

BLACK POLITICS

1991

JANUARY.

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# Homeless 'told to join ANC'

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Sowetan 2/1/91

**HUNDREDS** of homeless people on the Reef have been told to join the African National Congress in order to be allocated sites at a squatter camp outside Lenasia.

The mushrooming camp - at Lenasia Extension 9, south-west of Soweto - is being administered by executive members of the ANC-aligned Operation Masakhane for the Homeless (Omhle).

Its patron is Mr Andrew Mlangeni, an ANC stalwart.

In an investigation this week, a *Sowetan* reporter who went to the squatter camp under the pretext of looking for a site, was asked by a high-ranking Omhle official if he was a member of the ANC or Inkatha.

**By SY MAKARINGE**

When he replied that he was not a member of either organisation, he was told he either had to apply for an ANC membership card or give an undertaking that he would commit himself to the organisation's "revolutionary activities". The activities, according to her, included marches, formation of defence units and participation in ANC meetings.

## **Never**

The woman, who wore a woolen belt in ANC colours around her waist, stressed that Inkatha members would never be allocated sites in the area because they were "reactionaries". She did not make any mention of members of organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

"We don't charge rent here because this forms part of our struggle. I'm not a card-carrying member myself, but I engage in all ANC activities," she said.

The investigation was carried out after a Tshiwelo man who wanted a site at the camp was asked by an Omhle official if he was a card-carrying member of the ANC.

He said when he told the man he was not in possession of a membership card, he was asked to apply for one.

Reacting to the investigation, Mlangeni said he did not subscribe to the attitude because it was not only ANC members who were homeless, but also people who belonged to other organisations and those who were apolitical.

# Release of Mandela 'topped the bill' in 1990

B/D am  
2/11/90

TIM COHEN

11A

THE release of Nelson Mandela was the most important event of 1990 because it marked the start of the "irreversible dismantling of apartheid", US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said this week.

Cohen said in an interview with a staff member of the US Information Service that SA society would probably be transformed within the next two years.

Speaking during a traditional year-end review of the events of the past year, Cohen said: "Already when one visits SA, one finds a very much more open society than existed even a year ago."

He said this "great advance" would form the basis for a negotiated settlement.

But he also voiced concern about "disturbing trends" like "communal violence" and government's tardiness in releasing political prisoners.

"But I think all of these are details that will be worked out and negotiations should begin in 1991 in earnest."

The US would continue to encourage democracy in Africa and was gratified to see that a number of governments were beginning to move away from one-party systems.

Economic reform, which had been advancing in Africa for the past five to 10 years, was also continuing, he said.

The US would place the "highest priority" on economic assistance programmes which focus on structural adjustment and economic reform.

He said the UN was playing an increasingly large role in US foreign policy, adding that the votes of African countries had been decisive in many cases.

The US was calling on the UN more and more to solve difficult problems, he said.

Africa, which has a large number of votes in the General Assembly and will always have three seats on the Security Council, would be important in the US's growing effort to utilise the UN to solve difficult international problems, Cohen said.

# Cast reaffirms commitment to mass action

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal in a New Year's message yesterday reiterated its commitment to mass action and vowed to step up its campaign to force black councillors to resign. (11A) (11A)

Responding to State President FW de Klerk's New Year message calling for an end to mass action, Cast assistant general-secretary Cas Coovadia said: "We reserve the right to mobilise our people to mass action so long as apartheid is alive and people's day-to-day lives remain unchanged."

"We also believe that the actions of our people have brought about the change that has occurred and we will ensure their continued participation in the process of change through mass action."

Cast added that President de Klerk's claim that local government was being disrupted through mass action "sounds hollow." *Sowetan 3/1/91*

"It is our contention that local government was disrupted when the state forced their puppets onto our people and we believe we are now beginning to normalise local government by pressurising councillors and management committee members to resign."

*Sapa*

# ANC link clouds US health mission to SA

By Ramsay Milne  
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A 17-day mission by two senior Bush administration officials to eight African nations, including South Africa, to combat the health problems of millions of children, has got off to a controversial start.

This follows the disclosure that the top-level group plans to have talks with the African National Congress but with no other black or non-government groups in South Africa.

