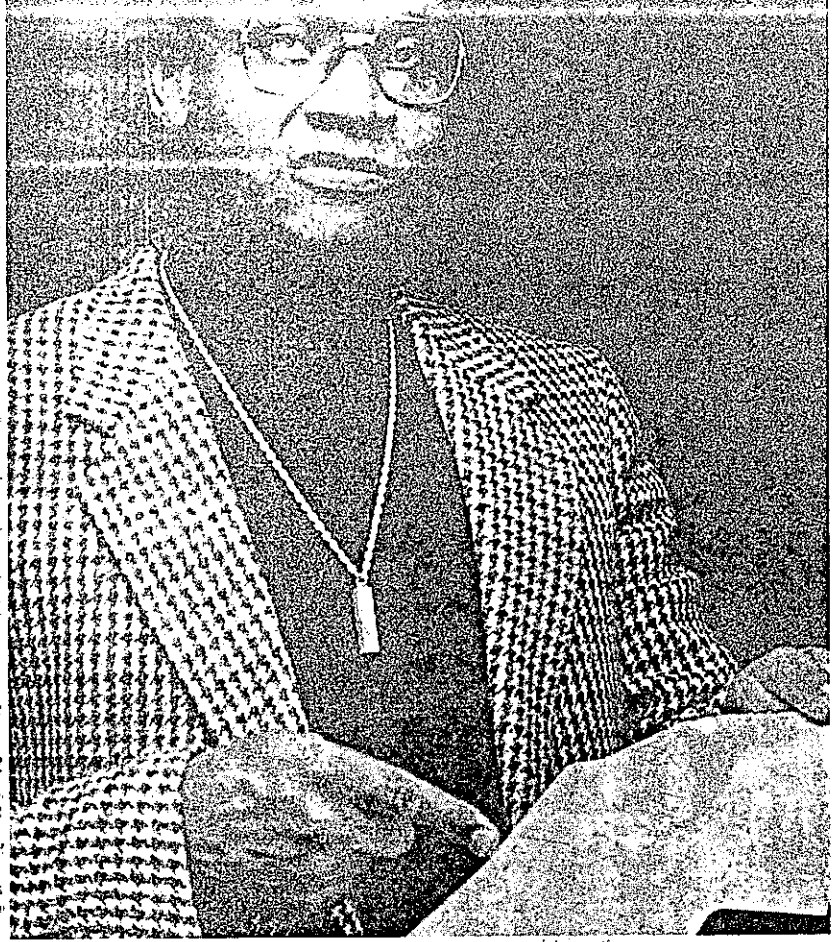
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City Press 25/1/90

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# 'secret society'



Lifting the veil of secrecy... the ANC's Aubrey Mokoena, who says the cabal is a secret clique which makes use of several strategies like isolation, slander, manipulation and infiltration.

## After six years of silence, an ANC member decides to spill the beans

THAT mysterious UDF cabal definitely exists, "despite the fact that the ANC denies it - but those of us who have been here for years have suffered under the cabal", says ANC ex-chairman of the now-defunct Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) Aubrey Mokoena.

Peter Mokaba of the ANC Youth League and several more ANC and UDF members in the Transvaal and Natal also insist it exists.

Mokoena is the first ANC member to speak out on the cabal issue after speculation during the past six years that such a group exists in the ranks of the UDF.

This week he told of his personal experiences regarding the cabal's political "manipulation".

He said: "In 1984 I was chairman of the RMC and we decided to launch the organisation nationally. We discussed the plan with all regions and everybody agreed. But in Natal there was strong resistance to the idea.

"The resistance came from a small group of people. Afterwards I watched them closely. It eventually became clear that a fixed group existed who always agreed with one another at meetings - and always opposed certain people.

"I was later informed about the existence of the group. In 1986 there was an effort to start UDF offices overseas. The issue was never discussed at UDF meetings or with members, but suddenly people flew overseas to discuss the issue with governments abroad.

"These were cabal plans and they went overseas without the knowledge of

the ANC."

The ANC strongly denies there is a cabal in its midst. ANC information chief Pallo Jordan says: "As far as we know, there is no cabal and the organisation has not launched an investigation."

Asked why several people in the UDF and ANC accept the existence of the cabal, Jordan said: "These people may interpret the actions of certain people as manipulation. The documents they use to justify the existence of the cabal appear to be false."

Mokoena confirmed the activities of the cabal were brought to the attention of the ANC's executive committee at a meeting in Lusaka in 1987.

He said: "I was given a mandate by the RMC to bring the troublesome cabal issue to the attention of ANC leadership. We explained the danger of such a group."

In August it was reported that the ANC launched an investigation into the cabal under the leadership of Govan Mbeki. Reports said a secret document

entitled *Report and Recommendations of the Commission on the Cabal* was drawn up.

In the September issue of the International Freedom Foundation's *Freedom Bulletin*, the names of several alleged cabal members were mentioned.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus and senior UDF member Mohamed Valli Moosa have described the report as an effort to sow division and distrust. Moosa was mentioned in the report as a cabal member.

Another UDF member mentioned in the *Freedom Bulletin*, Azhar Cachalia, said the UDF decided at a meeting last Sunday to say nothing to the Press, except that the issue was being investigated.

He added he had "never been part of the cabal. I don't feel isolated - I have always been part of the UDF and I am a member of the ANC."

But according to several activists, most of the names mentioned in the *Freedom Bulletin* have never been members of the cabal.

Mokoena said the cabal was identified in 1984 due to its "undemocratic practices and efforts to distort the agenda of the UDF".

He added: "The first time I heard of the cabal was in jail where members of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) told me about it."

Mokoena said members of the TIC and NIC told him how the cabal persuaded them to stay in the British Consulate in Durban for longer than they intended.

According to UDF activists, Mokaba and Mokoena were singled out for isolation.

In a document which allegedly set out the cabal's position on negotiations, it was said Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Mokaba had to "be isolated as soon as possible".

According to several sources in the ANC and UDF, the cabal consists of "a group of young professional people - lawyers, doctors and businessmen".

Mokoena told the ANC in June this year: "The cabal is a secret clique of activists who do things which look like good work on the surface, but they have a hidden agenda. The cabal makes use of several strategies like isolation, slander, manipulation and infiltration."

Former Border region UDF chairman Steve Tshwete said: "After an in-depth discussion, it was decided to appoint a commission of inquiry which included Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, Beyers Naude and Chris Dlamini as members. The tragedy was that it never got off the ground."

Mokaba said the cabal could influ-



Govan Mbeki, who allegedly led a full investigation into the cabal.

ence the UDF because it had "money and other resources" at its disposal.

"They use what is known as CM (control and manipulation) strategy. Because the cabal has resources at its disposal which people in townships do not have, it is easy for them to use these advantages to control organisations."

A Natal ANC source told how the powerful cabal had "paralysed" the UDF.

He said: "The cabal completely destroyed the potential of the UDF's affiliated organisations. Take for example the decision to accept the Freedom Charter. The cabal did not discuss it with UDF affiliates at all. This does not mean people opposed it, they were simply not consulted.

"In any case, such a decision had to come from the affiliates, not the leadership. When the UDF was restricted in 1988, the organisation was already paralysed. Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok acted against an empty balloon.

"At the time the UDF did not exist anymore, besides a few individuals who issued Press releases from their hiding places.

"Some of the things the cabal did were so bad it cannot be mentioned in the Press."

He said the cabal was now defunct in Natal, where it originally started, "but it may rear its head in another organisation. We must be vigilant". - *Vrye Weekblad*

## Island prisoners speak out

By S'BU MNGADI

THE ANC, UDF and the MDM this week came under scathing criticism in a no-holds-barred document smuggled from Robben Island.

The nine-page summary of a 300-page document, read by recently-released Robben Island inmate Jeff Radebe at the ANC's southern Natal congress, was smuggled out of the prison earlier this year.

Radebe said the document, on political developments and the violence in Natal, had been compiled jointly late last year by about 70 Natal ANC members on the Island.

It blamed the violence in Natal on "state terrorism" and Inkatha's "complicity" which was the result of "sinister motives to prevent the creation of a unitary, democratic, non-racial South Africa".

Radebe said it was shaming the proud record of people in the province who had courageously fought during the wars of resistance, that Inkatha was allegedly using so-called Zulu warriors to "fight and kill our freedom-loving people".

Radebe said the current in-fighting hid the political reality: that the apartheid regime, in collusion with imperialist allies and Inkatha, was bent on establishing a (Unita leader Jonas Savimbi)-type enclave in Natal.

The document paid tribute to the UDF and the Natal Indian Congress for staunchly upholding and courageously defending the ideals of the ANC in recent years while the organisation was banned.

The document was at the same

time critical of the UDF, MDM and the ANC.

It did not specifically mention the long-suspected cabal which allegedly operated within the UDF and the NIC, but a reference to such a group was clearly implied.

The document said: "The UDF in the province was plagued by in-fighting, factionalism, cliques, uneven distribution of resources and undemocratic practices.

"It would appear that it failed to adhere to democratic principles that are a hallmark of a democratic front."

The ANC could not be exonerated from this fact, the document said.

It noted that the UDF's weaknesses had serious repercussions for

the struggle which could not be developed "except within the struggle itself through issuing of political decrees and pamphlets without proper consultation.

"Consequently, this resulted in the use of coercion and threats, especially by the youth, to force the people into political campaigns. This succeeded in alienating and providing fertile grounds for the enemies and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour."

It noted the UDF leadership was lacking in "African, especially local, African leadership" which had watered down the full potential of the struggle against apartheid.

In offering solutions to the problems of Natal, the document called

for the creation of local leadership that was fully accountable to the people.

"The involvement of the working class in particular and the rural masses is of importance and should be the source of the ANC's strength and be reflected even in leadership positions."

It also warned that the ANC in Natal should not become the "UDF in another form" and insisted that the new structures should be mass-based, democratic and take into account the interests of the working class and the rural masses.

It warned ANC supporters not to see all Inkatha people as "sell-outs", adding that the best guarantee of peace was tolerance and the creation of truly mass-based organisations in the region.

# ANC 'should be last to judge CCB'

Political Correspondent

The ANC should be the last organisation to pass judgment on the Civil Co-operation Bureau, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in Pretoria last night.

Speaking at an anniversary gathering of veterans of Operation Savannah — the 1975 South African invasion of Angola — he hit back at the ANC for its criticism of criminal actions by the CCB exposed in the Harms Commission report published on Tuesday.

He said the ANC should remain quiet. "When did it ever subject itself to the laws of the land? Its gruesome acts of terror, murder and mutilation have not been unravelled.

"Think of Church Street 1983; Amanzimtoti; restaurants and landmines in north and east Transvaal.

"As far as the SADF and I are concerned, we are looking ahead. This does not mean I am saying that what was wrong on both sides is now suddenly right. But reproach will get no one anywhere."

General Malan said a special part of the military's Special Forces, Region 6, had contaminated the whole of the CCB and had brought Special Forces under suspicion.

The SADF as such had come out of the Harms Commission with clean hands, and he appealed for "the baby not to be thrown out with the bathwater".

Special Forces were the eyes and ears of the SADF, and had saved South Africa many disasters and lives.

General Malan repeated his insistence that there was no place for the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe "as such" in the SADF. The State could not divide its defence force as this would weaken it.

"We are going into the new South Africa with an indivisible defence force.

"Adaptations yes, but divisibility no. Therefore, there can be no place for MK as such in the present defence force."

(11A) (11B) (11C)

# TRAPPED IN SEBOKENG

## TRAPPED

PAGE 4 CITY PRESS, November 25, 1990

By SOPHIE TEMA

A MEMBER of the SAP told an inquest at the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court this week how he, his colleagues and Inkatha supporters were trapped inside the Sebokeng hostel after bloody fighting had erupted.

Captain Jacobus Lodewickus van der Westhuizen told the inquest that reinforcements had to be brought in to free him, other members of the SAP and Inkatha from a huge crowd of angry Xhosas.

Van der Westhuizen said this incident occurred the morning after several people were found dead at the hostel.

Van der Westhuizen said in a statement submitted to the inquest into the deaths of 42 people killed in Sebokeng on September 4 this year that this was also where he met the leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza.

Van der Westhuizen said that on September 4 at about 4am he received a telephone call at his home from Lekoa town clerk Nic Louw, who informed him there were problems at the hostel in Sebokeng.

He said he contacted a sergeant MM Kolokoto by radio who confirmed there had been gunshots and blasts at the hostel from 3am that morning.

He said Kolokoto also told him residents were fleeing from the hostel and seeking refuge in the township.

Van der Westhuizen said: "We drove towards the group to enquire what the situation was like when a blue Nissan Sentra sedan drove up to us and stopped.

"A black man got out of the car and introduced himself as Themba Khoza, representative of Inkatha in the Transvaal."

Van der Westhuizen said he later got information that Khoza had been arrested and that police had recovered an arsenal of weapons from his car.

"Khoza told me the

## SAP, Inkatha huddle in hostel as Xhosas erupt

men with the red headbands had come to remove their belongings from the hostel as the safest time to do this was at night.

"The group outside the hostel was increasing gradually and they too were armed with sticks, pangas, sharp weapons, petrol bombs and were very aggressive.

"I succeeded in getting three men from each of the two groups and spoke to them in a bid to restore peace.

"Although representatives of both groups agreed that violence was not the solution to their problems, the Xhosa representative could not convince his people not to resort to violence as they were increasing in great numbers.

"This group was aggressive and demanded that the police pull out of the area so they could avenge the deaths of their

friends.

"I refused to accede to their demands and with the assistance of the SAP we kept the two groups at bay.

"Stones and petrol bombs were later hurled at the Zulu group and the police and I then tried to bring the Xhosa group under control - but without success.

"A certain Vilakazi, who also later introduced himself to me as the representative of the ANC and the Xhosa group, could not bring them under control.

"The Xhosa group was gradually increasing and demanded that they be allowed to enter the hostel and kill the Zulus.

"Other officers and SAP members arrived and tried their best to negotiate with the group. But they also got trapped and this resulted in the need to bring in other SAP reinforcements."

# Tambo to open the ANC's first national congress

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN  
S/ Times 25/11/90

ANC president Oliver Tambo will deliver the opening address at the movement's first national congress since it was legalised earlier this year. Congress organiser and ANC national executive member James Stuart told the Sunday Times about 1500 delegates from all over the world were expected at the three-day conference which starts in Johannesburg on December 14. Mr Tambo, who is in London recuperating from a stroke he suffered last year, is expected to arrive in South Africa on the morning of the 14th. His appearance at the conference may signal his return to an active role in the movement. ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad said that

although the conference would not elect a new national executive — voting has been postponed until June 1991 — it would nevertheless be a "crucial meeting" as far as the future negotiating stance of the movement was concerned.

- He said two issues would dominate the agenda:
- The ANC's strategy in the coming negotiations with the government; and
  - The movement's organisational and strategic planning.

Mr Stuart said arrangements were being made for delegates from the ANC's external missions in Africa and Europe to attend the conference.

Although he expected some delegates to receive temporary indemnity from prosecution, he blamed "the government's stalling tactics" for certain problems the ANC was experiencing.

ANC Transvaal organiser Kgalema Molanthe said local branches were in the process of electing delegates to the conference and drafting resolutions for discussion. Branches have been designated conference seats according to their membership strength.

Mr Stuart said the conference would be of vital importance because it would be the first held in South Africa since the ANC was banned in the 60s.

"We know that the eyes of

the world will be on us and the decisions taken will be scrutinised and dissected," he said.

He added that the conference would also enable the leadership to gather opinions from a cross-section of ANC supporters on what the movement's negotiating position should be.

Mr Stuart said there was "quite a bit of unhappiness" among rank-and-file members about the way in which negotiations with the government had

lost momentum. "There is a growing feeling that the government has not lived up to its promises on issues such as the release of prisoners and the return of exiles," he said.

The other main task of the

conference will be to discuss the ANC's organisation, which most senior members privately admit has "run into severe difficulties".

According to the latest figures, the movement has signed up only between 155 000 and 200 000 members in the nine months since it became legal.

The opening and closing sessions of the congress will be public. For the rest of the time delegates will meet in "closed commissions" to discuss various aspects of ANC policy.

Mr Molanthe said the ANC's organisation was "now getting into gear" after initial practical problems.

"Our first priority was to establish structures," he said.

"Now we can go out to actively recruit members."

In the southern Transvaal alone, 65 branches had already been formed, with more to follow, he said.

Mr Pahad blamed the relatively low recruitment figures on logistical hiccups and said it should be understood that the ANC still had to build "an organisational culture" inside the country.

"Too much of the ANC leadership's time and effort is taken up with technical discussions with the government on matters that should have been resolved by now," he said.

"This time could have been spent more productively on building up the grassroots structures."



# Behind mass action lies anxiety about the

THE recent wave of ANC-supported "mass actions" has little to do with the government and everything to do with the problems of the newly-formed resistance alliance.

The street protests, attempts to cripple black local authorities and the stayaway campaigns are to be the cement binding the sometimes troubled alliance of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu, the trade union federation.

This sudden surge of "mass action" — the words have to be put in quotation marks because at no point is the number of people involved in street protests anything but the tiniest fraction of the total black urban population — is an attempt by the ANC and its associates to build up membership through direct and visible action.

Mass mobilisation has

## BRIAN POTTINGER suggests the ANC's protest campaigns are voter drives — with a difference

always been one of the four pillars of the ANC resistance strategy: the other three being armed action, sanctions and underground activity.

But, since February 2, the paper-thin ANC leadership has had its hands full with other things: organising structures, settling leadership problems, preparing for conferences, negotiating with the government, getting the exiles back and a thousand other administrative headaches.

### Impatient

This does not mean the ANC has dropped the principle of mass mobilisation — it is just not succeeding at it.

This does not go down well with the ANC's affiliates — the SA Communist

party and Cosatu — who formed a formal alliance with the ANC in June this year. They have grown impatient waiting for this "vanguard" ANC to start showing its mettle in a practical way.

In eight months, the organisation has signed up only 150 000 members which Work in Progress, a sympathetic journal of the left, labelled "dismal".

"The challenge of the moment," it editorialised in its November edition, "is (becoming) an efficient organisation, actually organising people on a large scale, aggregating their interests, thrusting the demands of the most dispossessed and oppressed to the forefront and seizing the political initiative in the process."

Grumblings within the ANC and Cosatu are widespread. Many people observed there were more protests and political activity by the ANC before February 2 than after. But the real kick in the pants came from the SA Communist Party — probably the best disciplined and organised member of the alliance.

### Formula

The October edition of Umsebenzi, the Communist mouthpiece, observes that since February 2 the alliance has not found the right formula of linking the mass struggle with the negotiating process — i.e., the man-in-the-street feels left out.

"Dialogue cannot be a substitute for mass organi-

sation and mass struggle," says Umsebenzi.

"Conferences on aspects of a "post-apartheid" South Africa are essential. But we cannot allow this kind of future-gazing to blind us to the real struggles on the ground today."

Umsebenzi accepted that building an organisation was essential, but again warned it could not become a substitute for "mass struggles, mass campaigning and mass mobilisation".

The paper ended its criticism by calling for a coherent and united programme of mass action. This was top of the agenda of the alliance's co-ordinating committee at its first meeting on Tuesday last week.

The concerns of the SACP, echoed to a large extent by Cosatu, are that the ANC leadership is becoming distanced from its grassroots (a charge,

51 Times 25/11/90  
incidentally, made recently by one of the ANC's own top organisers in the Transvaal), that it is not drawing enough people into the organisation and it is losing the initiative to the De Klerk administration.

The solution: bring peo-

ple out on to the streets to protest, find "sites of struggle", persuade people that the very act of demonstrating cements the cohesion of the alliance.

A pamphlet issued recently by the ANC in the Western Cape calling for support for mass protest

ANC's membership

clearly reveals how comprehensive these demands have become: all prisoners and exiles to be immediately released; all black local authorities to be scrapped; strikers must not be fired; bread and bus prices must be reduced; a constituent assembly must immediately be established.

"Are we being fooled by De Klerk's sweet promises?" the pamphlet asks, echoing widespread rank-and-file concern that the ANC leadership is being sugared by the government.

It is in this light that one should see the recent, and infinitely destabilising initiative by the SACP's Moses Mayekiso, to topple the already doomed black local authorities and the statement this week by the ANC that it is to step up domestic protests.

# BOYCOTT HALTED

c/r/res  
25/11/90

By ELIAS MALULEKE



THE consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in Pretoria has been postponed while steps to end the deadlock between the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Association (Asro) and the government gain momentum.

The UDF suspended the boycott on Friday to enable the residents' association and the government to resolve the crisis.

The boycott was called by the UDF last week after electricity in Atteridgeville was cut off.

The blackout sparked violence between residents and police which claimed three lives, including that of a nine-year-old pupil.

Asro has arranged a meeting for tomorrow with Transvaal Provincial Administration representatives to seek a "speedy" and peaceful solution to the problem.

Asro will meet Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on Tuesday to discuss the proclamation of Atteridgeville as an unrest area.

# ANC purges UDF from leadership

11A

SITime 25/11/90

Sunday Times Reporters

THE African National Congress has purged nearly all former United Democratic Front members from its major offices.

In Natal, the Transvaal and Eastern Cape few UDF members have succeeded in gaining top jobs within ANC structures.

Only in the Western Cape have they been able to hang on: all regional office-bearers are former UDF members.

The dominance of the returned ANC exiles and former Robben Islanders over the internal leaders has been accompanied by sniping between some UDF and ANC members — although top officials in both organisations have sought to gloss over differences.

The latest defeat of UDF candidates occurred at the ANC's Natal regional congress last weekend.

Of the 12-member executive committee, made up of several former Robben Island prisoners, no UDF leaders were elected.

Operation Vula trialists and UDF and Natal Indian

Congress executive members Billy Nair and Pravin Gordhan, the NIC's Dr Farouk Meer, Professor Jerry Coovadia and Paul David were some of the top people left out.

National UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Natal UDF chairman Curnick Ndlovu — initially punted as a possible convener — were both not elected by 410 delegates representing 66 branches.

## Elected

Of the original interim committee, only two people, secretary Sibusiso Ndebele and committee member Cleopas Ndlovu retained their positions.

Former interim convener, UDF man Patrick Lekota did not stand for re-election as convener and lost the vice-chairman's position to former prisoner Jeffrey Radebe.

ANC national executive

□ To Page 2

## PICK 6

**TURFFONTEIN**  
1 326 winners, with each collecting a dividend of R1 257,40. Numbers: 4; 4; 6; 9; 6; 1,3.

**CLAIRWOOD**  
33 winners managed to collect a dividend of R35 157,50. Selections: 7; 1,2,7,9; 3; 4,5; 12,13; 4.

**KENILWORTH**  
Five punters managed to collect a dividend of R51 862,80. Combinations: 2; 3; 1,5,14; 2,3; 15; 10.

## Instant win

THE copy of the Sunday Times you are now holding could win you a National video recorder. Just check the Magazine to see if you are a lucky instant winner.

## They're tops

THE annual Sunday Times list of top businessmen is in Business Times today.

## Joy for Joyce

JOYCE PLATZKY is the newest Operation Hunger millionairess.

● See Page 11

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### □ From Page 1

committee member and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and Sibusiso Ndebele were elected unanimously as chairman and secretary respectively.

The only NIC person elected was Mewa Ramgobin.

The Natal developments echo what happened in the Johannesburg region.

Of the 10-member ANC Internal Leadership Core, only one person, Popo Molefe, is a former UDF member. All the others are returned exiles.

## Threats

Sniping between the two organisations has accompanied the virtual eclipse of UDF leaders.

At the Natal congress, Mr Radebe delivered a paper on behalf of Robben Islanders in which the UDF was described as "plagued by in-fighting, factionalism and uneven distribution of resources".

The paper accused the UDF leadership of becoming undemocratic.

"The consequence of leading by political decree and pamphlets resulted in the use of coercion and threats, especially by the youth to force the people into political campaigns," said the paper.

"This tended to alienate various sections of the oppressed and also provided fertile ground for the enemy and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour," the paper goes on to say.

But Natal UDF leaders

nate, confirmed this week that he would be involved in intensive discussions with ANC and UDF office-bearers in the next few weeks. Meanwhile, three choices are under consideration. These include relinquishing political control to the ANC while keeping the UDF for local actions, restructuring the UDF into a national "united front" excluding the ANC or setting up a broad national patriotic front led by the ANC and including groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation.

er this week glossed over the dispute. Pallo Jordan, director of information and publicity, described suggestions of tensions as "rubbish". The few internal "problems" were less than expected, he said. It was quite natural that some people would lose positions they once held — but the vast majority of people affected had accepted it, he said. The future of the UDF is, however, now on the line: a conference in February will decide the fate of the organisation.

have rejected the claims. Co-president Mr Gumede dismissed the ANC criticism of the organisation as "ill-informed". "That paper was written with no knowledge of what had been happening in Natal under the UDF," he said. Reacting to his non-election to the regional executive committee, Mr Gumede said delegates at the conference were opposed to his stance on speaking to the Inkatha Freedom Party. "They therefore hold no allegiance to the UDF and the work we did in the past few years." Top ANC people, howev-

None of the options suggest disbandment.

Mr Lekota, the ANC's Free State convener-designate

Free State convener-designate

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# Home of Duduza leader attacked twice

THE chairman of the ANC branch in Duduza says he fears for his life after two armed incidents at his home in the past two days - the second on Friday night allegedly involving armed white assailants.

Alexander Montoedi - who also heads the Duduza Civic Association - said three balaclava-clad whites were scared off outside his home late on Friday night when a group of "comrades" were summoned to his rescue by neighbours.

No shots were fired.

He said he believed the incidents - the first took place on Thursday night when his home was riddled with bullets - were aimed at his life and were linked to a consumer boycott launched by Duduza residents against Nigel businesses on September 24.

"The consumer boycott is so effective that they are attempting to kill me with the hope that it will end."

Negotiations aimed at ending the boycott were currently underway, he added.

Yesterday police were unable to comment on the alleged incident.

But police are already investigating a case of malicious damage to property following the attack on Montoedi's home on Thursday at 11.55pm.



**Alex Montoedi shows where bullets were fired through his window.**

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

toedi, the second incident took place at 9.45pm on Friday.

"My wife and I were just getting into bed when we heard the dogs barking.

"They rang the doorbell.

"The phone rang at

the same time, and I was told by neighbours that whites wearing balaclavas were waiting outside with guns.

"I first thought they were police coming to get more information about Thursday night's attack.

"When I opened the front door, however, I saw one white man wearing a blue balaclava.

"He ran and hid himself behind the wall and shouted 'Vula' (open).

"I closed the door

immediately."

No shots were fired and the three men left when a group of township youths arrived.

"They jumped into two cars and sped away," he added. - Sapa

Unknown gunmen fired 25 shots with an AK 47 assault rifle, damaging several windows, doors and walls. East Rand police liaison officer Capt Ida van Zweel said nobody was injured in Thursday's attack and police were investigating.

According to Mon-

# Five Middelburg activists jailed after boycott call

C/11/190 25/11/90



By **BHEKI NKOSI**

POLICE have arrested five leading activists in Middelburg.

This follows the launch of a consumer boycott on Monday after a march by ANC women was tear-gassed by the SAP.

After the march, the

Middelburg Council and an SAP delegation walked out of a meeting with Mhluzi township representatives.

The Middelburg Residents' Organisation (MRO) said one of the group threatened to bring Inkatha to the township "to sort residents out".

The five, who were detained on Friday, are Jabu Ntshane of the Congress of South African Students; James Matau of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union; Godfrey Maseko and Abe Mathibela of the MRO, and Joey Mathibela.

According to police, they were arrested on suspicion of public violence.

MRO leader Isaac Kgale said by Friday afternoon the five had been denied access to their lawyers, family members and doctors.

ANC Women's League activist Granny Maseko said leaders were addressing the marchers on the dispersal order when teargas was fired.

But police said the march was illegal and the women had been given about an hour to disperse.

Seven women were allowed to proceed to the police station, he said.

# NATAL, HERE THEY ARE!

By S'BU MNGADI

**T**HE ANC southern Natal regional executive committee (REC) elected on Sunday night is dominated by young, educated former Robben Islanders.

All four office-bearers - led by Jacob Zuma, chief of the ANC's intelligence department and the organisation's chief negotiator with the government - are former Robben Island jailbirds.

Ironically, a nine-page summary of a 300-page document compiled by about 70 ANC cadres on the Island had warned against "cronyism, cliquism, factionalism, undemocratic practices and in-fighting" which allegedly characterised the UDF.

And it was this document, delivered by recently-released Islander Jeff Radebe, which set the tone for the composition of the REC, elected at the first ANC conference in Natal for 31 years.

The ANC was this week at pains to explain that the new REC was democratically elected by 410 delegates, representing 66 branches with a membership of 25 120.

All senior activists associated with the UDF and Natal Indian Congress "cabal" failed to be elected, as were UDF co-president Archie Gumede (in hot water recently over his controversial stand on the Natal violence) and Mosioua "Terror" Lekota.

Six of the 12 REC members are former Robben Island inmates. The most glaring omissions are workers or unionists.

The office bearers are



S'bu Ndebele, secretary.



Mewa Ramgobin, exec member.



Cleophas Ndlovu, exec member.



Mike Sutcliffe, exec member.

## 410 delegates from 66 branches chose them

offices 25/4/90 (11/1) (11/1)

as follows:

Chairman: Jacob Zuma, 48.

Vice-chairman: Jeff Radebe, 40, an East German-trained international lawyer, organiser for the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, former official of the ANC's information and publicity department in Lusaka;

Secretary: S'bu Ndebele, 37, University of Natal academic, former Ngoye student leader and secretary of the outgoing southern Natal convening committee;

Treasurer: Mzilikazi Khumalo, 35, business consultant and LLB candidate.

All are trained Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas, and served between five and 12 years in prison.

Other members of the REC are: Natal University political scientist Ian Philips; civil leader and

doctor Siyabonga Cwele; ANC organiser and schoolteacher Bheki Cele; ANC organiser Cleophas Ndlovu; NIC vice-president and insurance broker Mewa Ramgobin; Natal University architecture professor Mike Sutcliffe; human rights lawyer Linda Zama, and ANC Women's League task force member and medical practitioner Nkosazana Zuma - Jacob's wife.

Zuma's new position has been described as one of the most crucial positions in the ANC and South Africa today.

But this week he shrugged this off, saying: "It has been my history in the ANC to undertake heavy tasks, and I always accept the challenge very seriously, and try to give my best."

"The problems in

Natal are crucial to the resolution of national issues. I will continue to be involved in negotiations with the government, and at the end of the day, the ANC will determine how much time I can spend in Natal."

Zuma has been playing a behind-the-scenes role as peacemaker in the crucial ANC-Inkatha talks.

His efforts were rewarded when the ANC's NEC recently resolved to meet Inkatha's central committee - where ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will come face to face with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

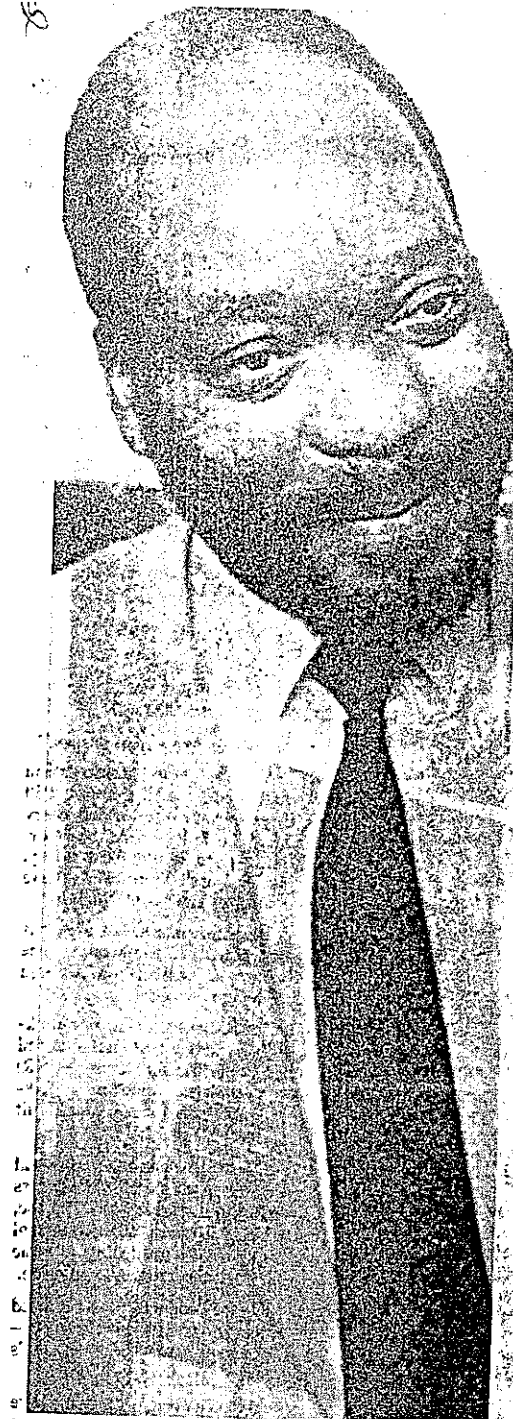
Zuma has been described as an astute diplomat and has even charmed Buthelezi - a man feared by his own colleagues - who this week welcomed Zuma's election.



Jeff Radebe, vice-chairman.



Linda Zama, exec member.



Top man ... Jacob Zuma, the ANC's peacemaker who reckons the problems in Natal are crucial to the resolution of national issues.

# It's time for the US to begin catching up

ST 110, 25/11/90

TO judge by the time it is taking Washington to catch up with events in South Africa, you would think the countries were separated by light years rather than a few thousand kilometres of sea. Here are a few examples:

Back home, the government and the ANC are in daily contact. Hardly a day passes without a Cabinet minister having consultations with his prospective opposite number in the ANC.

Here, the gulf between the embassy and the local ANC office is as deep as it has ever been.

This is not entirely the embassy's fault. Ambassador Piet Koornhof and his staff have tried. They even offered assistance during Nelson Mandela's visit here last June — but received no response.

## CRUCIAL

A larger share of the blame must fall to Lindiwe Mabuza, technically the ANC's chief representative in the US but widely viewed as being rather more representative of Winnie Mandela than the movement as a whole.

That is one aspect of Mrs Mandela's reputation. The other is that she has been co-opted by Trans-Africa's Randall Robinson, whose chief fear seems to be that the ANC and the government may deprive him of a cause by coming to terms.

Mabuza, the living embodiment of the notion that nothing has changed, offers him the consolation and the proof that rapprochement of any kind is a distant prospect.

Robinson and Mabuza are connected to the offices of House Majority whip William Gray through Hazel Ross — Robinson's wife and Gray's chief adviser on South Africa. This may help explain another

## WASHINGTON DIARY



Simon Barber

anachronism.

Gray, without question the most powerful member of the Congressional black caucus, wrote to Secretary of State James Baker last September demanding "in the strongest possible terms" that none of the R25-million that Congress had earlier set aside to promote democracy in South Africa be dispensed to white-run groups "no matter how liberal they may be".

The money, he implied through the usual code words, was intended only for the ANC and its affiliates lest they be "weaker than they should be during this crucial period".

Helping white boys like John Kane-Berman (Institute for Race Relations) and Lawrence Schlemmer (Centre for Policy Studies) advance a democratic culture was not the same as supporting "pro-democracy forces".

Perhaps someone should tell the Congressman that, rampant as it might be in the US, this is the kind of thinking South Africa is trying to escape. Old institutions, like old habits, die hard. One such

is the mechanism most US companies still in SA use to defend their decision to stay: the so-called Sullivan Code or, as it has been known since the Rev Leon Sullivan abandoned it in 1987, the Statement of Principles.

The anachronism here is not so much the principles themselves but the regime under which their signatories are scored for complying with them. Those who control the regime have made their livings off anti-apartheid protest as surely as the leaders of the protest movement. They, too, are reluctant to let go.

As a result, local subsidiaries find themselves forced by the necessity of pleasing the regime's auditors — the Cambridge, Massachusetts, firm of Arthur D Little — to make decisions that are no longer in the best interests of their employees or their country.

TIA BLIND

Compliance with the annual audit is not only expensive and time-consuming in its own right; it also obliges companies struggling to compete with less burdened rivals to spend vast sums on causes which, however worthy, make little difference to a firm's solvency.

At a time when the highest social priority of any company in South Africa must surely be the training and advancement of black employees, the evaluation system places a disincentive on such activities by requiring companies to spend at least 12 percent of their overall payrolls on almost anything but training and advancement.

Free South Africa, says the slogan. Yes, indeed, free it from all outsiders too blind or too self-interested to see what is really happening there.

## Gold is up

GOLD in Hong Kong rose the equivalent of \$4.37 an ounce yesterday to close at \$383.62, compared with Friday's \$379.25.

# Plan for talks leapfrog

S/Time 25/11/90

**INFORMAL** talks between top government and ANC negotiators have laid the groundwork for a breakthrough at Tuesday's meeting between President FW De Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela.

The leaders will approve a plan to leapfrog the present stalemate and move rapidly towards formal negotiations on a future constitution.

Although some tough issues still have to be resolved — notably mass action and the return of exiles — both sides are optimistic that this week's meeting will make considerable progress.

## Consensus

The working group on the armed struggle, jointly chaired by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Umkonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, has almost completed its report, and one source said there was agreement on 90 percent of the issues.

The prospects for another leaders' summit — before the start of the ANC's national conference on December 14 — have also improved.

One practical outcome of the talks will be the creation of joint ANC-government working groups to discuss specific constitutional issues, such as a constituent assembly and voting systems.

Such "exploratory talks" were already envisaged in the Pretoria Min-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

ute, signed by both parties on August 6, but, apart from informal contacts, no real progress has yet been made.

Spokesmen for both the government and the ANC said this week that reports of deteriorating relations between them are exaggerated and that consensus had been reached on key matters.

These include the training of MK cadres for military purposes and the manner in which stockpiled weapons should be retrieved and controlled by the security forces.

One point of disagreement appears to be the question of recruitment for MK. The ANC's view is that, since MK has been declared a legal organisation, there should be no restraints placed on its recruitment drives, provided the organisation is not mustering forces for military objectives.

Government sources said this week that Mr De Klerk would speak "very frankly" to Mr Mandela on the problem of the ANC's tactics of mass action and the "war talk" coming from certain ANC leaders.

Both Mr De Klerk and Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen warned in speeches this week that actions such as mass rallies, street demonstrations and workers' stayaways could endanger the negotiating process.

ANC executive member Aziz Pahad yesterday said

that his organisation had a strong interest in the process proceeding as quickly as possible.

Mr Pahad also rejected suggestions that the ANC was "stalling on negotiations" because it had difficulty in getting its organisational house in order.

ANC director of information Pallo Jordan also dismissed claims of an ANC go-slow as "a load of rubbish".

"What possible reason can we have for retarding the process?" he asked.

Mr Mandela is expected to raise ANC concern over what it perceives as "government foot-dragging" on the return of the estimated 22 000 ANC exiles.

## Anger

There is a growing anger inside the movement over the regulations governing the return of exiles, which were recently published by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Senior ANC members say they differ "in at least five places" from the agreement reached in Pretoria.

The main bone of contention is that the regulations make the return of exiles and the release of prisoners dependent on the progress made by the Vlok-Hani working group.

"They are clearly two separate issues that have now been thrown together by Mr Coetsee," said Mr Pahad.

"We are going ahead with arrangements for the return of exiles... but that does not mean that we accept the linkage."



Star 26/11/90

# Gunfire after big Inkatha meeting panics residents

Own Correspondent

Residents of Tokoza on the East Rand scattered in panic when Inkatha Freedom Party supporters fired shots into the air minutes after a peace rally ended yesterday.

Gunfire was heard as more than 3 000 armed supporters made their way from the Tokoza stadium to local hostels. No one was injured.

Leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Inkatha Youth

Brigade called on the Tokoza Civic Association (TCA) to disband. Inkatha Youth Brigade secretary Themba Msomi said the "ANC-aligned" TCA was not representative of all community organisations.

Calling for "unity of the oppressed against the common enemy", Inkatha official Fakazi Mduba said it would be "useless for Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to shake hands" while people continued killing one another.

# DP suggests 'commission of wise'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A transitional commission of "wise people" has been proposed by the Democratic Party to oversee the negotiation process.

The procedure has been suggested to the Government by the party's national council, which met in Cape Town at the weekend.

The council said in a statement after the meeting: "The

procedure envisages an independent, neutral facilitator, possibly the Chief Justice, who with a panel of 'wise people' would form a transitional commission.

"The commission would propose an all-inclusive negotiating process and would on the basis of evidence submitted to it draw up constitutional parameters.

"All proposals would be made public and be subject to general public scrutiny."

# Traditional leaderships must be guaranteed - Ramodike

Soweto 26/11/90  
114  
167

TRADITIONAL leadership should be guaranteed in a new South Africa but ethnic boundaries created by unsympathetic parties should be transcended, Lebowan Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said on Saturday.

Ramodike was addressing the launch of the Transvaal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders in South Africa in Pietersburg.

Traditional leadership was a common heritage of mankind all over the world and had been his system of government, he said.

"In our search for a new constitution for the country it should be one which should guarantee traditional leadership's protection. Throughout the process of decolonisation, liberation movements have developed a negative hostile attitude towards traditional leaders."

But the leader of this self-governing state in northern SA said also: "I wish to appeal to you that your views on the future of this country should transcend the tribal and ethnic boundaries that have been grown for you by those who never had your interests at heart." - Sapa

11A

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## **Winnie elected chairman**

Winnie Mandela was elected chairman of the Transvaal regional interim committee of the ANC Women's League in Johannesburg on yesterday. "Without women the ideals of the liberation struggle will not succeed ... Women have always been in the forefront in the fight for freedom and will continue to remain so," she said.

**C**ONFLICT between government and the ANC over mass mobilisation campaigns and police behaviour, and over appropriate forums for negotiations and transitional government, has been widely interpreted as meaning that the negotiation process is in trouble. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What SA is experiencing now is the crucial preliminary phase of that process, with each side angling for advantage as the rules of the game are devised.

One way to describe the present phase is as the period during which a level playing field for the negotiation process is established. But the precise angle of the field is measured more by the eye of the beholder than by any objective criteria.

In SA where the main actors are more or less evenly matched, mutually acceptable "rules" have to be established. But with the future shape of SA at stake, it is hardly surprising that each of the opposing forces would choose to seek whatever advantage it can.

**A**nd the fact that the situation can be described in sporting analogies does not mean the methods used are sporting.

Detentions and sometimes highly aggressive police behaviour remain part of government's arsenal. Tough talk and the mobilisation of mass power are undisguised features of the strategy of the ANC and its allies.

That both the ANC and government have in their ranks hawkish leaders only complicates this situation — it is not a full explanation for it.

Part of the strategy on both sides includes occasional warnings that the others' actions are threatening the negotiating process, and/or may leave "us" with no choice but "reluctantly" to use less gentle methods.

But what is usually hidden from the spectators — the anxious public which includes the supporters of the contending parties — is the fact that, whatever the level of genuine anger, both have steered well clear of actions which actually would seriously endanger the negotiation process.

# It looks rough, but negotiations are still on track

ALAN FINE

Neither government (which insists to the world that the process is irreversible) nor the ANC (for whom there is no other feasible path) can afford it.

None of this is to say that these points of conflict can carry on unresolved. Government is genuinely unhappy with the ANC attitude towards mass mobilisation. Civil unrest makes it even more difficult for the NP to carry its constituency, and is preventing a return to international financial confidence in SA.

The ANC, for its part, correctly sees that if the NP continues as the sole governing power during the transitional, negotiation period, this would give the NP a huge advantage in the process of shaping SA.

Uncreative and sometimes out of proportion though the ANC's proposed actions may be, it is in this light that the organisation's continued support for otherwise seemingly pointless mass action should be seen.

That the ANC employs the same strategy for crucial longer-term issues, such as an interim government, as for immediate ones, such as the timing of the release of political prisoners, may simply be a sign of its inability to devise a proportionate response to different circumstances. Or it may be easier to mobilise the masses on an immediate issue of prisoners' freedom than on a com-

plex constitutional question.

Either way, mass mobilisation techniques are less about dismantling apartheid than about seeking a more powerful position in the negotiating phase.

As Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Prof Lawrence Schlemmer puts it: "The negotiating process cannot just be about a future constitutional model; it has to be about transition too."

**T**he logical corollary of this is that one should expect a clear inverse relationship between the extent of militant mass action and the degree of incorporation of the ANC into the transitional governing process. The row over the timing of the release of prisoners is an example — the ANC has no formal say on this question so feels obliged to challenge government's prerogative.

An extension of this argument is that government will have to decide on the optimum balance between mass action and sharing power during negotiations. Government is opposed to a formal interim government but is also seriously concerned about mass action campaigns.

This explains why the ANC is intent on keeping up the pressure and why government is now becoming so

agitated about it. Part of this pressure involves keeping expectations of the masses high — a useful tactic now but one which the ANC will later come to regret if and when it becomes the party expected to deliver on them.

In any event, it is becoming increasingly clear that agreement on rules of conduct for mass action (from the side of both the protesters and the state) will be a crucial subject for discussion as talks about talks continue.

A second key area in the talks about talks is local government. The ANC's goal is obviously to undermine potential NP-supporting councillors and to replace their system with — as the the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) has proposed — interim local government structures while moving towards a system of single, racially integrated city administrations.

The third, as mentioned, is to do with the negotiating forum and government during the transitional period.

The ANC position is still in the realms of sloganeering — support for a constituent assembly as a negotiating forum and increasing talk of an interim government. Its scope for compromise on these structures does not appear yet to have been fully debated. The view one gets depends

on which ANC leader one is talking to — it ranges from an uncompromising attitude to anticipation that the potential for finding common ground is assured.

Government, on the other hand, is already formulating a position on the shape of government during the transition. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen spelt it out last Tuesday in an address to the American Chamber of Commerce. There will be no instant joint government of the country, he said, and added: "It is our conviction that the governing of the country is, and will, during the negotiating process continue to be, the task of the present government..."

"What is true, however, is that there will in fact have to be a special relationship between the government and the negotiating body... The negotiating forum, which will in fact include all parties, clearly will have an authoritative status."

Viljoen's approach now is to sell the idea of a negotiating forum whose advice on political, and perhaps economic, issues government will give serious attention to.

So far he has not proposed that this body's powers or status be entrenched in law. Nor has he attempted to reassure the ANC that the NP will not attempt to use the all-comers' approach to negotiations artificially to strengthen opposition to the ANC. This could be done, for example, by insisting that conservative black leaders be permitted representation, influence and status way beyond what their popular support justifies.

**T**his is one of the ANC's greatest concerns and the primary reason behind the demand for an elected constituent assembly.

This is not to say that Viljoen and his advisers have given these matters no thought. But no negotiating party discloses its bottom line before it becomes necessary, and Viljoen's views — call them proposals — are an early statement on the subject.

The real bottom line, though, whatever anyone's rhetoric may suggest, is that, however difficult the next few weeks and months, however angry the exchanges between the ANC and government, the negotiation process is truly at work.

LETTERS

# PAC cautiously flirting with ANC

So wetu 26/11/90  
11A  
THE PAC is cautiously flirting with its rival, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC), in a bid to increase its influence at the South African negotiating table.

Political analysts said the PAC's announcement on Saturday that it was ready to join the ANC in a united front to work for a non-racial democracy marked a slight conciliatory shift by the radical anti-apartheid movement.

But it was highly unlikely that the two main movements fighting white South African rule would find enough common ground to bury their differences and work

towards a full merger, they said.

"The PAC is playing to the gallery," said Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire. "It does not want to get left behind in the negotiation process."

Clarence Makwetu, acting president of the PAC, told a meeting of African heads of state in Swazi-land that he favoured a joint approach with the ANC to President FW de Klerk's apartheid reform programme.

The PAC, which has previously rejected talks with the De Klerk government on power-sharing, said it would decide next month at its national conference

whether to join the ANC in a united front.

"I promise this house that the PAC is ready for such a united front," Makwetu said.

Mandela told the same conference on Friday that since Makwetu took over as PAC head from Zeph Mothopeng, who died last month, prospects for unity between the two movements had never been brighter.

But political scientist Willie Breytenbach said the PAC was approaching the ANC on just about the only point the two movements agreed upon - calling on De Klerk to establish an interim government

to hammer out a post-apartheid constitution.

De Klerk rejects such a move, insisting on constitutional talks ending in an agreement which would be put first to a white referendum and then to a non-racial general election.

"It is the only point they have in common. They disagree on the economy, the armed struggle, land rights and the rights of minority groups," said Breytenbach, of Stellenbosch University.

"I can categorically state that it would be impossible for them to bury their differences at the moment," he said. - Sapa-Reuter

# ANC consulting others in unity drive <sup>(11A)</sup> Mandela

B Day 26/11/90

LINDEN BIRNS, WILSON ZWANE  
and TIM COHEN

THE ANC was involved in consultations with other black political organisations and homeland leaders in its major drive for "unity of the oppressed", ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said at a rally in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, yesterday.

He called for unity within the liberation movement, adding that there was a realisation that unity was essential if blacks and whites were to be successfully mobilised.

He said the ANC had taken "concrete steps" to bring this about and called on other groups to either respond to ANC efforts or initiate their own so that all interested groups could sit down and talk unity.

A contingent of police monitoring the rally withdrew after Mandela launched a stinging attack on them.

Mandela, who spoke mainly in Xhosa, broke into English to lash out at police who had taken up positions outside the stadium and had allegedly intimidated some ANC marshalls by pointing guns at them.

"The police's duty is not to terrorise people but to maintain law and

order. When they point guns at our marshalls they are itching to spill blood because they find it easy to spill the blood of blacks, something they don't find easy to do with their own kind," he said.

He urged ANC supporters not to adopt the police's lack of discipline and told the police to leave their firearms and bullets at home in their barracks.

## Decision

At first the police withdrew to their cassettes, but as Mandela continued, the convoy drove off.

Meanwhile, PAC official Philip Dlamini said yesterday the PAC would take a decision on joining the ANC in a united front at its December conference.

Dlamini was responding to PAC vice-president Clarence Makwetu's endorsement of Mandela's call for a united front to demand a constituent assembly from government.

At the Preferential Trade Agree-

ment summit in Mbabane at the weekend, Makwetu said the ANC, PAC and Azapo agreed they should confront government on their demand for a constituent assembly.

Mandela yesterday denied media reports that he was squaring up for a fight with President F W de Klerk at their talks tomorrow.

"We will be going in firmly without fighting. Our intention is to keep the government on track as they must work with us at keeping the peace process on the go," he said.

He acknowledged that political groups did carry some responsibility for continuing carnage, but said government was responsible for violence initiated by the security forces.

The ANC is expected to call for a constituent assembly and an interim government when it meets De Klerk and his Ministers tomorrow. The meeting will be held against the background of an unexplained cancellation of Friday's meeting of the ANC/government working group.

● See Page 10

Cape Times

26/11/90

11A



**COPS AND KIDS . . .** Police sit on a Casspir watching the ANC rally held in Tembisa yesterday while a group of children dance past. About 20 000 people attended the rally in the East Rand township which was addressed by Mr Nel-

son Mandela. In his speech Mr Mandela said the police were at the rally to provoke and kill people. "They (police) find it easy to spill the blood of black people. I appeal to them to leave their guns and bullets at their barracks," Mr Mandela said. He said police mean-

while were not taking similar action against the ultra-right wing for disrupting government meetings simply because they were *their* flesh and blood. As he said this, police in three Casspirs withdrew from their positions at the stadium.

Picture: REUTERS



# Mandela's unity bid with PAC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was consulting with black political organisations and homeland leaders in its drive for "unity of the oppressed", Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told a 20 000-strong crowd at a rally in Tembisa township on the East Rand that the ANC hoped to make unity among the oppressed a reality.

Unity had become vital, he said.

The ANC also wanted to achieve unity with the Pan Africanist Congress.

He confirmed that ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo would arrive in South Africa on December 14 with his 18-member entourage from London to attend the organisation's first congress after 30 years in exile.

Mr Mandela launched a stinging attack on the police monitoring the rally, saying police were at the rally to provoke and kill people. He said he had received reports that police were intimidating ANC marshals.

"They (police) find it easy to spill the blood of black people. I appeal to them to leave their guns and bullets at their barracks."

Police were not taking similar action against the ultra-right wing for disrupting government meetings simply because they were *their* flesh and blood.

As he said this, police in three Casspirs withdrew from their positions at the stadium.

He objected to reports that the ANC would clash with the government in their meeting tomorrow.

● In another effort to unify South Africa's black political movements, Archbishop Desmond Tutu will meet black leaders on Thursday in Cape Town.

— Sapa and UPI

# ANC launches attack against 'cabal'

By BARRY STREEK

CAPL FMS 26/11/90

114  
SERIOUS tensions have developed within the ANC about the existence of a United Democratic Front (UDF) "cabal", which has been publicly criticised by two key members of the younger generation of the ANC's leadership.

The "secret group of activists" has been attacked by Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, and Mr Jeffrey Radebe, a former Robben Island prisoner and recently elected vice-chairman of the ANC in Natal.

Although the ANC leadership has denied the existence of the group or that it has instituted investigations into its activities, Mr Mokoena said in an interview with Vrye Weekblad last week that it was clear there was a defined group which always supported each other in meetings and opposed certain people.

The report claimed that the cabal particularly tried to isolate Mr Mokoena, Mr Patrick Lekota, Mr Popo Molefe and Mr Peter Mokaba.

The failure of UDF activists to obtain leadership positions in the ANC has been

## Winnie elected

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela was elected chairwoman of the Transvaal regional interim committee of the ANC Women's League yesterday.

"Without women the ideals of the liberation struggle will not succeed . . . Women have always been in the forefront in the fight for freedom and will continue to remain so," she told a gathering soon after her election.

Mrs Mandela is also the ANC's head of social welfare. — Sapa

noticeable — especially in Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape.

Although the ANC president in the Western Cape, Mr Christmas Tinto, is also one of the three UDF presidents, UDF activists in the region failed to win influential positions, apart from Mr Trevor Manuel who was elected publicity secretary, and Ms Cheryl Carolus, a member of the ANC's negotiating team at the Groote Schuur talks in May, who did not even bother to stand for election.

In a paper delivered in open session at the ANC's conference in Natal, Mr Radebe said the cabal "failed to provide effective guidance and leadership on the ground. The ANC itself cannot be exonerated from this fact".

"The UDF as it existed in the region was plagued by in-fighting, factionalism, clique-ism and uneven distribution of resources.

"In areas of struggle, especially in the townships and villages, the leadership could not be found.

"The issuing of political decrees without proper consultation with the people has done more harm than good.

"The consequences of leading by political decree and pamphlets resulted in the use of coercion and threats, especially by the youth to force people into political campaigns.

"This tended to alienate various sections of the oppressed and also provided fertile ground for the enemy and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour," Mr Radebe said.

# Mandela outlines major unity drive

80 weton 26/11/90  
THE ANC was engaged in a process of consultation with black political organisations and homeland leaders in its major drive for "unity of the oppressed", ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told a 20 000-strong crowd at an ANC rally in Tembisa township, on the East

Rand, that the ANC hoped in the near future that concrete steps would be taken to make unity among the oppressed a reality.

Unity had become very vital to the ANC for the liberation of the oppressed, Mandela said, adding his organisation also hoped to achieve unity with the PAC.

He described the ANC as the strongest political organisation, but urged organisers to increase its membership.

Mandela confirmed that ANC president Oliver Tambo would arrive in South Africa on December 14 with his 18-member entourage from London to attend the organisation's first congress after 30 years in exile.

He launched a stinging

attack on the police monitoring the rally, saying the police were at the rally to provoke and kill people. He said he had received reports that the police were intimidating ANC marshalls at the rally.

"They (police) find it easy to spill the blood of black people. I appeal to them to leave their guns and bullets at their barracks," Mandela charged.

- Sapa

Sowetan 26/11/90

# Political summit in Cape on Thursday

A SUMMIT of black political leaders takes place at Bishops court home of Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town on Thursday. (11A)

Invitations to attend the summit were issued by Tutu in October to leaders of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party and homeland leaders.

No final list of those who will attend the summit is available yet. It is expected that the list will be released only on the eve of the meeting.

In the meantime the archbishop's office said it would not become involved in speculation about who might or might not attend. -Sapa (11A)

Star 26/11/90 (11A)

# All parties will have talks with Govt soon, says prof

By Kaizer Nyatumba,  
Political Staff

All major political parties, including the Conservative Party and the PAC, will soon get involved in constitutional negotiations with the Government, according to conflict-resolution expert Professor WH van der Merwe.

Professor van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, said there was no doubt all the major political parties and organisations would soon accept the Government's invitation to discuss the country's constitutional future.

This, he said, would include organisations and parties presently op-

posed to negotiations, such as Azapo, the PAC and the CP.

Professor van der Merwe, who has close contact with most of the organisations, said he believed real negotiations would get off the ground early next year, and he was optimistic that South Africa would have a new non-racial constitution by the end of 1991.

"I believe that the CP, the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha will soon join the negotiation process.

The ideal outcome of negotiations, he said, would be the attainment of a settlement which would be just to all South Africans. It was such an outcome which would lead to a stable new dispensation.

Professor van der

Merwe expressed concern about the shortage of good negotiating skills among the country's political organisations. He said South Africans were "far behind" with political negotiating skills.

He said while the situation was a lot better than it was a decade ago, and while the National Party and the ANC had done well during their talks so far, there was still a great need for political leaders to receive training to hone their negotiating skills.

The UCT academic said mediators could make "a meaningful contribution" in the negotiation process. They would be able to bring different parties together when deadlocks occurred.

9/11/90  
Trib  
26/11/90  
11/11

# ANC man's home attacked

JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of the ANC branch in Duduza township says he fears for his life after his home was riddled with bullets on Thursday night and attacked — allegedly by armed whites — on Friday.

Mr Alexander Montbebi, who also heads the Duduza civic association, said he believed the incidents were linked to a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in nearby Nigel.

He claimed that three balaclava-clad whites were scared off outside his home late on Friday night by about 25 "comrades" summoned by neighbours. — Sapa

## Gay activists lobby ANC on rights

Staff Reporter *AR/643 27/11/90 11A*

THE African National Congress has been asked to place gay and lesbian rights on the agenda of the new South Africa.

This was said yesterday at a Press conference of the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga), an affiliate of the United Democratic Front.

Olga appealed to the ANC's constitutional committee because the organisation was against discrimination.

But it also planned to challenge all political organisations to distance

themselves from "homophobia and endorse the principle of equality for lesbians and gays."

Spokesman Dr Ivan Toms said Olga would like to see laws protecting all South Africans from unjust and arbitrary discrimination.

Olga, which supported the struggle for democratic and non-racial South Africa, planned to educate the public about the rights of gays and lesbians.

Dr Toms said: "We also would like to have an ombudsman who will hear complaints from the public concerning discrimination based on sexual orientation."

Star 27/11/90 (11A)

# PAC man accused of drug smuggling

HARARE — A senior official of the PAC is in custody accused of complicity in a huge drug smuggling operation involving Mandrax valued at R40 million.

The deputy chief representative in Zimbabwe of the PAC, Ramudi Michael Maphai, was refused bail when he appeared in court yesterday with an Indian, Dawood Mohammed Syad, and Ali Shaukat, a Pakistani. The three men were remanded to January 29. They were not asked to plead.

The court was told police last week seized 963 kg of Mandrax in tablet and granular form consigned to Harare from Bombay.

The prosecutor said the case concerned a drug ring involving nationals from a number of countries, some of whom had still to be arrested.

Further consignments of Mandrax were on their way to Zimbabwe and the chances of the police recovering them would be greatly reduced if bail were granted.

The drugs seized last week were in cartons addressed to Africa Intercom (Pvt) Ltd. Mr Maphai allegedly visited a customs clearing agency inquiring about the arrival of the cartons from India.

He arranged for the cartons to be sent to an address in Harare. Some of the cartons contained metal scrapings.

Police set a trap and the three men were arrested last Wednesday.

Mr Syad was said to have been found in possession of two passports, one issued by India and one by Lesotho.



# 'Interim govt would inspire confidence'

By Jabulani Sikhakhane

The installation of an interim government would inject the necessary element of popular confidence in the process of change and enhance the possibility of its irreversibility, the director of the ANC's department of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki said in Johannesburg last night.

## Commitment

Addressing businessmen at a Sunday Times business award ceremony, Mr Mbeki said the establishment of an interim government would also tell people that they were helping the more representative structures maintain peace and stability.

An interim government would help eliminate the competition and conflict that arose when one party was the government of the day.

In the absence of out-

side referees, progress towards representative government would be assisted by the introduction of the more representative bodies during the period of transition.

The ANC believed that the Government and the ANC needed to carry out the commitment contained in the Pretoria Minute to hold talks on the new constitution.

It would serve as an important signal that the pace of change is being maintained if the Government and the ANC could come out with an agreed set of principles and spelt out a broad framework within which the new constitution would be elaborated.

"If certain things are done and given the will and the wisdom of the people of our country, there is no particular reason why 12 months from now we should not indeed have such a constitution," Mr Mbeki said.

# Mandela, De Klerk meet today

11A



*Journal*  
27/11/90

**TODAY'S** meeting between State President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to ease the strain in the relationship between the two leaders - but not before some hard and straight-talk.

De Klerk is "upset" over the ANC's continued predilection for mass action, but, as the State President has said on countless occasions, he is committed to the negotiation process, according to Government sources.

It is largely believed that the delay in negotiations can be attributed to the ANC's intensifying of

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

mass action in the form of protests, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts directed at black local government, the homelands and other institutions.

Government has also indicated that the status of the ANC's military wing is also a huge problem area.

Government wants MK to stop training and recruiting members while the ANC insists with equal force that it is a legal force and is entitled to continue its non-aggressive activities.

Mandela has also expressed explicit indignance over what he called police "intimida-

tion" of ANC marshalls and officials. He did say though, that he did not expect to "fight" with De Klerk when they meet later today.

The ANC will however not discourage mass action. In terms of the Pretoria Minute, it has agreed to suspend its armed struggle and not popular protest, an ANC spokesperson said.

"We will not, not even in the new South Africa under an ANC government, discourage mass (people based) action. It cannot be stopped," she said.

The only foreseeable obstacle between the two would be the ANC's continued call for a constituent assemble and an interim government.

**A**LLISTER Sparks, the former editor of the Rand Daily Mail whose writings in the Washington Post help inform this city's increasingly anachronistic views on SA, is subjected to withering scorn in the November 26 issue of The New Republic, a respected weekly noted for its strong-minded liberalism.

"Sparks' account is a fairy tale," says the magazine's review of his new book, *The Mind of South Africa*. "It begins with 'Once upon a time' and it ends with 'They lived happily ever after.'"

What especially galls the critic is Sparks' infatuation with "the pop anthropology of ubuntu" and his related idealisation of SA before whites arrived as a veritable utopia in which democracy and the rule of law held sway and dissent against ruling chiefs was actively encouraged.

**E**qually risible, in the reviewer's eyes, is the suggestion that, so long as whites withdraw into the shadows, ubuntu will lead to happy reconciliation for all under an ANC-governed "nonracial society".

"Sparks' book refuses to come to terms with any of the issues SA itself is now attempting to confront. In large measure, his refusal to meet the hard tasks of accommodating majorities and minorities, of setting straight history that has gone wrong, of trying to produce fundamental change without sliding into violence, of constructing democracy, derives from Sparks' failure to approach either Africans or Afrikaners as people with human aspirations and failings."

No minced words there, but Sparks at least has the consolation of knowing he will soon be able to respond in kind. The writer who panned him is Donald Horowitz, professor of law and political science at Duke University, and author of the forthcoming study *A Democratic SA? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*.

Horowitz, whose monumental 1985

# Taking issue with the fairy-tale ending to all SA's problems

B Day 27/11/90

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

study, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, is regarded as the standard text in its field, is anything but optimistic that the question posed in his title will be answered in the affirmative. His doubts are compounded by what he regards as the refusal by Sparks and others "to think seriously about measures to conciliate SA's growing ethnic conflict".

Apartheid, he contends, has made it next to impossible to define the problems a new SA constitution must address, if it is to be genuinely democratic, without violating the bounds of ideological propriety.

Left unaddressed, as hitherto they have been, those problems will lead to the very outcome apartheid's apologists have so long decried in the rest of Africa. Ethnic divisions, no longer bridged by the supervening need for solidarity against the racial oppressor, will come to the fore. Indeed, the process has already begun, despite the best efforts of the ANC and its allies to attribute the resultant conflict to apartheid's legacy and white manipulation.

Such rationalisations miss the point, says Horowitz. It matters not one whit whether or not the divisions are the product of white rule. "In many parts of Africa, there are ethnic groups whose identity can be

traced to official policies, missionary categorisations or encounters with other groups. These 'artificial' creations are often significant political actors." Having been invented, they cannot be wished away.

"Eliminate white domination, and intra-African differences will be particularly important. . . . To ignore them in planning for a future SA would be to repeat the same fallacy of assuming in the 1950s and 1960s that an inclusive 'nationalism' would be the universal solvent of differences, a fallacy for which many people paid dearly."

**E**qually fallacious is the notion, long held by the ANC and many of its rivals, that ethnic fault lines can somehow be replaced by class ones. To the contrary, Horowitz noted in his earlier work, nothing better demonstrates "the permeative character of ethnic affiliations" than "the tendency of avowedly non-ethnic parties to be captured by one or other ethnic constituency".

In Sudan, for example, the communist party has been dominated by Ansaris, by Javanese in Indonesia,

and by Chinese in Malaysia. When there was party competition in Congo (Brazzaville), the socialists were principally Mbochi, in Guinea they were Fulani. Likewise, Xhosa-speakers dominate the leadership of SA's two major "pan-ethnic" organisations, the ANC and the PAC.

Part of the reason is that "class"-based ideologies, while attractive to the educated elites who tend to cherish them, have less pull in the trenches than other, more mundane, loyalties and cleavages. In SA, as elsewhere, no taboo on discussion or research can turn the conflict into "what some of its more organised and articulate participants think it is about".

Such taboos can, however, help ensure that any new constitutional arrangement contains the seeds of its own undemocratic and possibly very violent demise. Whatever new dispensation is arrived at must be based on the SA that exists rather than the one whose mention causes least discomfort.

Horowitz has his doubts that the various actors can even bring themselves to agree on the right questions, let alone reach an enduring consensus on the answers. If the first hurdle can be crossed, he urges serious consideration of electoral

mechanisms which, while firmly based on the principles of majority rule and one man, one vote, one value, oblige competing parties to look for votes outside their basic ethnic, racial or ideological constituencies.

He suggests a federal system, with state boundaries drawn to ensure a heterogeneous electorate, alternative voting, in which voters indicate second and third choices to be counted in the event that no candidate receives an outright majority, and the separate election of a president, who would be required not only to win at least a plurality of all votes cast, but a sufficient share of the ballots in each region or state.

Such techniques, Horowitz believes, would reward moderation and compromise, penalise ethnic and racial exclusivism, promote fluid majorities, and at the same time provide strong incentives to include minorities in decision making. The overriding goal would be to "institutionalise uncertainty" by ensuring that no group or party could be certain that having won one election, it would win the next.

**T**here is, unfortunately, a strongly eschatological element to the ANC's thinking. From the Freedom Charter on, the movement has promised a secular millennium. Any organisation that asserts all dreams and aspirations shall be fulfilled when it takes power does not leave much room for confidence that it will submit to democratic uncertainty.

Horowitz believes that if the ANC does submit, it will probably be by a sort of accident. He posits that the more trade-offs the ANC and government make at the centre, the stronger the rejectionist flanks to left and right will grow. The black flank, in which he places the PAC and Azapo, may well become powerful and confident enough to seek to test its positions at the polls.

At which point, the ANC might finally realise that hegemony is not a viable option and begin to see real merit in conventional politics, coalition-building and a system designed to defuse conflict rather than guaranteed to exacerbate it.

# ANC, govt seek to break talks logjam

B1D am 27/11/90

MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela today will seek to reach agreement on what constitutes a related activity of "armed action".

Their crucial one-on-one meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria is aimed at ending the logjam in the negotiating process.

Mandela will also raise the ANC's demand for the establishment of an interim government and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

Government's attempt to define mass mobilisation as a related activity of armed action and the ANC's rejection of this has bogged down the work of the working group set up to resolve questions arising from the ANC's decision on August 6 to suspend armed action.

Talks between the ANC and government on how negotiations should be structured have been put on ice until the working group completes its report.

At a meeting on Thursday ANC and government members of the working group agreed that they were making no progress and cancelled all further meetings until the two leaders had met and agreed on an interpretation of clause 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

The sentences are: "As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will take place"; and, "Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quick-



● MANDELA

● DE KLERK

ly as possible".

Government believes that continued recruitment by MK falls under the definition of "related activities".

The ANC argues that recruiting people to be trained overseas with a view to their incorporation into the military in a new SA in no way contradicts the Pretoria Minute.

Government has also argued that "mass mobilisation" which leads to violence and the intimidation of officials is a related activity of armed action. Officials also say the ANC's continued commitment to mass mobilisation does not tie in with its commitment in the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC, in turn, has argued that the holding of marches and rallies is part of the normal democratic process.

It has also harshly criticised police conduct during mass marches and rallies and

□ To Page 2

## Logjam B1D am 27/11/90

Mandela has said alleged security force involvement in violence against black people would be high on today's agenda.

ANC and government members of the armed action working group also anticipate the two leaders will seek to agree on some "code of conduct" for mass action and the security forces' response to it.

Although Mandela has said he wants to raise the establishment of an interim government and the holding of a constituent assembly election at today's talks, government, which rejects both ideas, has argued that such discussion is premature.

Spokesmen say these issues should form part of talks on how negotiations should proceed. Without the armed action working group having completed its work and removed the final obstacles to negotiations, such discussions cannot take place.

(11A) (2047)

□ From Page 1

Government has steadfastly rejected the holding of a constituent assembly election and the establishment of an interim government, but with the PAC at the weekend having endorsed Mandela's call for a united front to demand a constituent assembly it is coming under increasing pressure to review its position.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen last week hinted at a possible compromise on some form of interim government when he told the American Chamber of Commerce the negotiating forum would have "authoritative status".

ANC national executive committee members and the Cabinet committee on negotiations met late into last night to prepare contributions to today's meeting.

● Comment: Page 8

# 'Vendettas' rife in ANC?

CAA Report 27/10/90 (11A)

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — At least three senior ANC officials murdered in the Eastern Cape were the victims of internal vendettas and paranoia, according to the British specialist journal Africa Confidential.

The journal, which has high-level intelligence contacts in Southern Africa, said the ANC leadership and military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were alarmed by the "blood-letting" in Ciskei and Transkei.

It said the ANC had not sanctioned the assassinations and "it is apparent that some elements are conducting vendettas against members of other factions who have incurred their enmity".

The first victim was Mr Jeff Wabhena, the trade union official and leader of the 1983 East London bus boycott. He was chairing an ANC branch meeting in Umtata on October 12 when he was shot by an assassin using a Soviet-made Makarov handgun.

"Wabhena was killed, not by Pretoria's secret police as first suspected, but by his comrades," the report claimed.

It said Mr Wabhena had been arrest-

ed in 1986 and allegedly broke down under interrogation, disclosing the activities of the Rev Arnold Stofile, described as "a baron of the ANC underground" — but the ANC had never been able to prove this.

The next victim was former Robben Island prisoner Mr Vusumi Msauli, also killed by a Makarov. The journal described him as an "implacable foe" of ANC baron Mr Steve Tshwete.

The report said quarrels between Mr Msauli and Mr Tshwete had "practically paralysed" the UDF in the Border region and Mr Msauli was accused of helping to "hunt down" ANC underground members in the area.

Mr Ndiko Myute, the third victim and also a veteran of imprisonment on Robben Island, wanted to rebuild the ANC on old nationalist traditions and was unhappy that the movement in exile was dominated by the communists.

Africa Confidential claimed Mr Myute had also been implicated in the death in 1986 of an ANC cadre named Juyane, and this had led to "some of the ANC underground" putting him on their hit list.

Mr Myute was injured by a grenade blast and then finished off with a pistol.

# ANC meeting on NTVL repression

Southen 27/11/90

THE alleged escalation of police and SADF repression against political activists in the Northern Transvaal is to top the agenda at a regional conference of the African National Congress to be held in the area this weekend.

A press statement released by regional co-ordinator, Mr Thabo Makunyane, said the conference, to be held at a venue still to be announced, would also look at ANC policy on bantustans and ways of combating the use of the organisation's flags and symbols in witch-hunts.

The statement said the Northern Transvaal had seen the escalation of

repression and increased deployment of troops in the rural areas. It alleged that troops and police disrupted meetings, confiscated membership cards and records and beat up people.

“(11A) Even killings have become the order of the day in the region,” the statement added.

The alleged activities of the security forces were a violation of the spirit and word of both the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, the statement said. 500 delegates are expected to attend the two-day meeting which starts on Saturday.

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## Isolation of SA will end in 1991, says Relly

LONDON — Next year should see the demise of South Africa's economic and political isolation, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

In a speech at the Smith New Court Conference, he said bilateral and sometimes multilateral co-operation would prepare the way for greater southern African economic integration.

South Africa's appropriately valued rand, proximity to African markets, regional knowledge, technical expertise in spheres such as agriculture and mining, the common legacy of British systems and practices, and its African identity were all important advantages for trade with Africa, he said.

### Expertise

With the focus of the World Bank and other development agencies in Africa moving southwards, and aid to African countries amounting to R40 billion annually, Mr Relly felt that South African expertise could ensure the success of many new projects.

"Opportunities also exist for the foreign investor, either in partnership with South African companies or alone.

"It is the implementation of appropriate political and economic systems which will do most to release the dynamic of the subcontinent," he said.

Mr Relly based his optimistic outlook on the resilience of the South African economy and the abundant entrepreneurial spirit of South Africans.

The major parties had committed themselves irreversibly to negotiating a new constitution, and the trend of thinking on economic matters within the extra-parliamentary movements was more sophisticated and realistic, he added. — Sapa.

28/11/90 (11A)

# Leaders' 'silence' provokes critics

## Political Staff

President de Klerk and African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela have been criticised by other political parties for saying so little after their crucial two-hour meeting in Pretoria yesterday, in the face of widespread public interest in South Africa's political future.

The criticism was voiced in spite of Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela apparently having put the faltering negotiation process back on track at a "productive and very cordial" meeting at the Union Buildings.

Democratic Party constitutional development spokesman Denis Worrall said the joint statement issued after the talks was "extraordinarily bland and ridiculous", because "quite frankly there were very important differences in public over the past few weeks" between the Government and the ANC.

Their statement "is not good enough", he said.

They had an obligation to the general public who were trusting them, to other political parties who were very eager to start making their contribution to the process and to the business community, to take them into their confidence.

Ismail Omar, MEC, national chairman of Solidarity, described the statement as "non-committal".

He felt it "brings us back to a year ago" as it was a repetition of the statement Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela issued after their first meeting nearly a



Pressed for answers . . . Nelson Mandela speaks to reporters after his meeting with President de Klerk.

year ago.

"We have made no progress in 12 months," Mr Omar said.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse said: "I believe it is important that the State President and Mr Mandela tell the nation exactly how they see the immediate constitutional developments."

After yesterday's two-hour meeting, it was clear to politi-

cal commentators that substantial differences still separated Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A brief joint statement said: "Having reaffirmed our commitment to the peaceful negotiations, we expressed our concern about developments threatening this process.

"The meeting was used to agree on the priority of issues calling for early attention.

"It was foreseen that we would probably have to meet again from time to time in the coming weeks to deal with these issues or to make arrangements for them to be dealt with at other levels."

Most sources have suggested that the ANC's campaign of mass mobilisation, and its insistence on the right to continue recruiting and training people

for its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), were problems for the Government.

The ANC was concerned that security forces were destabilising black townships and accused the Government of bad faith because it had made the release of prisoners and return of exiles dependent on the ANC suspending mass action and the training of MK cadres.



Star 28/11/90 (11A)

## PAC denies it plans to join negotiations

The Pan Africanist Congress has quashed reports that it plans to join negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

In a statement yesterday the PAC said it would only join talks within the framework of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

"The PAC regards the current talks as a betrayal of the letter and spirit of the UN resolution of December 14 1989 which demands that F W de Klerk meet all pre-conditions unilaterally

before a climate for talks can exist."

There was also no possibility of the PAC joining "monitoring committees" with the security police.

The PAC rejected recent reports that unity between the PAC and the ANC was more possible since the death of its president Zeph Mothopeng.

"Mr Mothopeng was seeking unity and repeatedly called for peace," the statement said. — Sapa.



OLIVER TAMBO

## Freedom award for Tambo couple

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LONDON - The freedom of London's borough of Haringey is to be awarded to Oliver and Adelaide Tambo on Friday.

The Freedom Declaration acknowledges the "tremendous contribution" made by the couple to the "struggle for freedom in South Africa during their long years of exile and residency in Haringey".

It also recognises the inspiration they have given to countless other residents in the borough.

Speaking about Friday's ceremony, Mr Harry Lister, chairman of Haringey's Labour group, said: "This will be a wonderful evening for Haringey. In making this award the Council has taken the opportunity not only to honour this outstanding couple but also to recognise the contributions made to the borough by thousands of other political exiles from South Africa and many other parts of the world who have made Haringey their home."

This is the first time such an honour has been granted by Haringey since the borough was formed 25 years ago.



ADELAIDE TAMBO

Esther Waugh highlights details of the draft ANC Bill of Rights

Sta- 28/11/90 (10 ft)

# We want freedom *and* bread

**T**HE African National Congress has unveiled its draft Bill of Rights for consideration by its members.

The document, drafted by the ANC's constitutional committee, has been circulated to the movement's regions for comment before it will be discussed at the December consultative conference.

The draft Bill of Rights provides for the establishment of a constitutional court, a human rights commission and the office of an ombudsman to enforce these rights.

In the introductory note, the committee said it opted "firmly and unequivocally" for the fundamental rights and freedoms associated with a democratic society.

"In the first place, in keeping with the approach of most contemporary human rights documents, we do not feel it is necessary to make a constitutional choice between having freedom or having bread. We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we

want bread without freedom. We want freedom and we want bread," the committee said.

Other rights included in the draft Bill of Rights are:

- Social, economic and educational rights. "Our approach has been to identify certain needs as being so basic as to constitute the foundation of human rights claims, namely the rights to nutrition, education, health, shelter, employment and minimum income," the committee said.
- Language, cultural and religious rights.
- Political rights.
- Workers' rights.
- The rights of disabled persons and the rights of children.
- Economic rights. "The document attempts to give an equitable framework for dealing with the emotive question of property rights. Since a Bill of Rights is a document for all South Africans, and not a manifesto or programme of the ANC alone, the issue has to be looked at from all

points of view, but without sacrificing the just claims of the people," the committee said.

● The protection of the environment.

● A constitutional framework for affirmative action to overcome race and gender discrimination, and for positive action to overcome patterns of apartheid.

The draft Bill of Rights does not deal with issues such as the electoral system, how Parliament should be constituted, the territorial division of the country, the way the government should be composed, and other issues related to the institutional arrangements of democracy.

According to the introductory note, the committee's aim was to write the document in open and accessible language.

"In South African conditions, a Bill of Rights becomes the fundamental anti-apartheid document. It guarantees equal rights for all citizens, and defends each and every one of us against the kinds

of tyranny and abuse which have flowed daily from the apartheid state," the committee said.

In preparing the draft text, the constitutional committee relied on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the European Convention of Human Rights, the African Charter of Human and People's Rights, and provisions dealing with protection of human rights in other constitutions, ranging from those of India and Germany, to the United States and Namibia.

The committee further relied on the Freedom Charter and the ANC's constitutional guidelines, and proposals were also received from a wide range of United Democratic Front affiliates.

"There is accordingly nothing essentially new and nothing secret in the document," the committee said. □

Star 28/11/90 (11A)

## Azapo attacks ANC on eve of summit

CAPE TOWN — Tomorrow's peace summit of black political organisations, called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, suffered a setback last night when the Azanian People's Organisation accused the ANC of spreading a lie about it.

"It is clearly the case that our friends in the negotiating camp of the 'liberation' movement are resorting to tactics of slander and rumour-mongering as a strategy to pressure Azapo into negotiation of the De Klerk-ANC type," said Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

His attack on the eve of the peace talks could jeopardise the summit which is aimed at achieving unity among black political groups.

Professor Mosala attacked a report in New Nation which stated that Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress had held secret exploratory talks with the government.

"That is a lie which must be seen in the light of the desperation now setting in within the negotiating camp of the liberation movement," Professor Mosala said. — Sapa.

# ANC policy swinging to decentralisation of power 11A

Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress policy on post-apartheid local government is undergoing a significant shift towards the decentralisation of power proposed by the government.

This emerged in a paper presented by Dr Zola Skweyiya, director of the ANC's legal and constitutional department, at a seminar on local government in Bellville.

He expressed the concern of the ANC that an excessive devolution of power from central to local government would render parliament toothless and strip central government of its powers to carry out developmental programmes at regional and local

levels. *17645 28/11/90*  
But he noted that in spite of these reservations, "a very lively debate is raging within the ANC on the need for decentralisation".

He said: "The need for relating governmental powers and decision-making closer to the people is being recognised.

"There is a general feeling that although the central government must have some control over the issues that are vital to the conduct of national policy and must ensure uniformity of standards, regional and local authorities must be given some leverage in exercising a choice among competing priorities."

# ANC and Bop govt hold high-level talks again today

Political Staff

Star 28/11/90

(11A)

The African National Congress (ANC) and the Bophuthatswana government will hold talks in Mmabatho today to discuss a number of issues, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus has confirmed.

The meeting, the second high-level contact between the two parties in weeks, will discuss a variety of issues, including the alleged harassment of ANC members in the homeland, the lifting of the state of emergency there, freedom of

political activity and Bophuthatswana's re-incorporation into South Africa.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope has since announced that he was closely following political developments in South Africa, and that he

would consider holding a referendum to test opinion on the question of his homeland's re-incorporation.

Miss Marcus said today that ANC information secretary Thabo Mbeki was likely to head the ANC delegation

# Bop meets ANC

THE next round of talks between the African National Congress and Bophuthatswana government will be held today in the homeland's capital, Mmabatho.

This was confirmed

*Sowetan 28/11/90*  
yesterday by the ANC's spokesman, Ms Gill Marcus who said the talks were a follow-up to an earlier meeting between the two parties held in Pretoria earlier this month.

Bophuthatswana authorities met the ANC delegation in Pretoria against the background of a crackdown and detention of activists in the homeland. The countrywide swoop followed an alleged ANC plot to

kill President Lucas Mangope.

All the detainees have since been released.

Today's talks are expected to deal with the lifting of the state of emergency in Bophuthatswana, freedom of political activity and the possible re-incorporation of the homeland.

Reliable sources said the homeland authorities undertook to clarify their stand in today's talks.

It is also expected that ANC's director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, will head the delegation.

# ANC'S draft 'Bill of Rights'

The African National Congress (ANC) has circulated its draft Bill of Rights to its regions for discussion and comment. The document will also be discussed at the movement's consultative conference on December 16. **ESTHER WAUGH, Angus Correspondent in Pretoria, picks out the main points.**

**T**HE main points of the draft Bill of Rights include:

**General:**  
All South Africans are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

No individual or group shall receive privileges or be subjected to discrimination, domination or abuse on the grounds of race, colour, language, gender, creed, political or other opinion, birth or other status.

All men and women shall have equal protection under the law.

**Personal Rights:**  
Capital punishment is abolished and no further executions shall take place.

**The Right to Dignity:**  
The dignity of all persons shall be respected.

No-one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

**The Right to a Fair Trial:**  
There shall be no detention without trial.

**The Right to Home Life:**  
No one shall be deprived of or removed from his or her home on the grounds of race, colour, language, gender or creed.

**The Right to Privacy:**  
No search or entry shall be permitted except for reasonable cause, as prescribed by law, and as would be acceptable in an open and democratic society.

Interference with private communications, spying on persons, and the compilation and keeping of secret files about them without their consent, shall not be permissible save as authorised by law in circumstances that would be acceptable in an open and democratic society.

ficial religion shall be established.

The institutions of religion shall be separate from the State, but nothing in this constitution shall prevent them from co-operating with the State with a view to furthering the objectives of this constitution, nor from bearing witness and commenting on the actions of the State.

Places associated with religious observance shall be respected, and no one shall be barred from entering them on grounds of race.

The languages of South Africa are Sindebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati, Setswana, Afrikaans, English, Tsonga (Shangaan), Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

The State shall act positively to further the development of these languages, especially in education, literature and the media, and to prevent the use of any language or languages for the purpose of domination or division.

When it is reasonable to do so, one or more of these languages may be designated as the language to be used for defined purposes at the national level or in any region or area where it is widely used.

Subject to the availability of public and private resources, and limitations of reasonableness, primary and secondary education should wherever possible be offered in the language or languages of preference of the students or their parents.

The State shall promote respect for all the languages spoken in South Africa.

**The Right to Sporting, Recreational and Cultural Activities:**

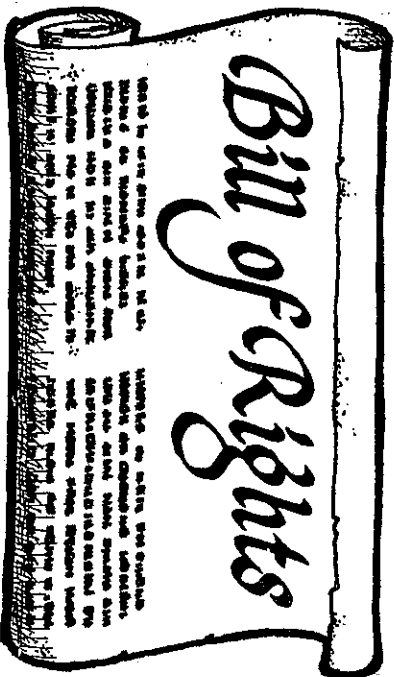
Sporting, recreational and cultural activities shall be encouraged on a non-racial basis, drawing on the talents and creative capacities of all South Africans, and autonomous organisations may be established to achieve these objectives.

**Workers' Rights:**  
Workers shall have the right to form and join trade unions, and to regulate such unions without interference from the State.

There shall be equal pay for equal work and equal access to employment.



Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy President of the ANC.



come illiteracy and further their education.  
Education shall be directed towards the full development of the human personality and a sense of personal dignity, and shall aim at strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental

freedoms, and promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among all South Africans and between nations.

**The Right to Health:**  
In order to guarantee the right to protection of health,

the State shall establish a comprehensive national health service linking health workers, community organisations, State institutions, private medical schemes and individual medical practitioners so as to provide hygiene education, preventive medicine and health care delivery to all.

**The Right to Work:**  
In order to guarantee increasing enjoyment of the right to work, the State shall, in collaboration where appropriate with private bodies and non-governmental institutions:

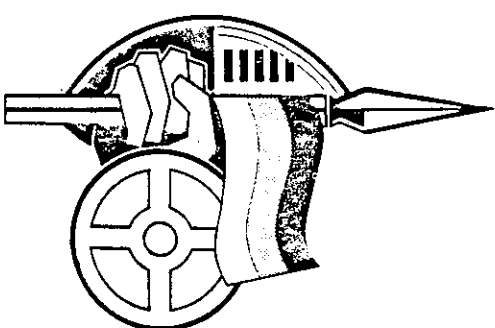
Make technical and vocational training available to all; remove the barriers which keep large sections of the population out of technical, professional and managerial positions; and promote public and other works with a view to reducing unemployment.

**The Right to a Minimum Income and Welfare Rights:**  
In order to guarantee the achievement of a minimum income for all, the State shall introduce a scheme of family benefits and old age pensions financed from general revenue.

**The Economy, Land and Property:**

Legislation on economic matters shall be guided by the principles of encouraging collaboration between the State and the private, co-operative and family sectors with a view to reducing inequality, promoting growth and providing goods and services for the whole population.

The State may by legislation take steps to overcome the effects of past statutory discrimination in relation to enjoyment of property rights.



There shall be no forced removals of persons or communities from their homes or land on the basis of race, colour, language, gender or creed.

No persons or legal entities shall be deprived of their possessions except on grounds of public interest or public utility, including the achievement of the objectives of the constitution.

Any such deprivation may be effected only by or pursuant to a law which shall provide for the nature and the extent of compensation to be paid.

**Positive Action:**

In its activities and functioning, the State shall observe the principles of non-racialism and non-sexism, and encourage the same in all public and private bodies.

The State and all public and private bodies shall be under a duty to prevent any form of incitement to racial, religious or linguistic hostility and to dismantle all structures and do away with all practices that compulsorily divide the population on

grounds of race, colour, language, or creed.

All organs of the State at the national, regional and local levels shall pursue policies and programmes aimed at redressing the consequences of past discriminatory laws and practices, and at the creation of a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa.

Such policies shall include the implementation of programmes aimed at achieving speedily the balanced structuring in non-racial form of the public service, defence and police forces and the prison service.

**Enforcement:**

The fundamental rights and freedoms contained in this Bill of Rights shall be guaranteed by the courts.

Provision shall be made for the establishment of a constitutional court.

Parliament shall have a special responsibility for ensuring that the basic social, educational, economic and welfare rights set out in this Bill of Rights are respected. Parliament shall establish by legislation a Human Rights Commission to promote observance of the Bill of Rights.

With a view to ensuring that all functions and duties under the constitution are carried out in a fair way with due respect for the rights and sentiments of those affected, the office of an ombudsman shall be created.

The ombudsman shall be independent in the carrying out of his or her functions and may open offices in different parts of the country.

Recourse to the Human Rights Commission or to the ombudsman shall not oust the jurisdiction of the courts to hear any matter.



**The Right of Movement:**

Everyone shall have the right to move freely and reside in any part of the country, to receive a passport, travel abroad and to emigrate or return if he or she so wishes.

**The Right to Conscience:**

The right to conscience shall be inviolate, and no one shall be penalised for his or her beliefs.

**Political Rights:**

South Africa shall be a multi-party democracy in which all men and women enjoy basic political rights on an equal basis.

Government at all levels shall be subject to the principles of accountability to the electorate.

Elections shall be conducted in accordance with an electoral law which shall make no distinction on the grounds of race, colour, language, gender or creed.

Elections shall be regular, free and fair and based on universal franchise and a common voters' roll.

All men and women entitled to vote shall be entitled to stand for and occupy any position or office in any organ of government or administration.

All citizens shall have the right to form and join political parties and to campaign for social, economic and political change, either directly or through freely chosen representatives.

**Freedom of Speech, Assembly and Information:**

There shall be freedom of thought, speech, expression and opinion, including a free press which shall respect the right to reply.

All men and women shall have the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, and to submit petitions for redress of grievances and injustices.

All men and women shall be entitled to all the information necessary to enable them to make effective use of their rights as citizens or consumers.

**Rights of Association, Religion, Language and Culture:**

There shall be freedom of association, including the right to form and join trade unions, religious, social and cultural bodies, and to form and participate in non-governmental organisations.

There shall be freedom of worship and tolerance of all religions and no State or of-

**Gender Rights:**

Men and women shall enjoy equal rights in all areas of public and private life, including employment, education and within the family.

**Disabled Persons:**

There shall be no discrimination against disabled persons.

**Children:**

All children shall have the right to a name, to health, to security, education and equality of treatment.

**Social, Educational, Economic and Welfare Rights:**

All men and women have the right to enjoy basic social, educational, economic and welfare rights.

**Freedom from Hunger:**

In order to guarantee the right of freedom from hunger, the State shall ensure the introduction of minimum standards of nutrition throughout the country, with special emphasis on pre-school and school feeding.

**The Right to Shelter:**

In order to guarantee the right to shelter, the State shall, in collaboration with private bodies where appropriate, dismantle compounds, single-sex hostels and other forms of accommodation associated with the migrant labour system, and embark upon and encourage an extensive programme of house-building.

The State shall take steps to ensure that energy, access to clean water and appropriate sewage and waste disposal are available to every home.

No eviction from homes or from land shall take place without the order of a competent court, which shall have regard to the availability of alternative accommodation.

**The Right to Education:**

In order to guarantee the right to education, the State shall, in collaboration with non-governmental and private institutions where appropriate, ensure that there shall be free and compulsory primary education for all, with a school-leaving age of 16; there shall be progressive expansion of access by all children as of right to secondary education; there shall be progressive increase in access to pre-school institutions and institutes of vocational training and of higher learning; there shall be increasingly extensive facilities to enable adults to over-

November 30, 1990

# ANC 'debating decentralisation'

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — The ANC, proponent of a strong central government, was debating the need for decentralisation of political power, its legal and constitutional department director Zola Skweyiya said yesterday.

"There is a general feeling that although central government must have some control over the issues that are vital to the conduct of national policy, regional and local authorities must be given some leverage on exercising a choice among competing priorities," delegates at a conference on regional and local government heard.

"The need for relating governmental powers and decision-making closer to the people is being recognised," he said. However, his assessment of government's constitutional proposals was less encouraging in an environment of negotiation.

He said proposals by president F W de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen were attempts to entrench white privileges while appearing to concede some power to black communities.

"This they hope to achieve by principally ensuring that the future of SA will be as a capitalist state in which class will balance race in a system of checks and balances."

He said the proposals embraced a weak parliament stripped of effective power by the devolution of authority, a constitution which institutionalised privatised apartheid and maintained inequalities, the entrenchment of powerful economic privileges and a judiciary to defend this arrangement.

## Sovereignty

The ANC proposed a unitary SA based on popular participation at all levels. "In terms of this conception, there can be no original, only derived powers for regions and local authorities, on major issues such as political power, land, economy, health, education and housing policy," he said.

In its constitutional guidelines issued in 1988, the ANC emphasised the need to vest sovereignty in "the people as a whole" through one central legislature, executive and administration.

By disclosing that there was a "lively debate raging within the ANC on the need for decentralisation", conference delegates said Skweyiya indicated increasing flexibility in the ANC's stance on central control.

The conference, held against the conflicting backdrop of government's recently released Thornhill Report and the ANC's demand for immediate dissolution of black local authorities, served largely to define the massive divide between the parties involved in the debate.

Many delegates interpreted Skweyiya's disclosure as an indication that there could be consensus on two crucial issues: that regional and local government was necessary, and that negotiation for a new system of local government should start as soon as possible.

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# Demos: ANC-govt stalemate

CML files

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday identified the main problems creating a logjam in negotiations.

However, after their two-hour summit here, they remained in disagreement on whether mass mobilisation falls under the definition of "related activity" to armed action referred to in the Pretoria Minute.

They agreed to meet again to resolve this and other problems creating obstacles to negotiations.

It is understood that both are in possession of an initial report by the "armed action working group" appointed in terms of the Minute. The report still has to be approved by both sides.

The April 1 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles is still on track.

Before the meeting, government

spokesmen said the main issue President De Klerk would raise was the ANC's continuing commitment to "mass mobilisation", as the government believed coercive aspects of mass mobilisation qualified as a related activity of armed action.

Afterwards, the leaders declined to discuss the meeting.

● Meanwhile, Mr Mandela arrives in Cape Town today to receive two honorary doctorates, attend a concert in his honour and participate in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's peace summit.

An honorary doctorate of laws will be conferred on him tonight at the University of the Western Cape by the chancellor, Archbishop Tutu, and on Friday, he will receive a second honorary doctorate, this time from the University of Cape Town.

The list of participants at tomorrow's peace summit has not yet been released. The Inkatha Freedom Party has already stated that it will not participate.

# Azapo lie claim snags peace talks

By BARRY STREEK

TOMORROW'S peace summit of black political organisations, called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, suffered a setback last night when the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) accused the ANC camp of spreading "a lie" about it.

"It is clearly the case that our friends in the negotiating camp of the 'liberation' movement are resorting to tactics of slander and rumour-mongering as a strategy to pressure Azapo into negotiation of the De Klerk-ANC type," Azapo's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, said.

His statement and the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party indicates that there are still unresolved tensions among the political groups.

In his statement, Professor Mosala attacked a report in the "ANC-aligned New Nation" which stated that Azapo and the PAC had held secret exploratory talks with the government.

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# 'Black Christmas' looms as masses push for protest

By Shaun Johnson

It is virtually certain that a "Black Christmas" will be declared in the townships this year, despite the fact that political organisations — and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — are free for the first time in nearly three decades.

ANC publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan told The Star the organisation was under intense pressure from members and supporters to declare a Black Christmas.

## Massacres

"It's an issue we can't ignore," he said, "it's not we who are calling for it but ordinary people in the streets, in view of what has happened here in the PWV region in the last few months, the massacres that took place here."

Dr Jordan said officials in the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front "are getting the same sort of feedback".

"This is another form of mass action." He said it was "different" from the marches and rallies which have led to the current impasse with the Government, "but it is still people acting together to make a point".

ANC representative Gill Marcus said the Black Christmas would, as in the past, involve consumer boycotts, although these would be declared on a localised basis. "For example, a boycott is starting in Louis Trichardt today in protest against the right-wing attacks on school-children. It was not declared from the top."

The main thrust of the Black Christmas campaign, however, would be "non-celebration" in the townships over the festive season. "There is also a very literal sense in which it will be a Black Christmas," she added, "in that power is

being cut off in so many townships."

Ms Marcus added: "It is tragic and totally contradictory that the Black Christmas is necessary, because this is the first Christmas of an unbanned ANC, and of a free Mandela.

"There should be enormous celebrations; it ought to be a time when people are feeling the benefits (of the changes which have taken place). (The situation) is in total contradiction to what we would have hoped."

The Black Christmas will also mark the fact that many political prisoners have not been released, and the bulk of exiles have not been enabled to return, she said.

The ANC head office was under "very strong pressure" from ANC branches, civic associations "and even whole communities", Ms Marcus added.

It was possible that the ANC national executive committee would be called upon to take a formal decision on the matter, "but the feeling is that this shouldn't be something that is imposed from the top, by the NEC". There were officials within the organisation who felt a public stand was necessary, however. The ANC would try to use the Black Christmas "positively, to push for unity".

## Dragging

Dr Jordan said the development should not be viewed as a negative initiative by the ANC.

"We don't want the process of transition to be delayed," he said.

"We feel that the South African Government is dragging its feet in bringing about the changes to allow us to arrive at a situation where we have normal political activity.

"So these are some of the issues that mass action (including the Black Christmas) is going to have to address."

# No agreement on mass action, but gov't and ANC will meet again

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MIKE ROBERTSON  
and ALAN FINE

PRESIDENT P. W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday remained in disagreement on whether mass mobilisation falls under the definition of "related activity" to armed action referred to in the Pretoria Minute, but they agreed to meet again to resolve this and other problems creating obstacles to negotiations.

However, it is understood the principals of the two parties were in possession of an initial report by the armed action working group, appointed in terms of the Minute. And the April 1 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles

The report still had to be approved by both sides.

Prior to the meeting, government spokesmen said the main issue De Klerk would raise was the ANC's continuing commitment to "mass mobilisation". Government, they said, believed coercive aspects of mass mobilisation qualified as a related activity of armed action.

On August 6 the ANC agreed to suspend armed action and "related activities".

Another issue which government spokesmen said De Klerk would raise was continued recruitment by Umkhonto we

Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the men reaffirmed the importance of the special relationship between them in advancing the negotiating process. They would not elaborate on their discussions.

Although Mandela and De Klerk also refused to disclose the points of difference between them, their firm commitment to meet again and their expression of faith in peaceful negotiations is an indication that

both leaders realised the process has reached a point at which they have no alternative but to continue talking.

Mandela said the atmosphere of the meeting had been "cordial as always". This was seen as significant, as in recent weeks there had been a series of increasingly vitriolic exchanges between the parties.

It is understood De Klerk and Mandela were mandated to facilitate further talks between government and the ANC on disputed issues, rather than to attempt to solve all the problems in yesterday's encounter.

"It was foreseen they would probably

have to meet again from time to time in the coming weeks and months to deal with these issues or to make arrangements for them to be dealt with at other levels," a joint statement said.

Significantly, it added: "In this regard the value of personal contact between leading figures in political movements involved in the process was emphasised."

There is unlikely to be a further government/ANC meeting before early 1991.

Next week's special Cabinet meeting and the ANC's consultative conference will be used to clarify positions on questions identified by Mandela and De Klerk.

11A 28/11/90

Until yesterday's discussions between government and the ANC, a noticeable deterioration in the relationship between them appeared to have occurred which threatened to delay further, perhaps even to rule out altogether, any early start of negotiations on a new constitution.

This deterioration had much to do, in the eyes of many whites, with a conflict which seemed to be raging within the ANC itself, between pragmatists on the one side and strategists and revolutionary ideologists on the other, over leadership and the nature and direction of the liberation struggle.

In broad terms, pragmatists on both sides of the NP-ANC divide can be defined as those committed to a negotiated way out of the SA political cul-de-sac because they have come to accept that the country cannot afford another 10 years of economic stagnation. This would be assured by further violent confrontation and sanctions.

Negotiations mean an eventual government of transition in which the NP and the ANC have to be the senior, although not exclusive, partners.

Both strategists and ideologists reject this view. For them, the party opposite, whether the ANC or the NP, remains an enemy eventually to be destroyed. What differentiates them, therefore, is only a matter of degree. Strategists will use the negotiation process to first weaken before crushing the other.

Ideologists remain committed to crushing directly through a deliberate use of force. Revolutionary ideologists on the ANC side (Ronnie Kasrils & Co?) remain committed to the conviction that all that is needed is a little more of a revolutionary shove to push the minority state into the abyss.

White racial ideologists remain convinced that white minority domination can be perpetuated if whites are prepared to use the state force that they still have at their disposal without restraint or apology.

The now public acceptance by Nelson Mandela himself of "mass mobilisation" as a centrepiece for action (in the place of "armed struggle") represents a victory within the ANC for strategists and ideologists over pragmatists.

# Trying to discredit the ANC is a short-sighted ploy

B Day 28/11/90

RONNIE BETHLEHEM

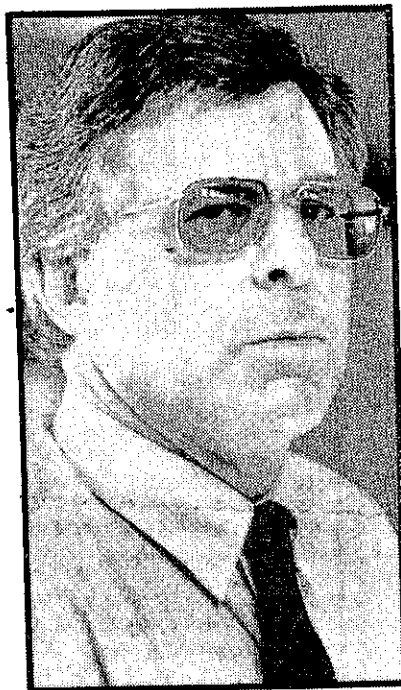
It is a victory which could assist strategists and racial ideologists against pragmatists on the government's side also. If it did, it could push De Klerk further in the direction of believing, or hoping, that out of a discrediting of the ANC (which such ANC posturing necessarily involves with large numbers of whites and others) he will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual open election.

That would be a dangerous delusion. Whatever its shortcomings, the ANC remains the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution, just as it is only the NP that could do the same with whites. (That in no way detracts from the importance of others — Inkatha, PAC, CP, DP, Labour Party or Solidarity — to the negotiation process.)

There are four realities about the ANC with which De Klerk and, indeed, all whites need to come to terms before indulging in thoughts about its future dispensability.

First, whether they like it or not, the ANC is big stuff! It does have mass black support and this is unlikely to go away in the foreseeable future. Outside Natal, 80% of blacks identify with the ANC or ANC-oriented organisations. Even in Natal it is large and growing. Hence the conflict with Inkatha.

Second, and this is a reality the ANC itself needs to come to terms



□ BETHLEHEM

with, it is nowhere near being ready to govern. It can even be argued that it is not yet properly ready for a partnership role in a government of national transition.

The continuing confusion of its policy statements, the contradictions between the public utterances of its leading spokespeople, the inability of

senior leadership to exercise control over junior officers, and their inability to exercise control over a highly radicalised, often violent, rank and file, confirm its unreadiness.

In short, the ANC continues to flounder between the need to offer its huge, deprived constituency something realistic and meaningful regarding poverty and inequality, and having to reflect radicalism from below in order to maintain its authority or credibility.

Third, and for whites this is very important because it is contrary to all the beliefs most of them have about the organisation, in its top leadership, and also in its middle strata, the ANC embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share.

In a sense, and this is not meant disparagingly, the ANC is very middle class. Its non-racialism, its anti-sexism, its obsession with the wrongs of domination of all kinds (though some would want to remind it of its inclination often to slip into a domination mode itself) are not only honourable and decent, they are values all should want for SA.

In short, in terms of what it stands for beyond its policy on the economy, its advocacy of interventionism etc, the ANC is really no more out of step with the NP and the DP than Neil Kinnock is with Michael Heseltine, Douglas Hurd or John Major, or George Bush is with Michael Dukakis. This should provide grounds for hope about the future.

However, the fourth reality about the ANC which De Klerk and whites generally need to come to terms with, the most important reality of all, is that they need the ANC, and need it badly. One could almost say that if the ANC did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

Rather, therefore, than being bent on its discrediting or destruction, which is what the strategists and racial ideologists on the government side are still preoccupied with achieving, they should be doing as much as they can to prevent it from falling apart.

A falling apart of the ANC could have disastrous consequences for SA, for it would only happen in the worst of all possible circumstances and would, therefore, most likely pre-empt a lurch into heightened violence and disorder.

After nearly 30 years of exile and internal banning during which time government did all it could to break down the ANC, it would have been a lot to expect that the organisation establish itself in a short time with an unchallenged authority among followers. Now it must be helped to achieve coherence and maturity.

Control over the black dimensions of SA society has been lost by government and the business community, and both need a credible partner with whom they will be able to work to bring about the political transformation that has become an essential precondition for a liberation of the economy.

If SA can be stabilised socially and politically, there are few countries that will hold a candle to it in terms of real economic performance in coming decades, if a reasonable expansion of the global economy can be sustained. SA is rich in resources and it will be starting from a low base. But it has to get its own house in order first and the ANC will have to have a share, and a big share, in that.

So when next you feel tempted to tell an anti-ANC joke, so much the vogue in certain white circles at present, think twice. And when next you watch TV and witness the continuing portrayal of government as the only good guys, and the ANC as the most frequently bad, or the spoilers, think yet again.

□ Bethlehem is group economics consultant at JCI and author of *Economics in a Revolutionary Society*.



Star 29/11/90

~~(11A)~~ (11A) ~~(11A)~~

## Black leaders attend Tutu's peace meeting

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The search for peace and political tolerance in South African townships receives a major boost today as South Africa's black liberation movements and homeland leaders meet at Bishops court in Cape Town.

The peace summit, convened and hosted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is being attended by all the major liberation movements, except for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which turned Archbishop Tutu's invitation down on the grounds that he was pro-ANC.

The ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) have all confirmed their attendance, but Azapo yesterday placed conditions on its participation.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said although his organisation had accepted Archbishop Tutu's invitation, its participation depended on acceptance of Azapo's demand

that "the matter of the homeland system" be the first item on the agenda.

This was because homeland leaders had also been invited to the meeting and Azapo had a policy of non-collaboration with Government-created institutions and those serving in these institutions.

He said the meeting's agenda, the question of violence in the country, South Africa's future and how the black liberation movements could "strategise together in this regard", coincided with the agenda of an inter-organisational consultative conference Azapo had initiated some time ago.

That, he said, was enough reason for Azapo to accept Archbishop Tutu's invitation to the meeting.

KwaZulu and QwaQwa are the only self-governing homelands which declined the invitation to attend the meeting.

The independent homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are the only ones which will not be represented, according to Archbishop Tutu's press secretary, John Allen.

S. J. 29/11/90

# PAC to hold regional congress

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

PLA  
municipal Hall from 10 am on Sunday.

The Vaal Triangle region of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will hold its congress in Sharpeville this weekend — a week before the organisation's national congress in Johannesburg.

The chairman of the PAC in the Vaal Triangle, Thami Plaatjie, said the regional congress, expected to be attended by about 300 delegates representing five branches, and other PAC structures, will be held at the Sharpeville Com-

He said delegates would discuss the Government's invitation to the PAC to be involved in exploratory talks with a view to real negotiations early next year; the 1991 programme of action for the region; and the question of violence in the townships.

Elections for the regional executive committee would also be held.

Former Robben Islander Samuel Chibane will deliver the main address, and supporting speakers will come from

PAC-aligned organisations such as the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation, the African Women's Organisation and the Azanian National Youth Unity.

The PAC's national congress, only the second since its formation in Soweto in 1959, will be held at Shareworld, south of Johannesburg, from December 7 to 9.

At the congress the PAC will decide on its response to the Government's invitation and will elect a successor to former president Zephania Mothopeng who died last month.

# PAC dashes hope of pact with ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday dashed the ANC's hopes for a broad united front to map out a common strategy against the Government, declaring that it did not form alliances with "the security police under the guise of 'monitoring committees'".

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said media reports that the PAC would soon join the ANC in talks with the Government were untrue.

The organisation regarded the current talks between the Government and the ANC as a betrayal of the letter and spirit of the December 14 1990 United Resolution demanding that President de Klerk meet all

preconditions before a climate for talks could exist.

Mr Alexander said it was only in a democratically elected constituent assembly that the PAC would discuss a new constitution.

There was therefore "no possibility" of the PAC joining the ANC in the current talks about preconditions.

The latest calls for a united front were made before African heads of state in Swaziland at the weekend by Nelson Mandela and PAC vice-president Clarence Makwethu.

The two leaders, according to press reports, expressed themselves in favour of such a front, pledging themselves to working for its realisation.

In his first comment on the proposed front, Mr Alexander said the PAC stood for "a principled united front" which would be based on the following principles:

- The East-West conflict would be kept out of the "Azanian struggle".
  - All forms of struggle, with the armed struggle as "the principal method of struggle", would be encouraged.
  - "The oppressed masses led by the African class and peasantry" — and not the Government — was the vehicle for social change.
  - Non-collaboration with Government-created structures which perpetuated "illegitimate minority rule".
  - The acceptance of a democratic solution to the country's problems, via a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote "to destroy white minority domination".
- He condemned reports which suggested that unity between the PAC and the ANC was "more realisable" following the death of former PAC president Zephania Mothopeng.

# ANC plans big welcome for Tambo

*Sowetan  
29/11/90*

*(TIA)*

THE African National Congress is planning "a massive welcome" for its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who returns to South Africa in two weeks' time after almost three decades in exile, the organisation announced yesterday.

Its head office in Johannesburg said a nine-man reception committee, including members of the national executive committee, had been established "to spearhead preparations" for Tambo's reception.

Members of the committee are Mr Saki Macozoma of the ANC's department of information and publicity and Mr

Moses Mayekiso of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

Others are Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa of the Institute for Contextual Theology, Mr Popo Molefe of the United Democratic Front and ANC NEC members Mr John Nkadimeng, Mrs Ruth Mompoti and Mr Joe Nhlanhla.

## Return

The committee has already started making preparations for Tambo's return.

The ANC has also disclosed that Tambo will present a report to its national consultative conference in Johannesburg on December 16 on how the movement "survived in exile, thrived and sub-

sequently came to occupy the centre stage in South African politics".

Tambo was sent abroad by the organisation's NEC in the early sixties to establish the ANC in exile when it became "quite clear that all legal, above-board and constitutional methods of struggle were prescribed by the Nationalist Government".

His NEC colleagues who were still in the country, including his present deputy and likely successor Mr Nelson Mandela, were later arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Tambo suffered a "mild stroke" last year and is now believed to have recovered. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Mandela an 'unknown' in parts of Cape

ALMOST 30% of people living in rural areas of the eastern Cape do not know what the ANC is, a Rhodes University study has found.

The pilot study by Rhodes Journalism Department researchers Noel Ndhlovu and Don Pinnock also found that 60% of rural dwellers did not know who ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was.

The study was conducted among people living in Grahamstown townships and rural areas of the eastern Cape — traditionally considered an ANC stronghold.

Of all the respondents in rural and urban

areas, only 57% said they knew what the ANC was.

Of those interviewed, 90% said they had a monthly household income of under R500, while the majority earned between R100 and R250 a month. More than half claimed to be unemployed.

Only half could speak English and less than a quarter Afrikaans.

The survey found that radio was by far the most important source of information. Almost 98,9% listened to the radio.

PETER DELMAR

The most popular station (listened to by 96%) was the SABC's Radio Xhosa. Less than 10% of those living in rural areas watched TV.

The survey findings drew a sharp reaction from the ANC's eastern Cape publicity secretary Mike Xego, who said the ANC was heartened by the support it was receiving in rural areas throughout the region.

Rural communities, he said, were often "provoked to greater militancy" by platteland authorities who did not understand the spirit of the Grootes Schuur Minute.

8/2/90 29/11/90

11/11

# Huge welcome planned for ANC president Tambo

THE ANC is preparing a "massive welcome" for its president, Oliver Tambo, when he returns to SA on December 13.

The ANC disclosed yesterday it had appointed a high-powered nine-member committee to oversee preparations for Tambo's return — on the eve of the organisation's national consultative conference.

Tambo would address the conference in Johannesburg on the ANC's survival in exile and how it "came to occupy the centre stage in SA politics," an ANC statement said.

National executive member Joe

B (Pan) 29/11/90  
PETER DELMAN

Nhlanhla said arrangements so far were mainly concerned with Tambo's welcome at Jan Smuts. The ANC would negotiate with the authorities on how many people would be allowed to welcome Tambo at the airport. Nhlanhla declined to be drawn on a suggestion that the reception would be on the scale of celebrations surrounding the release of his deputy, Nelson Mandela, or the return of Namibian President Sam Nujoma.

Tambo was likely to spend about a month in SA before returning to Lusaka, and was expected to address a mass rally in Johannesburg, besides making a series of appearances around the country.

Tambo's reception committee includes senior ANC members Nhlanhla, Ruth Mompati and John Nkadimeng, NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Institute of Contextual Theology general secretary Smangaliso Mkatshwa and UDF leader Popo Molefe.

11A

# PAC: Perpetual opposition to ANC

South 29/11 - 5/12/90 (11A)

THE newspaper article quoting Dr Seshi Chonco made for interesting reading. As my senior lecturer, he has taken the political and ideological discourse beyond the confines of the lecture hall.

This is commendable, not so much because it sets a lively tempo for a rigorous intellectual inquiry, but because — despite its glaring analytical weaknesses — it reinforces the importance of the role of intellectuals in contributing to the efforts to end the obnoxious apartheid social order.

Perhaps more importantly, the article challenges the democratic left to critically scrutinise all components of the liberation movement (the PAC included), to ensure that the liberation movement in its entirety is informed by and upholds the aspirations of the people.

The most immediate challenge of the liberation movement is to make the transition from politics of illegality to the arena of open political activity as quickly and with as little structural disruption as possible.

## Wavering

It is in the light of this that the recent rumblings of discontent and wavering loyalties within the PAC cannot be treated with disdain or ignored.

It does appear as though there is confusion and indecisiveness in the PAC, judging by the conflicting nature of the statements coming from their ranks.

Because of the veil of secrecy about the PAC, it has been very difficult in the past to get information on the ideological orientation of the movement and its programme of action.

This prompts two considerations: that the underground machinery of the PAC must have been very efficient or that the PAC must not have had any programme of action at all.

Or are we being told that the PAC has been having a programme in their documents without this being given content and concrete expression in practical struggle?

Answers to these legitimate questions can only be forthcoming when the PAC asserts itself pro-actively.

## Futuristic

For any programme to stand up to the rigours of harsh reality, it has to be formulated on the basis of an incisive analysis that dialectically connects theory to practical experiences, as well as giving a futuristic perspective for the realisation of their aspirations.

This requires a clear understanding of the historical epoch in which we live, the principal contradiction that characterises it, and the manner in which that contradiction is expressed in the South African socio-political reality.

Dr Chonco presents these differences as though they are divergent views within a converging set of principles. Perhaps this is so, but a closer examination reveals that beyond the appearance

**MFUNDO NKUHLU (Sanco, UWC) writes in his personal capacity in response to an article quoting Dr Seshi Chonco, published in SOUTH (November 8-14), and as a contribution to the current political discourse:**

of a clash of personalities lurks an even bigger problem for the PAC — their differences on the ideological conceptualisation of the South African society and the political programme flowing from it.

## Chauvinist

It seems fair to assert that the PAC has never been able to appreciate the distinction between the national and the social question.

One stream has always insisted on the retention of the philosophy of African nationalism to a point where this nationalism has assumed a chauvinist character devoid of a class content.

The African consciousness which underpins this theoretical formulation is vague and dubious in the sense in which it is used by Dr Chonco, for it is not clear whether it argues for the Africans as the only oppressed people in South Africa, or whether it incorporates the other sections of the oppressed black majority, namely, the Indians and "coloureds".

Of even greater magnitude is his erratic theoretical postulation by which this African consciousness supersedes class distinctions to the point of reconciling all class antagonisms within the ranks of the oppressed.

Flowing from its bankruptcy in the historical-materialist tools of analysis, it has tended to treat the oppressed as an amorphous people who can be galvanised into struggle merely on the basis of the objective condition of their oppression.

On the contrary, the other view advocates for a socialist path of development, albeit from an arbitrary point of departure and into an equally obscure future. On the surface this appears revo-



sive social strata.

But the universality of socialism does not mean a pole-vault transition from what we have into what we may like to have. Thus it becomes imperative for the liberation movement to address itself squarely on the national liberation of the oppressed.

The immediate and overwhelming desire of the oppressed is their right to national self-determination through attaining and exercising state power.

For this political freedom to be translated into economic and social emancipation, it is imperative for the working class to lead and be pivotal in this struggle for national democracy.

The quality of life for millions of our people can only be significantly and drastically improved by ensuring that the working class is well-placed to take advantage of the new social conditions that will be generated by a democratic state.

Therefore, for Dr Chonco to suggest that a charismatic leadership for the PAC

The BCM was dominated by intellectuals and students, resulting in a lack of ideological cohesion and its eventual relegation to the periphery in the political terrain.

Equally, to claim that the PAC has the potential to become a mass organisation is to make a bold statement that borders dangerously on the verge of intellectual dishonesty. What is the historical justification of such a claim?

## Experience

The fact of the matter is that the PAC was formed in 1959 and banned by April 1960, by which time it obviously could not have amassed a strong organisational base.

Moreover, the Namibian experience has taught us that a few hundred mourners at a funeral do not necessarily and automatically translate into hundreds of voters.

The strength of the PAC can be more objectively evaluated when it begins to reestablish itself inside the country — a task that has not begun on any signifi-

support has served to vindicate the popularity it enjoys and demonstrate the moral superiority of its politics.

In comparison, the PAC has been unable to establish such a widespread legitimacy. It has been conspicuously absent or insignificant in key sectoral areas of organisation, such as the organised trade union movement (except for claims of its influence on Nactu), the youth, students and women.

Dr Chonco says the PAC has been successful in organising the countryside by emphasising the land question. A critical examination indicates that this fallacious wishful thinking could not be further from the truth. Indeed, one is entitled to ask how the PAC has managed to achieve this.

## Fantastic

It is important to realise that the resolution of the national question is inextricably bound with the opening up of access to land for the vast majority of our people.

Thus far the PAC has merely put it up as a pre-condition for negotiations, perhaps hoping that the De Klerk regime would grant them such a land reform programme.

But these are fantastic notions that have nothing to do with the challenges that would face the democratic state. Accessibility to land would be a central issue in the restoration of the human integrity of our people.

One of the major challenges for the liberation movement and the future democratic government is to feature and play a role in the rich wine farms of the Western Cape, the Natal cane-sugar plantations, the citrus belt of the Highveld, the maize triangle in the Transvaal, the vast plateau of the Free State and the Great Karoo, important for animal and wildlife.

The resolution of the land question will also entail a programme of affirmative action in favour of the land-hungry masses. Inherent in such a programme would be the restructuring of the rural wastelands to which millions of our people have been condemned, as well as correcting the ecological disasters that have been a consequence of their banishment to arid lands.

## Gusto

In the context of the above, is Dr Chonco's assertion that the PAC has successfully rallied the rural poor a pointer to how these complex questions will be resolved?

Or does it amount to a bold rhetorical posturing without any substance? An exploration of these questions will be more informing than the gusto with which such an assertion was made.

Though the findings of Dr Chonco point to an intense debate within the PAC on negotiations, the official position of the organisation to date has been a clear rejection of a negotiated transfer of power.

A cursory glance at the PAC's past confirms the view, which incidentally Dr Chonco also holds, that the PAC has always only managed to oppose the ANC without offering alternatives.

If this analysis is valid, it is logical to conclude that the PAC views itself as a perpetual opposition, rather than a possible government in its own right.

**Even more astonishing is the sheer thought of presenting socialism as a demand to be delivered by the ruling class, rather than a concrete programme of struggle to be realised by the working class in alliance with other progressive social strata.**

lutionary beyond a shadow of doubt.

However, a more critical observation reveals that this is more of a reflex response, a rhetorical cliché, as though socialism flows automatically from the attainment of political power.

Even more astonishing is the sheer thought of presenting socialism as a demand to be delivered by the ruling class, rather than a concrete programme of struggle to be realised by the working class in alliance with other progres-

is a solution is as effective as prescribing a penicillin for the Aids virus.

To hope that the leadership would by itself give clear direction and goals is ludicrous.

Another serious weakness of Dr Chonco's argument is to assume that a transformation of the PAC into a mass organisation in the tradition of the Black Consciousness Movement is the solution to its challenges.

cant scale.

On the other hand, the strength of the ANC has not so much been determined by the thousands of supporters in mass rallies, but by the coherence, cohesion and diversity of the organisations waving the banner of the mass democratic movement and embracing the futuristic programme of the ANC, the Freedom Charter.

The energetic drive of the ANC to launch branches and organise grassroots

*Against the grain*

**Mighty Maggie bites the dust**

OH dear! Maggie's gone!  
One day she was vowing to fight and win. The next, she was planning to star in a new musical, "Don't cry for me, Great Britain".

Rumour has it that she has also been offered a role in "Die Hard 3".

Now, Maggie's strengths did not include winning friends and influencing people. But she did have a few buddies in the Union Building. You see, she was a pretty hot anti-sanctions campaigner.

History can be a bit embarrassing at times. There she was, railing against Saddam to get out of Kuwait or she would force him out.

Now she's out, and Saddam's still in.

There's a lesson in there somewhere for Holomisa. Hang in there, General. Chances are you'll still be around after Pk is forced to resign (probably for saying something silly like the next President could be Chinese).

So we've lost a good friend in Great Britain, but we've picked up a few in Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

**Chicken run**

Win some, lose some, as they say. Of course, we've never had any friends in Australia — except our friends who emigrated during the days of the chicken run. So we've downgraded our embassy there and opened up a couple in Eastern Europe.

(The US Congress had better watch out. If they don't acknowledge the changes happening here, we'll simply transfer Harry Schwarz to Moscow!)

Pity the Czechs don't play cricket, though. And the Rumanians are such lousy rugby players.

Maybe Craven will be happy to unite with Saru once they've proved themselves by beating the Rumanians by at least 50 points.

What's the point in having unity if it means standards are going to drop?

Apparently there's no truth in the rumour that the SA Rugby Board will consider unity with Sary only if 90 percent of all Currie Cup rugby players' parents vote in favour.

We were all looking so forward to having Maggie come here soon — not because any of us liked her. It's just that her visit could have been a forerunner to Princess Di popping over, with or without her Proper Charlie.

Princess Di will certainly be more worth sitting through a traffic jam for than 15 minutes of fireworks.

**Poor Dennis!**

After all, when last did we have royalty here? (No, Anneline doesn't count.)

But maybe Maggie will still come; then we can have fireworks for as long as she stays.

But the person I feel most sorry for in all of this is Dennis, Maggie's husband. The poor chap!

Now that Maggie has no Helmut or Saddam to pick on, she could pay more attention to how he dresses, what he eats and what time he comes home at night.

With no cabinet to reshuffle, Maggie will have to take to playing klabberjas. With no one to send to the queues of the unemployed, she'll have to be content with firing her domestics.

What will Maggie do after she leaves Downing Street? Play golf? Pump iron? Take up mud-wrestling? Offer her services to FW? Or become an entertainer to boost the morale of the British boys being fazzled in Saudi Arabia?

Whatever, the woman's gonna be a hard act to follow!



**COMMENT**

**Rightwing thugs can derail peace process**

**SOUTH** Africa has always been characterised by its unique racist laws. Now, as the country painfully edges away from its apartheid legacy, an alarming trend of rightwing violence has emerged.

In the most recent incident of racially-motivated violence, a group of black schoolchildren were attacked by sjambok-wielding white thugs in the Conservative Party stronghold of Louis Trichardt.

Understandably, mass democratic movement leaders in the area have said the attack has strengthened the black community's determination to continue a consumer boycott of white-owned shops.

Rightwingers also attacked members of the National Union of Mineworkers last weekend.

In Robertson, a young boy was killed by a white shopowner when police dispersed a crowd of 30 people heading towards the town.

The ANC has called for an independent judicial inquiry to investigate the causes of violence in Bolland towns which has claimed the lives of about 10 people this year.

The roots of the conflict lay in white attitudes which has not kept pace with changes in the country.

White people saw political change as a threat to their livelihood and had no respect for the dignity of black people.

The ANC has made repeated attempts to reassure whites fearful of their future under a black government.

The authorities need likewise to reassure black people that their safety will be guaranteed.

All South Africans need to know they can walk the streets without fear of assault.

Regrettably, the authorities have not been noted for taking swift action against rightwingers.

During the height of the recent Transvaal violence, the police had difficulty in arresting the white perpetrators of killings of township residents.

Yet, when four white people were killed in the Orange Free State a few weeks later, police made arrests within hours.

Understandably, this has raised questions about whether this is a deliberate strategy on the part of the police.

Random rightwing attacks, coupled with sinister reports of a third force operating in the townships, can only raise the already high temperature in the country.

These attacks can only be viewed as terrorism of the worst kind and, unless the authorities act swiftly, rightwing attacks are likely to evoke a strong response from the black community.

Over the past five years the federation has faced severe challenges both from within — where affiliates with different traditions clashed sharply over political differences — and from employers and the state.

The restriction of Cosatu from playing a political role and the introduction of the Labour Relations Amendment Act were perhaps the most serious obstacles the federation had to face.

That it did so is a sign of the determination of unionists and workers to prevent a return to the dark ages before the birth of industrial unions in the early 1970s.

As South Africa enters a new political era, the federation faces immense new challenges and some old ones as well.

A key question that remains is the formation of a single trade union federation in line with Cosatu's policy of one union, one federation, one country.

Cosatu's input on worker rights in a future constitution and on economic policy will be of critical importance to the shaping of a new South Africa.

**Happy birthday, Cosatu**

THIS week marks the fifth anniversary of the launch of Cosatu, the country's largest trade union federation.

The formation of the federation from unions affiliated to its predecessor, the Federation of South African Trade Unions, and a range of other unions, was one of the turning points in South Africa's labour history.

Since its inception, Cosatu has played a leading role not just in the labour arena but also as a key political actor.

*South 29/11 - 5/12/90*

*South 29/11 - 5/12/90*



# SOUTH

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## Mandela's 'breather' to attend to ANC

By MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS  
AFRICAN National Congress deputy-president Nelson Mandela is not making overseas or local appointments from next week to concentrate on resolving the movement's organisational problems and improve its image.

"I don't intend leaving my office from December 5 so that I can assist in sorting

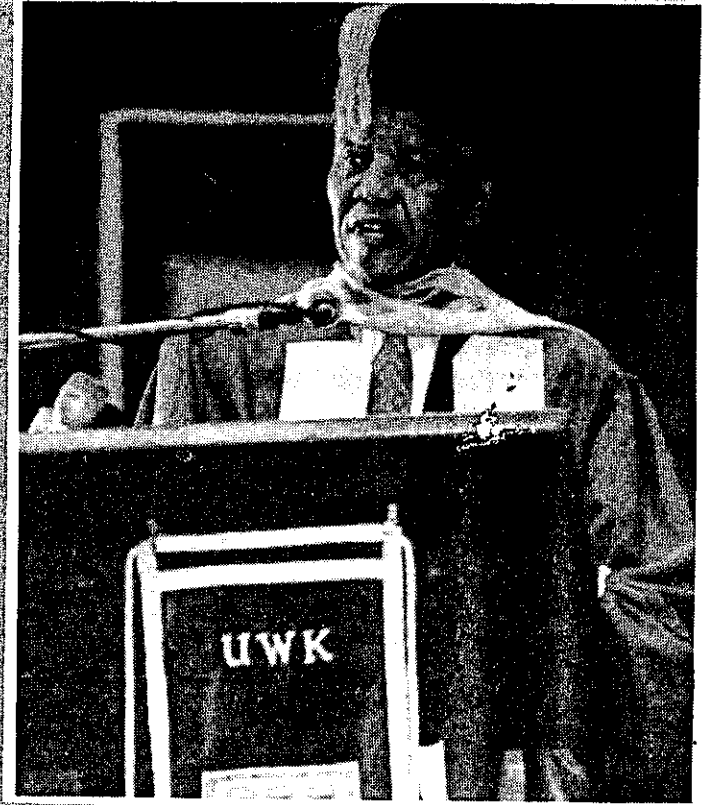
out a number of problems that the organisation faces." In an interview with SOUTH in Cape Town, where he is the recipient of two honorary doctorates conferred by the University of the Western Cape and UCT, Mandela said the ANC's difficulties arose mainly from changes required after it had operated as a banned and exiled organisation for 30 years.

"To my mind, the ANC has done ex-

ceptionally well under the circumstances. We have achieved what people not so long ago thought was impossible persuade this government to change its whole stance on the future of the country.

We have rallied people and dealt with issues in a way and manner no

Turn to page 2



## Mandela on talks

FROM PAGE 1

other organisation has been able to."

He said the ANC, since its unbanning, had not wavered from its basic policies. Referring to this week's talks with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria, Mandela said the ANC had raised a number of "serious problems" which impeded the peace process in South Africa.

"We raised the issue of violence and the government's intransigence in particular.

"There are certain forms of violence we as the ANC can control but there is a Renamo-type violence which we are convinced is orchestrated by the security forces, military intelligence and other government agencies."

It was the responsibility of the government, which had the necessary resources at its disposal, to stop this kind of violence.

He said, however, he was "more optimistic" after the talks.

"It served to indicate the way forward, from both the ANC's and government's point view, in resolving the country's problems."

Mandela said a third summit along the lines of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings, was on the cards.

"We do have a feeling of success after the first two meetings. In spite of some bottlenecks, a number of issues have been resolved regarding the exiles and political prisoners."

He said the ANC's proposal of a constituent assembly would be one of the key issues to be tabled at a third summit.

South 29/11-31/12/90

11A

11A

# ANC man's home bombed

The Lusaka home of ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi was rocked by a powerful explosion last weekend.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said "minimal damage" was caused to the house and nobody was injured in the attack. Nkobi was on official ANC business in Scandinavia at the time. South 29/11 - 5/12/90

The ANC has not been able to identify the attackers or their motive. The bombing is the latest in a series of attacks directed at ANC officials in the Zambian capital. 11A

Between 1981 and 1988, 46 assassination attempts on ANC members living outside South Africa were reported.



Nkobi

## ATLANTIS BUYERS' CO-OPERATIVE

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FORM 2	MEMBER ORDER FORM NO.		AFLEWER DATUM

# ANC exile to be buried in Langa

CME T-4 29/11/80 114  
Staff Reporter

ANC exile Ms Nonkululeko Malangabe, 28, who died of "mental and physical" exhaustion in Lusaka earlier this month, will be buried in her home township of Langa on Saturday.

Her father, Mr D Malangabe, a former principal of Langa High School, said his daughter had left South Africa "as a child" in the early '70s.

She had taught at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania before receiving a chemical engineer-

ing scholarship to the Soviet Union. She studied in Addis Ababa before returning to Lusaka.

Mr Malangabe said his daughter had suffered a nervous breakdown in the Soviet Union and had been unable to complete her scholarship. During a relapse in Lusaka her "mental and physical condition" deteriorated and she died on November 11.

A service will be held at the Anglican church in Langa at 10am on Friday.

# South 29/11/90 - 31/2/90 applaud human rights clause

401

Activists have responded enthusiastically to the inclusion of a clause on discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in a draft bill of rights being circulated for comment in the ANC and the mass democratic movement.

Dr Ivan Toms, a spokesperson for the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga), said Olga, together with 11 other gay rights organisations, had submitted recommendations on constitutional rights for lesbians and gay men to the ANC constitutional committee earlier this year.

In a clause dealing with gender rights, the draft bill says that discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation will be unlawful.

Toms said if the final bill of rights includes such legal protection, it would make the South African constitution one of the most progressive in the world.

Toms said Olga would also lobby other political organisations for support.

He said that while the recommendations concentrated on legal aspects, Olga and other gay organisations acknowledged people's attitudes would have to change and felt a public education campaign to

combat homophobia was necessary.

"Even gay activists in political organisations are afraid to come out of the closet for fear of the reaction," Toms said.

The draft bill of rights, which is currently a working document, includes a range of rights including civil, political, legal, social, economic and educational rights.

The bill guarantees language, cultural and religious freedom and deals at some length with the issue of sexual equality.

Other areas covered include the rights of children and the disabled, and the protection of the environment.

# ANC unveils draft Bill of Rights

THE ANC has unveiled its draft Bill of Rights for consideration by its members. The document, drafted by the ANC's Constitutional Committee, has been circulated to the movement's regions for comment before it will be discussed at the Decem-

ber consultative conference. *Sowetan 29/11/90*  
The draft Bill of Rights provides for the establishment of a constitutional court, a Human Rights Commission and the office of an Ombudsman to enforce these rights.

In the introductory

note the committee said it opted "firmly and unequivocally" for the fundamental rights and freedoms associated with a democratic society. "In the first place, in keeping with the approach of most contemporary human rights documents, we do not feel

that it is necessary to make a constitutional choice between having freedom or having bread. "We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom. We want freedom and we want bread," the committee said.

Other rights included in the draft Bill of Rights are:

- \* Social, economic and educational rights. "Our approach has been to identify certain needs as being so basic as to constitute the foundation of human rights claims, namely the rights to nutrition, education, health, shelter, employment and minimum income," the committee said.

- \* Language, cultural and religious rights.
- \* Political rights.
- \* Workers' rights.
- \* The rights of disabled persons and the rights of children.

- \* Economic rights. "The document attempts to give an equitable framework for dealing with the emotive question of property rights. Since a Bill of Rights is a document for all South Africans, and not a manifesto or programme of the ANC alone, the issue has to be looked at from all points of view, but without sacrificing the just

claims of the people," the committee said.

- \* The protection of the environment.

- \* A constitutional framework for affirmative action to overcome race and gender discrimination, and for positive action to overcome patterns of apartheid.

## Left out **IIA**

The draft Bill of Rights does not deal with issues such as the electoral system, how Parliament should be constituted, the territorial division of the country, the way the Government should be composed and other issues related to the institutional arrangements of democracy.

According to the introductory note, the committee's aim was to write the document in open and accessible language.

"In South African conditions, a Bill of Rights becomes the fundamental anti-apartheid document. It guarantees equal rights for all citizens, and defends each and every one of us against the kinds of tyranny and abuse which have flowed daily from the apartheid state," the committee said.

In preparing the draft text, the Constitutional Committee relied on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants of Civil and Political Rights

and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the European Convention of Human Rights, the African Charter of Human and People's Rights and provisions dealing with protection of human rights in other constitutions, ranging from those of India, West Germany, the US to Namibia.

The committee further relied on the Freedom Charter and the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines and proposals were also received from a wide range of UDF-affiliates.

"There is accordingly nothing essentially new and nothing secret in the document," the committee said. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



Traffic officer Mr T S Mhaka congratulates members of the W K Maponyane Primary scholar patrol Joseph Ramusi, Innocent Moche, Marveious Kholoane, Meshack Mantu, Lebogang Khunou and their teacher Mrs Dorah Mothlamme after they had won the Soweto (Western Zone) finals.

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ITUMELENG MOSALA



ENOS MABUZA

# Talks

# for

IIA



NELSON MANDELA

# peace

Sowetan  
29/11/90

**ALL black liberation movements will attend the summit called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town today, according to Mr John Allen, the prelate's media secretary.**

The ANC will be represented by Mr Nelson Mandela, Azapo's president Dr Itumeleng Mosala will represent his organisation and, while the Pan Africanist Congress has confirmed it would attend, no name was submitted.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action has also confirmed it would send a representative.

Of the homelands and nominally independent states Gazankulu, KaNgwane (Mr Enos Mabuza), Transkei (Major-General Bantu Holomisa), Venda

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

(Brigadier MG Ramushwana, Lcbowa and Kwa-Ndebele accepted Tutu's invitation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, QwaQwa and Bophuthatswana have declined while the Ciskeian administrations had by late yesterday not responded.

Azapo's Mosala said in a statement yesterday that the agenda proposed by Tutu was similar to that of his movement's mooted consultative conference.

"We have agreed to take part in the conference because of this," he said.

The continuing violence in the country, SA's future and how black organisations can strategise collectively to meet or face Government were the items on the agenda which Azapo agreed with, Mosala explained.



BANTU HOLOMISA



GABRIEL RAMUSHWANA

NA BRIEFING

Nov 29/11/90

# Feelings that simmer like a subterranean fire

**T**HE attack on mineworkers returning from a union meeting in Welkom on Sunday was just another incident of mine-related violence which has been sporadically flaring up since May.

According to National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) spokesman Jerry Majatladi, the growing trend of violent confrontation on mines had its roots in the changing political face of South Africa.

Tensions normally kept under control in other situations emerged too easily in the political and racial melting pot at the rock face.

He believed violence on mines could be divided into three categories.

● Group violence between Inkatha and organisations like Co-

satu. This was seen in Natal recently when NUM members were forced to leave the Durnacol and Hlobane collieries after repeated attacks on them.

"This is nothing different from the broad violence gripping the country and aimed at destabilising all progressive groupings."

The attacks were aimed at weakening the "progressive" movement, so that it would not be able to present a strong, united force at the negotiating table, said Mr Majatladi.

● Racial violence between black and white workers underground. Factors influencing this

type of violence could be linked mainly to the weakening force of apartheid.

White workers were feeling threatened as their traditional privileges were undermined, resulting in increasing tensions.

But, at the same time, racial discrimination continued in the form of the "piccanin" system where black workers were forced to carry the tools and clothing of white workers; in segregated facilities like canteens and change rooms (these were open to certain grades of workers of which the great majority were white); and in the hoisting system whereby blacks

## Labour Reporter BRENDAN TEMPLETON looks at the causes of violence in the mining industry this year.

were forced to queue when going down a shaft while white workers could simply step into the cage.

● Vigilante violence which took the form of outside right-wing groups assaulting workers. This was especially characteristic of mining towns like Welkom where the whole economic infrastructure revolved around the local mines. Outside right-wing groups also felt threatened by the changing political cli-

mate and took out their frustrations on the most visible "progressive" grouping in the area, the NUM.

Examples of racial violence, which has received the most publicity since it hit the headlines in May, have taken place mainly in the Free State.

Right-wing sentiment in Welkom reached fever pitch when two whites, Johannes du Preez (57) and Sydney Koen (43), were

killed during a clash between black miners and mine security personnel at the President Steyn No 1 Shaft.

An uneasy calm had only started to settle when Steve Buitendag (42), a personnel manager of the Harmony Gold Mine, near Virginia, was killed outside a mine hostel.

Tensions flared up again in August when three black workers were killed in a clash with mine security personnel at President Steyn.

The body of Nicholas Jordaan (42) was later found at the bottom of a shaft.

Following the tension in the

Free State and a meeting between Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, the Chamber of Mines, right-wing groups, the white Council of Mining Unions (CMU) and the NUM, it was agreed to conduct regular meetings to discuss ways of preventing racial flare-ups.

The meetings had proved to be successful, leading to a greater understanding of different points of view, Mr Majatladi said.

Now, rumours were circulating in Witbank and Welkom that Inkatha impis could be brought in from other areas to disrupt the union's organisation.

In an attempt to combat the possibility of such violence flaring up again, the NUM and the Chamber of Mines recently drew up a joint document banning the possession of weapons in the workplace. They also agreed to the establishment of a joint monitoring group to keep an eye on violence on the mines, that stringent disciplinary action be taken against perpetrators of violence, and that existing channels be used to enable employees to effectively inform management of any impending violence.

But the NUM still had not identified a way of combating vigilante violence, said Mr Majatladi. It would be up to Mr Vlok to ensure that right-wing elements did not get out of hand. □

STW 29/11/90 (114)

### Talks confirmed

The ANC and the Bophuthatswana government have confirmed that they held a meeting in Bophuthatswana yesterday. A statement said matters raised at the previous meeting had been discussed in greater detail.



# Dispute could mar Tutu's peace summit

CAPE TOWN 29/11/90

114

## Political Staff

A DISPUTE over the presence of homeland leaders could mar today's peace summit of black political organisations in Cape Town.

Azapo has demanded, as the first item on the agenda for discussion, the presence of Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Transkei and Venda at the meeting.

Bophuthatswana, Qwa-Qwa and KwaZulu, through the Inkatha Freedom Party, turned down invitations and the Ciskei has not given a final response to an invitation to the summit, called by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Azapo leader Professor Itumeleng Mosala agreed to participate but indicated the homeland system would have to be the first on the agenda.

Although the ANC has developed working relationships with homeland governments, Azapo rejects them and the homeland system in principle.

Azapo is likely to be supported in its stand by the PAC and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, who have accepted invitations to attend.

In October Archbishop Tutu said the meeting should plan a joint strategy on negotiations and adopt a code of conduct for political dealings.

The leaders also had to decide on how to handle factional violence and promote unity and peace, Archbishop Tutu said then.

However, in his statement, Professor Mosala said Azapo understood the agenda to be the question of violence in the country and the issue of the future of the country and "how black liberation movements can strategise together in this regard".

Argus 29/11/90 (11A) (S)

# Doctor Mandela, I presume?



**IF THE CAP FITS:** Nelson Mandela smiles at well-wishers after being capped and hooded as an honorary doctor of laws at a special graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape last night. ● Full report and more pictures, page 27.

Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

C

# 'Doctor' Mandela capped

11A

By VIVIEN HORLER  
Staff Reporter

**D**EPUTY president of the African National Congress Mr Nelson Mandela has called on South African universities to re-examine their entry qualifications.

This was necessary to "reduce the inherited inequities of the past and open the doors of learning to those who are traditionally deprived", he said last night.

Mr Mandela was speaking at a special graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape at which he an honorary doctor of laws degree was conferred on him by the chancellor, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In awarding the degree, UWC became the first South African university to confer an honorary doctorate on Mr Mandela. He will also be made an honorary doctor of laws at an open air graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town tomorrow.

Welcoming the 4 000-plus guests in the university's Great Hall and watching the ceremony on large television screens in the square outside, rector Professor Jakes Gerwel said the university had also wanted to confer an honorary degree on ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

But because he was unable to be present, it had been decided to confer the degree on him at a special ceremony in the new year.

After Mr Mandela had knelt to be capped by Archbishop Tutu and hooded by Professor Gerwel, he said South African education needed fundamental restructuring to meet the present challenges.

"Emulating the European or American ethic in either our sciences or our arts cannot be a satisfactory solution



to specifically South African problems. Nor is the importation of solutions that have been applied elsewhere the best way to uproot obstacles that are universal but yet have national peculiarities."

Mr Mandela said the education that "racist South Africa has foisted on its young" could not serve as a model for a future South Africa.

"The psychological bondage this system imposes on white youth is as harmful in its effects as the physical enslavement gutter education sought to impose on our young people."

Mr Mandela said that as South Africa moved away from minority domination to a people's democracy it was inappropriate that the universities continued to reproduce patterns and practices that would "undermine what we are trying to build."



**CAPPED:** Mr Nelson Mandela kneels to be capped by the chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, at a special graduation ceremony last night.

Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

## Toy-toyi at UWC graduation

By VIVIEN HORLER  
Staff Reporter

**M**ORE than 4 000 people cheered, applauded and toyi-toyed as Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, was made an honorary doctor of laws in buoyant ceremony at the University of the Western Cape.

About 2 000 invited guests crowded into the university's Great Hall, while about the same number watched the proceedings on giant television monitors outside.

Security was tight as ANC cadres and UWC marshals checked the bags of everyone entering the hall and made the audience pass through metal detectors. During a photo session before the ceremony photographers were not allowed to get closer than five metres of Mr Mandela, resplendent in blue and grey satin gown and velvet cap.

As journalists arrived early for the ceremony, helpers were still erecting tables for the concert and party afterwards, while other workers were changing the position of giant ANC banners which had

been fixed to the pillars outside the Great Hall the wrong way round.

Inside there was a colonial touch as the academic procession came into the hall to Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance.

The tight security delayed the start of the ceremony by 45 minutes, but chancellor Archbishop Desmond Tutu, declaring the congregation of the university open, said people should stop looking at their watches. To applause and laughter he said: "We're in Africa now."



Mr Mandela, newly capped honorary doctor of laws, surrounded by some UWC staff members, above, including the rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel at a private party last night. Below: Mr Mandela is congratulated after the graduation by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.



**PEOPLE'S PIANIST:** Abdullah Ibrahim, formerly known as Dollar Brand, entertains the crowd at the party held at UWC.

# 'SA state's absolute control has diminished'

South 29/11-5/12/90

11A 2/10

DENNIS Goldberg returned from exile to the "incredibly beautiful" city of Cape Town on a brief visit.

But like many other exiles, he's of two minds whether to return permanently.

He says he found an opening of political space unprecedented in this country and that the state was no longer able to sustain absolute control over peoples' lives.

"If one can half-seriously talk about the liberation of the republics of Observatory and the University of the Western Cape — that would express the kind of space I'm talking about.

## Merchandise

"But one must realise at the same time that the state's ultimate power is not finished."

Goldberg — a former Rivonia prisoner on Robben Island — left South Africa in 1985 after accepting the government's offer of release from prison.

He spent 19 days in Israel with his daughter before heading for London, where he is now based.

He operates the ANC's merchandising business in London, supplying cufflinks, tiepins, ties, T-shirts and literature to outlets throughout the world.

He returned to South Africa last month as a guest of the ANC and was given permission to remain inside the country for a month.

He took the opportunity to return to Cape Town, where he spent his youth.

"It's the first time I've been in Cape Town since 1963. It feels incredible. Cape Town is an incredibly beautiful city.

"But the contrast between Cape Town and the Cape Flats is heartbreaking — the poverty, the barrenness and the match-box homes."

**FORMER Rivonia trialist and head of the ANC's merchandising department Mr Dennis Goldberg returned to Cape Town recently after an absence of 27 years. He spoke to REHANA ROSSOUW about his excitement at being home again and the political challenges facing the ANC:**

Goldberg met all his former Rivonia co-trialist in Stockholm this year — Walter Sisulu and the group released with him — and later Nelson Mandela.

"It was special; we faced the death sentence together after working for so many years underground.

"When Nelson Mandela was in Stockholm, my wife and I were flown there to meet him. I felt complete again for the first time in decades; all my trial comrades had finally come out of prison."

## Childhood dream

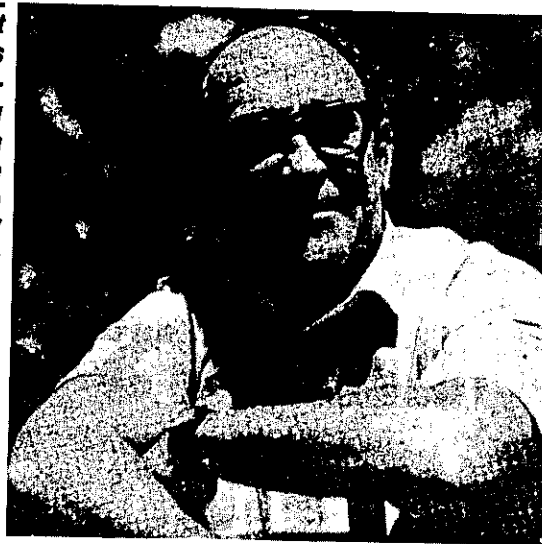
He believes he is needed inside South Africa to do political work but, like many exiles, faces the problems of relocating a family for whom South Africa is little more than a childhood dream.

His children left South Africa when they were six and eight years old and had their schooling and first employment in London.

"This is a difficult decision a lot of exiles have to make. A lot of children of exiles have never been to South Africa and have no emotional ties to the country.

"But the centre of the political gravity has definitely shifted to inside South Africa. It has to be like that."

For Goldberg, February 2 signified a



Dennis Goldberg

partial achievement of his goals of a lifetime.

"For me it signified the fact that the apartheid regime had finally understood it could not continue to rule in the old way — something we have been telling them for a long time.

"It was an open recognition of the power of the organised people, in the trade unions, in the UDF and what came to be called the Mass Democratic Movement.

"The government recognised that a kind of stalemate had been reached."

Goldberg said that since the start of the negotiation process, the government was claiming back the political space for itself.

Although the power of the state was weakened, power was still in its hands, it still controlled the treasury and was able to win political points through its ability to act.

So, for example, while the ANC raised the issue of funds needed for housing in war-torn Natal, President FW de Klerk announced the government was making money available.

## Crazy

"We see cabinet ministers who have never respected the letter and spirit of the laws and rights of human beings, attacking the ANC and MDM for their determination to exercise democratic rights of assembly and speech.

"We now have the crazy situation where peaceful boycotts of traders is equated with the armed struggle."

Goldberg said the government was playing with words over the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Bureaucrats have introduced forms of control forerunning the releases and return which did not respect the spirit of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Min-

utes.

"While they are playing with legalisms, people in exile are suffering as hostages of the government.

"I know of another area in the world where the use of hostages is condemned by the South African government and other Western governments.

"The South African government attacked our activists and disarmed our people who are dying in the townships — let them not claim moral superiority," Goldberg said with deep anger.

"They have never been moral. Some of them are attempting to normalise our society but others just pay lip-service to this concept.

## Deliberate

"It is my belief that some cabinet ministers at the head of government structures are determined to hold onto their past positions of power."

Goldberg said it could only be deliberate policy when the police were unable to arrest the perpetrators of violence in the Transvaal but could indiscriminately arrest people they branded "terrorists".

He said it was time De Klerk realised that if he wanted a new South Africa, he should shed his old alliances who were incapable of achieving that.

It was time to "stop playing games". The ANC was prepared to push up the pace of talks if their pre-conditions were met, he said.

Goldberg said the ANC bore a great responsibility for building a democratic political culture to meet the needs of the moment.

This was not something achieved by waving a magic wand, he said.

"The longest journey begins with the first step. I am pleased to see the ANC is meeting and consulting its allies to resolve these issues."

Goldberg said both inside and outside the country the nature of the repression against organisations made full democracy and decision-making difficult.

In all organisations — from the smallest local group to national leaderships — all members had a duty to actively create a democratic culture and not just point fingers at national leaders of whatever organisation for not being democratic enough.

When he arrived in Cape Town, Goldberg was met at the airport by people he had not seen for 27 years.

"What was even more moving was the response of people I could not have met before — those who were not even born when I went to prison.

"Yet they were there to meet me. They have become part of a stream of people who over the years and from generation to generation share the same ideals."

Goldberg said he felt a deep concern for the entire generation of youth who through their courage and determination gave the anti-apartheid struggle a new momentum.

"This government and the future government has a tremendous debt to settle.

"We face the risk of a whole generation becoming disillusioned because they have not gone to school and face difficulties in the job market. We owe them training and care, at least to help them become productive, useful members of the new society.

"If we fail to do this, the struggle and the suffering in the struggle would have been in vain. We must not let this happen."

# Leaders plead for peace, discipline

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The biggest gathering of South Africa's black leadership emerged from day-long talks at Bishopscourt yesterday with a plea for peace, political tolerance and discipline.

They spoke out against forcing people to join boycotts, stayaways and political movements and called on political leaders to cut abuse and acrimony from public statements.

The 37 men and women representing 11 major movements and homeland governments blamed apartheid as the principal source of violence, but acknowledged that some violence stemmed from political rivalries and that the right of township residents to make free political choices was denied by intimidation and violent coercion.

ANC, PAC and Azapo Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action delegations were joined by top-level representatives from the homeland administrations of Transkei, Venda, Lebowa, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele and Gazankulu.

Inkatha, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa were also invited. Ciskei could not attend... the others declined.

In what host Archbishop Desmond Tutu described as a "remarkable" meeting in which "nobody scratched each

other's eyes out (even though they were sitting within striking distance of each other)", the leaders concentrated on the homelands and on the question of violence.

A joint statement issued by the meeting described the discussions as a "breakthrough".

It called on homeland leaders to review their participation in perpetuating the "balkanisation" of South Africa and to match their commitment to a unitary and democratic South Africa "more urgently, more stridently and within specific time frames".

## Violence

The bulk of the statement is devoted to the question of violence. Warning that the "enemies of our people and our struggle for liberation rejoice when they see violence within black communities," the meeting issued an "urgent call on all our people to strive for peace".

The leaders acknowledged that some violence resulted from political rivalries. They asked supporters to exercise discipline to "create a culture of tolerance". Without that there was danger of Renamo-type forces developing.

The statement called on people to "respect the right of people to make free choices without intimidation or coercion, in political activity".

More specifically they urged followers to:

- Respect the right of people to join collective political action such as boycotts and stayaways, and their right not to join it.

- Allow people to belong to organisations of their choice.

- Recruit members only on a voluntary basis.

- Work for the expression of political difference in vigorous, but peaceful debate.

The delegates appealed to leaders "to consult one another on calls for mass action to avoid intimidation" and to "avoid abuse and acrimonious attacks on one another".

Also, in a strong attack on "apartheid violence", the leaders said they believed there was a third force at work including at least some elements of the security forces.

They rejected the phrase "black-on-black violence" as a "racist ploy". Violence in predominantly white countries, for instance, was never referred to as "white-on-white" violence.

They added: "We also emphasise that there is no clearer example... of the violent expression of political intolerance than the death squads of the SAP and SADF".

Archbishop Tutu said: "We were amazed at the spirit which prevailed at the meeting. The fact that we met was surprising, that we continued without walking out was remarkable, and even more remarkable that we have a statement".



In search of peace... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is welcomed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu at yesterday's summit. Picture: Associated Press.

He regretted the absence of Inkatha, but said the issues were so important the talks had to go ahead. Special efforts would be made to persuade Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend future meetings.

Archbishop Tutu said the political leaders had come to the summit knowing they would be sitting down and talking to homeland leaders.

"They have principles and they knew coming here could cause ructions in their own constituency, but they came

because they are leaders and they had to lead and they are prepared to take risks."

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said one of the conditions for his participation was that the homeland issue be placed on the agenda "to show that the issue is not unproblematic".

On the question of violence, Archbishop Tutu said the statement was an acknowledgement in part of a lack of discipline at some levels in black organisations.

## UCT ceremony closed

CAT-Tint 30/11/90  
Staff Reporter 11R (57)

ONLY ticket holders may attend today's graduation ceremony at which the University of Cape Town will confer an honorary law doctorate on ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"We wish to remind the public that admission is by invitation only," UCT's director of public relations, Mr Kendal Jarvis, said yesterday.

Ticket holders were requested to take their seats by not later than 4.15pm, he said.



Mr. Nelson Mandela is hooded by Professor Jakes Gerwel at the University of the Western Cape after receiving a Doctor of Laws degree.

# University honour for Mandela

11A  
Sowetan  
30/11/90

**ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has called on South African universities to re-examine their entry qualifications.**

This was necessary to "reduce the inherited inequities of the past and open the doors of learning to those who are traditionally deprived", Mandela said on Wednesday night.

He was speaking at a special graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape at which an honorary Doctor of Laws degree

was conferred on him by the chancellor, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In awarding the degree, UWC became the first South African university to confer an honorary doctorate on Mandela. He will also be made an honorary Doctor of Laws at an open-air graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town today.

Welcoming more than 4 000 guests at the ceremony, rector Professor Jakes Gerwel said the university would also confer an honorary degree on ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo next year.

Mandela said South African education needed fundamental restructuring to meet the present challenges.

The education that "racist South Africa has foisted on its young" could not serve as a model for a future South Africa.

As South Africa moved away from minority domination to a democracy it was inappropriate that the universities continued to reproduce patterns and practices that would "undermine what we are trying to build". - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Tutu's peace summit makes breakthrough

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

BLACK political and religious leaders emerged from yesterday's historic peace summit declaring they had made a "breakthrough" in the struggle for peace.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who hosted the meeting, called it "extraordinary" and said: "We were amazed at the spirit which prevailed in the meeting."

A joint communique issued at the peace summit's end committed participants to further meetings and indicated consensus on a range of issues.

"We were united in resolving to issue a passionate and urgent call upon all our people to strive for peace," the communique said. It acknowledged some of the violence was the result of political rivalries. The participants appealed to their followers for discipline "in order that we may develop a culture of tolerance".

There was no time to discuss attitudes to negotiations but this item would be on the agenda of the next meeting, according to the communique.

"Despite the short duration of the meeting, we believe it constituted a breakthrough in bringing together a range of leaders who had not previously met.

Participants included the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Transkei, Venda, Lebowa, kaNgwane, Gazankulu and kwaNdebele. A range of church leaders was also present. They declared their commitment to the struggle for the "total liberation of our people".

Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo wanted to but could not attend, Tutu said.

Those who declined the invitation were Bophuthatswana, Qwa Qwa and kwaZulu.



## Pinning down the PAC is a tricky job

W/M ad 30/11-6/12/90 From PAGE 14

(11A)

derella of SA. It is not utilised to its capacity, it has been carried along by subsidies, it is not standing on its own feet in this country. It is not as scientific as it should have been, nor as economical as it should have been."

What about the controversial PAC slogan, "One settler, one bullet"?

"Why should it be important when you say it is a slogan, and not a principle. It is not a principle, it is not even a PAC slogan."

But we have seen it on T-shirts. Does this mean the PAC renounces the slogan?

"No, we are not renouncing anything. But what I am saying is that we can't win a revolution through slogans."

Does this slogan not fan racial hatred?

"It does not say one white settler, one bullet. It says only one settler one bullet ... settler is a non-racial term."

Is the effect of the slogan not to imply a racial call: to shoot the whites?

"As a matter of principle we are opposed to racialism; it is amazing that we can be associated with racism when it comes to this slogan."

Many commentators have predicted that 1990 would be a year of growth and expansion for the PAC, as it capitalises on militant rejection of the ANC's negotiations with the government and its suspension of the armed struggle. The signs so far, however, are that these predictions were probably exaggerated: there is little evidence of a mass membership or large scale structural growth.

Next week's conference will provide an important test of this.



**T**HE African National Congress' draft Bill of Rights has been welcomed by a wide range of legal experts. Even Mr Justice P Olivier, of the South African Law Commission, has given high praise to the drafters of the document and has predicted a "remarkable correspondence" between the commission's final draft Bill of Rights, due to be presented to the state president early next year, and that prepared by the ANC.

In their introductory note, the drafters of the ANC document say that under present South African conditions, a Bill of Rights becomes the fundamental anti-apartheid document.

"It guarantees equal rights for all citizens and defends each and every one of us against the kind of tyranny and abuse which has flowed daily from the apartheid state."

The drafters explain that there is a long background to the Bill, including the Freedom Charter and the 1988 National Executive Committee constitutional guidelines and seminars.

Participants at some of these insisted that the issue of women's rights be treated more extensively and that "vigorous proposals" of social and economic rights should be spelled out.

One of the debates about a Bill of Rights has been whether to include social, economic and educational "rights", as these are not easily enforceable by the courts. The ANC drafters have clearly decided these should be included as they have been in other contemporary human rights documents.

"Our approach has been to identify certain needs as being so basic as to constitute the foundation of human rights claims, namely the rights to nutrition, education, health, shelter, employment and a minimum income."

"In South Africa it is not just a question of dealing with poverty such as you might find in any country, but with responding to the social indignities and inequalities created as a direct result of state policies under apartheid."

"The strategy proposed for achieving the realisation of these rights is to acknowledge them as basic human rights and require the state to devote maximum available resources to their progressive materialisation."

The 14-page document contains 16 main articles, with many sub-clauses.

It reads: "All South Africans are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

"No individual or group shall receive privileges or be subjected to discrimination, domination or abuse on the grounds of race, colour, language, gender, creed, political or other opinion, birth or other status."

"All men and women shall have equal protection under the law."

The language of this first article is

# Right on! Everybody loves the ANC's Bill

W/Mail 30/11 - 6/12/90

The ANC has issued a draft Bill of Rights which will be discussed by members throughout the country before the national consultative conference in mid-December. **CARMEL RICKARD** examines the content of the draft Bill and legal comment on the document



typical of the rest of the Bill — it is written in an accessible style and at every point inclusive language is used.

Commenting on Article Two, Brian Currin of Lawyers for Human Rights said he was "absolutely delighted" to see that the ANC was proposing the abolition of capital punishment — one of the clauses under The Right to Life. "In this the ANC draft Bill is light years ahead of the Law Commission's most recently published document."

Legal experts also welcomed the clear statement under the Right to a Fair Trial that "there shall be no detention without trial", and Currin again said this went further than the Law Commission draft which was "not nearly so unequivocal".

Sixteen clauses deal with ensuring fair trials, one of which states that if an accused is unable to pay for legal representation, and if the interests of justice require it, "the state shall provide or pay for a competent defence".

Under the Right to Judicial Review, the Bill states that anyone adversely affected by an administrative act may go to court to challenge this action on the grounds of "abuse of authority, going beyond the powers granted by law, bad faith or such gross unreasonableness in relation to the procedure or

the decision as to amount to manifest injustice".

Currin said this was a significant move which went beyond the grounds on which administrative decisions could be challenged under present law.

All the legal experts who commented on the Bill noted the Right to Privacy, which bars "interference with private communications, spying on persons, and the compilation and keeping of secret files about them without their consent".

This would only be allowed "as authorised by law in circumstances that would be acceptable in an open and democratic society".

The Bill commits society to a multiparty democracy, a move particularly praised by former kwaZulu cabinet minister Oscar Dhlomo, who is setting up an institute to promote the concept of a multiparty democracy.

As with several similar clauses however, he said the "next hurdle" was to begin the process of educating people on the ground "as the success of this clause depends solely on inculcating these values in people, especially the young ones, who will be our future voters".

Freedom of worship and tolerance of all religions is enshrined but there is to

be "no state or official religion".

Of particular interest is the question of language rights.

The Bill lists all the major languages of the country and says the state should further the development of all these languages.

It appears deliberately vague on the question of an official language, saying: "When it is reasonable to do so, one or more of these languages may be designated as the language to be used for defined purposes at the national level or in any region or area where it is widely used."

Johann van der Westhuizen, director of the Centre for Human Rights Studies at the University of Pretoria, said this appeared to be an attempt to avoid designating an official language, as this ran the risk of reducing the value of other languages. However, he believed this was not really practical and that at some stage, despite the "idealistic" wording of the Bill, a "hard political decision would have to be taken".

There is a lengthy section on workers' rights, five clauses on "gender rights" which outlaw discrimination on the grounds of gender, single parenthood, legitimacy of birth or sexual orientation. It also puts a responsibility on the media, advertising and other social institutions "to discourage sexu-

al and other types of stereotyping".

The rights of disabled people are dealt with, as are those of children.

On the difficult questions of social, educational, economic and welfare rights, Currin believes the drafters have been clever by not establishing clear individual rights, but rather outlining affirmative action which the state must take to provide, for example, equal opportunities.

Care is given to environmental issues in clauses which Van der Westhuizen described as "far more sophisticated than in the Namibian model".

"Positive action" is provided for, including the outlawing of "hate propaganda" — although several experts suggested this could lead to censorship.

There is also concern about ensuring that the rights can be enforced. The courts are to guarantee them while a specially created constitutional court will be created. However, in addition to the courts, the Bill provides for the setting up of a Human Rights Commission, which will have special responsibility for ensuring that basic social, educational, economic and welfare rights are respected.

Finally, the Bill provides for the creation of the office of an ombudsman, who would investigate complaints about abuse of power by any government official.

University of Cape Town professor of Public Law Hugh Corder described the Bill as an "extraordinary document in a positive sense."

"It has achieved a level of detail and has anticipated in a really sophisticated way all kinds of demands and needs of the majority of the country in the future. In its attempt to be comprehensive it is remarkably successful".

In his comment, Olivier said he was "thrilled" by the document and its publication.

He said his law commission had also been working on a draft Bill and that the more who participated in fostering concern for human rights, the better.

He described the ANC document as "excellently drafted".

"There is a remarkable correspondence (between the two Bills) and I would not be surprised from what I know to see even greater correspondence. There may be areas of differences where we cannot agree but I certainly think the general philosophy of what a Bill is and what were are aiming at is much the same."

"I would not expect too many areas of disagreement in the end."

Several of the lawyers asked to comment are preparing their own detailed response of comment, criticism and suggestions to send to the ANC, but they were all agreed that this was a document which made a significant contribution to the debate on a Bill of Rights.

# The slithery business of pinning down the PAC

w/ Mail 30/11/11 - 6/12/190

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**T**HE sign on the door says "Street Collections" and bears a city council insignia. Behind it is the sparse temporary office of the Pan Africanist Congress leadership.

A solitary receptionist sits at a desk in the middle of a room with nothing but a few chairs and a coffee table in it. The office has none of the bustle one would expect at the presidential office of a recently unbanned political organisation preparing for a national conference and boasting huge increases in its membership.

Probing the rhetoric of PAC leaders is not easy, at least partly because the organisation's leaders appear to see little need to answer to the press. The interviewer senses an evasive answer, probes a little closer, and often gets little more than a confirmation that the question is being invaded.

For example, the crucial decision facing next week's congress is how the PAC should react to President FW de Klerk's invitation to negotiate. Is there a debate taking place in the PAC?

"That is hard to answer because I am not involved in the debate. I have made up my mind already. What other people are debating I would not know until the congress," said acting president Miami Clarence Makwetu.

What is his own view?

"My view is that a decision will be made at the congress. A decision will be arrived at there."

Is it a difficult debate?

"I wouldn't say there was much debate. At the same time, I would not say there is less debate. As we deferred the matter to the structures, they are debating it, preparing it for the congress," Makwetu says.

The government has put one stumbling block in the path towards a decision, refusing indemnity to some exiled leaders. Makwetu is adamant, however, that this will not significantly affect the outcome of the congress.

The reason given by the government is the PAC's refusal to renounce armed struggle. Does the PAC still see its armed wing as a major contributor to its struggle?

"As far as we are concerned, any hope of struggle, armed or non-violent, is legitimate at this stage," Makwetu answered.

But there has been scepticism about the PAC's ability to wage armed struggle.

"That is (from) those who are outside the PAC. They have every reason to believe so."

Is the PAC confident that in the future it will be able to sustain a vigorous armed struggle?

"Will there be any need for a vigorous armed struggle when you talk of negotiations?"

The PAC has been unbanned, wants to take part in negotiations and claims a growing mass membership. But what are its policies? **ANTON HARBER** tried to get some answers



Benny Alexander

But the PAC is sceptical about negotiations?

"That is true ... The point I am raising is that the whole world is saying we will be negotiating, so why it should worry them about the armed part of the PAC if there is a possibility of solving this amicably."

A key point of difference between the PAC and its main rival, the African National Congress, has always been land policy, primarily the PAC's demand that "the land be returned to its rightful owner."

Who is the rightful owner?

"The African, who has no land at the moment."

As a white, do I qualify as an African?

"If you don't owe your allegiance to Africa, if you are not prepared to abide by the rule of an African majority, then you are not."

In other words, I am an African.

"I don't know. We have not tested you yet, whether you subscribe to it."

How is this tested?

"We would not do what they do in other countries where they say you stay for five years and then you come and give an oath and swear and thereafter being granted citizenship and regarded as part of that nation with full obligations of voting and everything ... We are talking about a loyalty, a commitment and an attitude which manifests itself in practice."

Does that mean I have to go before a tribunal and say, 'I prove my loyalty because ...'

"It is not a declaration. It is a practice."

And who decides that one is a practicing African?

"The African people decide."

General secretary Benny Alexander expanded on this answer: "In other words, it will reveal itself in certain things; if a person says I am going to leave the country, I am going home, then it is clear. If he says he is a minority — the African is not a minority. You see it is a whole attitude that manifests itself. We define it in a specific way to ensure that Africa is not a continuous happy hunting ground for imperialism. So we are saying that those people of European origin who completely side with the African people, the land, its development, they are African. Those who come to perpetuate imperialism, they are not."

How will the African people decide who belongs. Will this be done through a judiciary, a committee or the government?

"I tell you why it is difficult. You have two nationalisms: African and white, and these groups are building two separate nations. We are talking about a process of building a single nation — that's not a declaration by a law that says you are now one nation; to build one nation needs a programme and a process — and our definition takes cognisance of that reality."

And those who would consider themselves neither African nationalists nor white nationalists?

"You are one or the other, that side or this side."

How does the PAC see the land being returned — through nationalisation?

"Nationalisation is not the only solution. All the possibilities can be employed if we sit down and discuss that issue, but nobody is prepared to sit down and discuss the return of the land."

What would your proposal be if you sat down to discuss it?

"It should be returned to the rightful owners."

How should that happen?

"How was it taken away from them?"

By force?

"Exactly, if we are forced to resort to force, then will will use it."

Alexander adds: "The principle is that land has to be decommodified; because if you leave it commoditised, then its accessibility depends on your financial means."

Do you mean an end to private property?

"Yes, definitely."

The first argument you will hear against this is that this will destroy the agricultural economy.

"It is not true, because that argument is based on the belief that the African is incapable of farming economically. Yet if you look around the country, you will see that the foreman of the farm is African; the owner of the farm is nowhere to be seen, he is in Johannesburg."

Alexander adds: "Agriculture is the Cin-

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# PAC call to rise above 'party bias'

*Sowetan 30/11/90 (11A)*

By SY MAKARINGE

THE West Rand region of the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday called on the Jouberton Civic Association to rise above "party political bias" in order to serve the interests of all residents.

She said it was a misunderstanding that the Jouberton Civic Association was not an affiliate of the ANC.

Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya, interim chairman of the PAC on the West Rand, said in a statement that a civic association should maintain no political leanings if it were to represent residents.

Madzunya was commenting on the apparent breakdown of communication between the PAC and the Jouberton Civic Association as violence between hostel dwellers and Jouberton residents continued.

He said the PAC approached the chairman of the local civic association on Sunday and asked him to convene a meeting of "all interested groups" to address the problem of violence.

## Forum

He said the chairman, Mr Molemela, initially agreed to convene the meeting, but the PAC was dismayed when Molemela later allegedly informed the organisation that the civic association, the police and the African National Congress had established a forum to monitor the situation in the township.

He allegedly told them that the forum was established in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Molemela could not be reached for comment yesterday, but Ms Nomvula Mokonyane, education officer of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, said the association was not affiliated to any political organisation.

# ANC launches branch in east Tvl today

Sowetan  
30/11/90

THE launch of the Eastern Transvaal regional branch of the ANC starts today until Sunday.

The launch will be held at EC Mango College of Education at Kabokweni near White River. Six hundred delegates are expected to attend the congress from 70 branches of the ANC in the region. The present membership is 37 000.

Issues to be discussed will include:

- \* Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes
- \* Secretariat report state of the region
- \* Treasury report
- \* Suspension of armed struggle
- \* Strategies and tactics on the ANC and question of alliances

(11A)

\* Election will take place to determine the new executive committee and thus mark an end to the interim committee. - *Sowetan Reporter*

# Peace pact sealed at Tutu's summit

CAPE TOWN — Black leaders, with the exception of Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and three homeland leaders, agreed yesterday to work together in pursuit of peace. *Biding 30/11/90 (117)*

Leaders of the major liberation movements, including the ANC, PAC and Azapo, churches and several homelands agreed at a summit to urge their followers to strive for peace, to commit themselves to the dismantling of homelands and to consult one another on calls for mass action. They also agreed to meet again to discuss a unified strategy for national negotiations.

Leaders of homelands, with the exception of KwaZulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa which declined to attend,

LESLEY LAMBERT

committed themselves to the dismantling of the homelands in discussions with government on new regional structures.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the convenor and host of the summit held at his official residence, said before it started that the participants supported unity, peace and tolerance.

He said some leaders had principled objections to talking to others, but hoped they would realise that the cost was too high in terms of human lives. He called on those who had turned down the invitation to "examine their motives very carefully".

● Picture: Page 3

# Plea for peace at Tutu summit

CNA-Tubs  
30/11/90  
11A



PEACE TALKS ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu with some of the delegates to yesterday's peace summit held at Bishops court. Picture: BENNY GOOL

By BARRY STREEK  
AN urgent call to end violence within black communities and for "discipline" and tolerance was issued yesterday at the summit of black political, homeland and church leaders.  
After one of the most high-level and diverse meetings of black leaders ever held, the leaders said they wished "to issue an appeal to our followers and our people for discipline in order that we may develop a culture of tolerance."  
"If we cannot establish such a culture, there is a danger of Renamo-type forces developing in our country."  
But in the hard-lined joint statement, they said the

roots of the current violence lay "in more than three centuries of white domination, culminating in the vicious system of apartheid".  
They said they believed a "third force" was stoking violence to sabotage the initiatives towards a democratic society and there was no clearer example of the violent expression of political intolerance "than the death squads of the South African Police and South African Defence Force".  
The significance of the statement is that it was issued jointly by different political groups, such as the ANC, PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the representatives of six homeland govern-

ments and six church leaders.  
Among the participants were the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, the president of Azapo, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, the PAC's Ms Patricia de Lille, the head of Transkei's military government, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the head of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, the president of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Wilfred Napier, and the president of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Khoza Mgojo.  
The convener of the summit, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said the statement showed that the possibility was there for different groupings to talk.  
"Despite the short duration of the meeting, we be-

lieve it constituted a breakthrough in bringing together a range of leaders who had not previously met," the joint statement said.  
The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa governments declined invitations to the summit. The Ciskei government did not send representatives because of a clash of dates.  
Archbishop Tutu has been asked to convene further meetings as soon as possible. He said it was hoped that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would participate in the next meeting.  
Archbishop Tutu stressed that none of the organisa-

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P.T.O.

tions had refused to participate if Chief Buthelezi had agreed to attend the summit and every effort would be made to encourage him to attend future meetings.

"The meeting was concerned quite early on that we were not as representative as we wanted to be," Archbishop Tutu said.

The joint statement said there was no time to discuss the issue of attitudes to negotiations but this, as well as the issue of a constituent assembly, would be on the agenda of the next meeting.

● Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi told Archbishop Tutu it had been "virtually impossible" for him to attend the meeting.

Chief Buthelezi said in a statement that he had declined the invitation after careful consideration.

"My prime concern is the emergence of peace and the normalisation of relationships between black political parties which have been drawn into violent confrontations.

"Violence must cease; killing must cease. I am committed to peace," he said.



**TALKING PEACE . . .** Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets the president of the Azapo, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, and Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, at Bishops court yesterday.

*Appl Times 30/11/90 (11A) (18)*

## Summit security in unionist row

A CITY security firm, previously restrained by the Cape Town Industrial Court from violently threatening trade unionists, was in charge of the security operation code-named "Operation X" at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Bishops court peace summit yesterday.

The firm, Rottweiler Security, was restrained by the court on November 19 from threatening members of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU).

Rottweiler specialises in guard dogs and is frequently employed in the Peninsula.

December 3 was set as the return date in the union's application against the company. — Sapa



**SECURITY . . .** Guards check a car entering Bishops court yesterday.





**Vd Post**  
*Cape Times 30/11/90*  
**miffed at**  
**Mandela's**  
**'cliches'**

MR Nelson Mandela had brought no vision of the future to South Africa, only tired and worn-out cliches, Sir Laurens van der Post said yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, the world-renowned author said he had searched through the speech Mr Mandela made in Cape Town on the day of his release, but nowhere had he found what he had expected to find — a vision, a dream.

"All I heard were slogans and cliches which I had heard already ... the moth-eaten clothes of the spirit," Sir Laurens said.

South Africa was on a "good road" to stability and all its people should help create a new constitution which would guarantee that the abuse of political power never occurred again.

"The road has been presented suddenly and unexpectedly. We must all help Mr (F W) De Klerk to do a decent job. I do believe he needs help from everybody," Sir Laurens said. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

**MESSAGE FOR THE FUTURE . . .** Sir Laurens van der Post during his address to a capacity audience at yesterday's Cape Town Press Club function in the city.

Picture: DANIEL SIMON

# Summit in strong plea for peace, tolerance

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

ARC 45  
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THE biggest gathering of South Africa's black leaders emerged from a day of talks at Bishopscourt with a strong plea for peace, political tolerance and discipline.

They spoke out firmly yesterday against forcing people to join boycotts or stayaways — and political movements — against their will and called on political leaders to cut abuse and acrimony from their public statements.

The 37 men and women, representing 11 major movements and homeland governments, blamed apartheid as the principal source of violence.

But they acknowledged that some violence stemmed from political rivalries and that the right of township residents to make free political choices was denied by intimidation and violent coercion.

ANC, PAC, and Azapo Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action delegations were joined by top-level representatives from the homeland administrations of Transkei, Venda, Lebowa, Kangwane, Kwandebele and Gazankulu.

Inkatha, Ciskei, Bophuthutswana and Qwa Qwa were absent. They had been invited, but Ciskei could not attend and the others declined.

## Pressing issues

In what host Archbishop Desmond Tutu described as a "remarkable" meeting in which "nobody scratched each other's eyes out even though they were sitting within striking distance of each other", the leaders concentrated on two of the most pressing political issues of the day — the future of the homelands and violence.

The search for a united strategy on negotiations, which was on the agenda, has been held over to the next such summit, expected to be held soon.

The meeting issued a joint statement in which it described the discussions as a "breakthrough".

It called on homeland leaders to review their involvement in perpetuating the "balkanisation" of South Africa and to match their commitment to a unitary and democratic South Africa "more urgently, more stridently and within specific time frames".

But the bulk of the statement is devoted to the question of violence. Warning that the "enemies of our people and our struggle for liberation rejoice when they see violence within black communities," the meeting issued a "passionate and urgent call on all our people to strive for peace".

The leaders also acknowledged that some of the violence was the result of political rivalries.

They called on supporters to exercise discipline "in order that we may create a culture of tolerance". Without that there was danger of Renamo-type forces developing in the country.

They called on people to respect the right to make free choices.

# Mandela in Khayelitsha today on first-time tour

AK/US 30/11/90

## Staff Reporters

MR Nelson Mandela will visit Khayelitsha for the first time today.

He will be taken on a tour, stopping at the Lingelethu West resource centre to meet municipal workers and other "battle-weary" residents of the area, according to an African National Congress spokesman.

The scene in the trouble-torn township is likely to be one of rubbish bins overflowing and streets impassable because of sewage spills.

A claim by Lingelethu West Town Clerk Mr Graham Lawrence that the sewerage system was sabotaged has been dismissed by Western Cape Civic Association chairman Mr Michael Mapongwana as an attempt to discredit striking town council workers.

Mr Lawrence alleged that someone blocked the system with cloth and other objects on Wednesday, causing a health risk.

Sewage spilled on to the road in at least two places yesterday as casual workers tried to unblock the drains.

The strikers, members of the South African Municipal Workers' Union, said they would not return to work until the council resigned.

Mr Mapongwana accused Mr Lawrence of making "unfounded allegations" in an attempt to "discredit the workers' struggle".

The sewerage problem had plagued

Khayelitsha for "a long time". This was probably because the system had been constructed with inferior materials, said Mr Mapongwana.

Refuse litters the street in the two-roomed section of the township where the main offices of the Lingelethu Town Council are situated and where strikers gather daily.

At least two streets, Kusasa Road next to Mvusemvuse Comprehensive School and one in U-section in the shack settlement of Site B, have been impassable since Monday because of sewage.

At the start of the strike, workers demanded protection from the council after nine clerical staff were injured in a petrol-bomb attack. Strikers demanded that the council dissolve because attacks on councillors were spilling over to the workers.

The council retaliated by adopting a "no-work-no pay" policy.

Meetings between the Western Cape Civic Association, the ANC, the union and Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring have taken place but have failed to resolve the impasse.

Mr Meiring said he had no power to dissolve the controversial council.

The parties will meet again on Monday.

● Security forces conducted a door-to-door search in Greenpoint, Khayelitsha, yesterday as part of the intensified operation against violence launched by the police and Defence Force this week.



**STRIKE-HIT:** Refuse piles up in the streets of Khayelitsha where workers of the Lingelethu West Town Council are on strike until the council resigns.

# DP slates Govt attitude to ANC

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has told the Government its unconciliatory attitude towards the ANC at grassroots level is the reason for the deterioration of negotiations since earlier this year.

Dr Zach de Beer announced this yesterday after leading a 10-person delegation that met President de Klerk and advisers in Pretoria for talks about negotiations.

## Confidence

He said the delegation had presented the Government with proposals for a facilitator and a transition mechanism to depoliticise the country and create confidence in the transition period.

The Chief Justice should be the facilitator, who, with a committee of non-political "wise persons", should make proposals for the government of the country during the transition period.

The DP also proposed that a referendum or constitutional convention be held to legitimise a new constitution — not a constituent assembly, as proposed by the ANC.

Townships were in crisis over local government, housing, services, finance and health. Black education was in chaos and the relationship between the people and the security forces was "thoroughly unsatisfactory".

While moving towards a new South Africa, the Government could not

afford to maintain apartheid structures. These would have change.

Dr de Beer said the Chief Justice as facilitator and his panel would identify urgent socio-economic tasks, call for proposals for a new constitution and recommend procedures for the drafting of the constitution.

This could include the creation of multiparty working groups to address a wide range of issues. These proposals were a compromise between the ANC and Government positions on a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Dr de Beer said the present Government could not simply hand sovereign power to an appointed group accountable to no one.

On the other hand, all practical measures should be taken to ensure that during the transitional period, government was conducted according to the broad wishes of the people.

## Vital

The DP agreed that the new constitution should be legitimised by the general populace but this should not be done by a constituent assembly which was seen as a government-in-waiting.

It was vital to distinguish the legitimising process from the governing process. Legitimation should take place through a referendum, a suitable constitutional convention or a combination of both.

STATE OF THE NATION *FM 30/11/90*

# MAKE IT SAFE



President F W de Klerk's sunny courage and Nelson Mandela's stature among blacks have often combined this year to offer the country some hope. Whenever the negotiation process — still at the "talks-about-talks" stage — falters, enormous significance is invested in meetings between the two men and their senior advisers.

The pattern was confirmed on Tuesday: as the *FM* went to press, there were high hopes that the latest meeting between De Klerk and Mandela would resolve obstacles such as the definition of "mass action" and the role of the security forces. At the very least, it was hoped that talks would continue.

Whatever the outcome, it has been clear for some time that the gap between what is happening at the top and "out there" has been steadily widening — and this will not be remedied in a few days. Smiles and rhetoric are wearing thin.

On the government side, it is inexplicable that police still resort to ammunition, rubber bullets and birdshot when dealing with demonstrations, instead of teargas, water-cannon, baton charges and sneeze-machines. In addition, after months of tolerance, government appears to have become impatient with protest marches.

Then there have been several chilling incidents of rightwing terror and intimidation. The nastiest was in Louis Trichardt, where white thugs appear to have attacked 300 black children who were on a Sunday School outing in a park. The children's ages ranged from seven to 14; many were injured and some were treated in hospital.

The allegation by a clergyman that the police were present but did nothing, was widely reported. Whether this is entirely accurate is beside the point: the perception that elements of the SAP are not on the side of blacks has been reinforced. Now a consumer boycott of white shops has been called in Louis Trichardt.

The police say they are investigating and there is no reason to believe that they will not attempt to take action. But it is instructive to speculate on the reaction from government if



De Klerk



Mandela

organised black thugs had openly attacked white children on an outing.

Such allegations about police partisanship are too persistent to be ignored. They may be exaggerated or simply wrong in many cases — but they produce perceptions, and politics is more about perceptions than reality. Whatever else De Klerk has achieved, it could all be negated if he does not create the conditions under which people can feel safe.

On the ANC side, there has been an alarming amount of double talk. The approach to black local authorities is a neat example: protestations of non-violent protest in one breath and threats of "destruction" in the next. It is also difficult to take seriously the claim by Mandela that the "slaughter of our people" is simply the work of government agents.

Even sophisticated observers are becoming impatient with the nitpicking by both sides over just who is responsible for the lack of action on exiles and political prisoners.

President De Klerk has to keep moving. Having held the high ground for so long, he could be in danger of losing it.

There are increasing signs of unity among black organisations. The ANC is now involved in formal talks with all homeland leaders and has the support of significant numbers of tribal chieftains. It is moving closer to working links with Azapo, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement. Hopes are high that productive talks will soon take place with Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It would be a sad indictment of the NP if it found itself facing a united black alliance simply because De Klerk could not get his police to do their job — and be *perceived* to be doing it. Above all, there needs to be repeated public acknowledgement from De Klerk, Mandela and their lieutenants that the problems — education, housing, poverty, unemployment, racism — which underlie the violence will be with us for a long time.

Confessions of past sins and handshakes are all very well. What we need is a Churchillian touch, an admission that it's going to be tough for a long time yet.

## TRANSKEI *FM 30/11/90* TENSION SIMMERS

While the most constructive outcome of last week's violent, bungled coup attempt in the Transkei might be the meeting between State President F W de Klerk and Transkei President Tutor Ndumase, it really is military leader Bantu Holomisa to whom they should be talking.

*FM 30/11/90*

Despite relations between Umtata and SA's Department of Foreign Affairs hitting an all-time low this week, an accusation followed counter-accusation with a lot of "off the record" propaganda coming from both sides just to raise the level of hostility, Ndumase does not have executive powers in the Transkei and will not stray far from any briefing he receives from Holomisa's Military Council.

Of more immediate concern is the apparent personal acrimony between Holomisa and SA officials. Events surrounding last week's coup were only a further example of a hostile relationship which has been building up ever since Holomisa decided to go it alone — unbanning and forming a close relationship with the ANC; announcing a referendum on returning to SA; and spending SA taxpayers' money in the way he considered best, contrary to the decisions of the Joint Financial Advisory Committee, which is meant to allocate the Transkei's R1,3bn aid.

The official reason for the bad blood between SA and the Transkei is the spending of this money, according to Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans.

"Our concern is that countries receiving budget aid, from SA taxpayers' money, should administer those funds in a competent and responsible way. These issues have been raised through the proper channels, but we are still alarmed at the way money is spent in the Transkei and the competence of some people in key government departments."

Certainly Holomisa has been spending SA money as he sees fit — a recent example being the increase in civil servants pay. He justified that on the grounds that it was an attempt to bring pay levels on a par with civil servants in other homelands and SA.

There is also little doubt that Transkei's Department of Finance is in serious trouble. A private report on the department says the current skills gap stands at about 90%, and as it presently stands the department cannot do its work.

Valid complaints, no doubt. Yet the former Transkei government, while toeing Pretoria's line and apparently spending at least some of its financial aid as it was told to, also wasted large amounts on bribery, corruption and a couple of outrageous projects. Foreign Affairs complaints did not seem as vocal then.

However, Evans denies there is any vindictiveness on the part of Foreign Affairs towards Transkei.

But another reason for the acrimony is SA's desire to see the Transkei return to civilian rule — something which Holomisa claims he is working towards.

Certainly his reasons for hanging on to

# E PURGE ON HOLD

sible for regulating the use of radio frequencies, introduced fines of R2 000 and R10 000 for people caught using or selling illegal cordless phones. Then, a few months later, it announced that it would approve the sale of cordless phones for the first time, but only 900 MHz devices that met its specifications.

The technology used in these high-frequency products means they are considerably more expensive than the phones which operate on the lower frequencies.

Telephone Manufacturers, the sole supplier of standard telephones to the Post Office, is the only company that has so far been granted approval to sell its 900 MHz cordless phone. The public outcry over the cost of its Uniden phone is understood to have deterred other companies from applying to have other 900 MHz phones approved.

The delegation due to meet Post Office officials this week is expected to challenge claims that 46/49 MHz cordless phones interfere with other radio equipment or impinge on the frequencies used by various emergency services. These phones are used in the UK, US, Canada and Australia as well as SA.

Adding weight to calls for less restrictions in the cordless phone market is DP MP Tony Leon who has slammed the Post Office for its "sod the consumer attitude." Leon, who claims to have used a low-frequency cordless phone for five years, believes the current regulations are unnecessary and ill-conceived. He plans to take up the matter with the minister responsible for the Post Office, Dawie de Villiers.

If the Post Office relents and allows the use of 46/49 MHz cordless phones, it will deliver a severe blow to Telephone Manufacturers. The company, owned by Plessey SA and the local subsidiary of GEC, has spent more than a year preparing to enter the commercial market with the Uniden.

At the time of the launch last month the company expected to sell 10 000 machines in the first 12 months. Marketing manager Peter Johnson says the company is still on course to meet its projections but is negotiating with its local supplier to reduce the cost of the machine. The current landed price of the phone, including import tariffs and surcharges, is about R1 650. ■

## TECHNOLOGY POLICY

### TALKING CHANGE

The AEC is likely to join representatives of business and science in responding to the draft technology policy issued by the Department of Trade & Industry last week.

ANC political committee secretary Mohamed Valli Moosa told delegates at the organisation's technology policy conference in Johannesburg at the weekend that the ANC would react to the draft policy within the next few weeks. The ANC's response is expected to be strongly influenced by the discussion at the conference.

The event, described by Valli Moosa as the ANC's first step in drawing up a technology policy, attracted more than 150 academics and industrialists. They included senior representatives of the SA Chamber of Business, CSIR, Foundation for Research Development and the Atomic Energy Corp, as well as the German Ministry of Research & Technology and the Network of African Scientific Organisations. Thin on the ground, however, were people from outside business and formal research organisations.

Many delegates were surprised that the ANC should bother to include science and technology in its political agenda.

"The mere fact that they are talking about technology is great," says SA Engineering Association president Roy Marcus.

His enthusiasm is understandable. Though the application of technology has a tremendous bearing on industry, employment, education, health care and indeed the whole economy, government is only now acknowledging its importance.

Trade & Industry Minister Kent Durr hopes to establish a formal technology policy by early next year. Until recently, government's main concern was simply to ensure that the country was as self-reliant as possible. Technology spending in the public and private sectors was largely concentrated on armaments, petrochemicals and atomic energy. FIM 30/119D

A far wider and more efficient application of technology is the aim of both government and the ANC. Both stress the implementation of such a policy requires a balance between State and private sector participation — though views on the extent of this partnership are likely to differ considerably.

The details of such policies remain vague.

CSIR president Brian Clark points out, for example, that much of the Trade & Industry document goes over old ground and the real test of its worth will be how it shapes government policy and whether this policy is implemented. 11A

One delegate remarked he had reservations about some recommendations in the Trade & Industry document but was wary of criticising it too sharply for fear that this could scupper government's plans to establish a technology policy.

Then again, much the same could be said of the ANC's initiative. ■