The delegation is headed by Secretary of Health Louis Sullivan, who is a member of the Bush Cabinet, and Ronald Roskens, head of the US Agency for International Development.

Though the mission has no political objectives, it is the first Cabinet-level group to visit South Africa since the recent visits by the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman

Star 3/11/91  
Cohen.

Mr Bush announced at the United Nations World Summit for Children in New York on September 30 that he would send Mr Sullivan and Dr Roskens to Africa to help determine what "America can do to advance child survival across that continent and across the world".

They will administer an estimated \$80 million (about R200 million) for child survival and health-related activities in Africa, including Aids and its effect on mothers and children, plus an estimated R200 million for family planning activities.

## Excluded

It is the kind of US assistance from which South Africa has in the past been excluded.

But some observers say the visit is clouded by the plans, agreed to by South African Government officials in Pretoria and the US Embassy, for the group to hold official talks with Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders, without also seeing members of other black, col-

oured or Indian communities.

Other criticism expressed of the visit is that by agreeing to meet the ANC (after initial talks with senior South African Government officials) the delegation might be seen to be signalling a future course of US diplomacy — to recognise the ANC as the main or sole organization representing South African blacks.

US spokesmen brushed aside these criticisms today, however, with John Gibbons, a spokesman at Mr Sullivan's Washington office, saying: "There just isn't enough time for Mr Sullivan and Dr Roskens to see everyone."

He pointed out that the mission, which will be in Johannesburg and Pretoria on January 13-14 and in Cape Town on January 14-15, will be visiting health institutions and clinics, besides holding talks with Government officials.

Other countries to be visited include Mali, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Uganda, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Senegal. The delegation leaves Washington tomorrow.

# PAC claims 'just propaganda'

CLAIMS by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) of armed "shock and awe" operations against SA's security forces over Christmas were simply "another propaganda ploy", a police public relations division spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

The SAP was reacting to a Press report from Harare which credited Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, with four military operations carried out between December 23 and 30.

Sapa reported Apla had claimed at least three security force members died and five were injured in one of the attacks.

The Harare report carried a statement from Dar es Salaam, signed by Apla political commissar Romeo Daniels, which said the attacks were carried out in

MATTHEW CURTIN

Soshanguve (Pretoria), Zwide (Cape), Despatch (between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage) and Inanda (Durban).

The statement gave no further details of losses or injuries in the other incidents, except to claim Apla forces "wiped out" security force members in the Soshanguve operation of December 23.

The police spokesman said in a statement the report was pure propaganda and similar to statements issued in the past which "nobody can be expected to take seriously."

"Incidents in which policemen have been killed and injured are a matter of public record. Their version of the terrorist attack

in Zwide on 26 December is an example of their false propaganda — no policemen were killed.

"The report of an 'operation' in Soshanguve is the figment of somebody's fertile imagination. We have no record of such an incident."

He said there could be no question of any fighting in terrorist attacks reported by the police.

The attacks had been "cowardly hit and run acts and cannot be dignified by the term 'fighting'".

The Apla statement added that the commander of the Soshanguve operation died during an exchange between his unit and the SA security forces.

It named him as Ephraim Tlhabakwe, from Tladi in Soweto.

# PAC man hacked to death by ANC

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A 23-year-old member of the Komga branch of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Thembaletu Rasmeni, was hacked to death by African National Congress members on New Year's Day in Qumrha township.

Police said yesterday Qumrha residents assaulted and killed Mr Rasmeni before mobilising to attack a PAC squatter camp.

They said the intervention of the police defused the situation and the residents turned back. Extra police patrols have been deployed in the township.

A spokesman for the ANC branch, Mr Christopher Mitchell, said yesterday Mr Rasmeni had been killed with "every sort of weapon" the ANC members had.

He said the branch leadership opposed the killing, but had been unable to do anything to stop it.

The township residents are involved in a consumer boycott of the town's white-owned businesses. Their water and electricity has been cut off by the Cape Provincial Administration. They claim PAC members have been given preferential treatment by township administrator Mr Royden Thompson, who has been called upon to resign.

# 'MK involved in robberies'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Southern Africa correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmoed-Römer Heitman, said members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are involved in the recent wave of armed robberies in the country.

Mr Heitman said the most important reason was to raise funds for MK's activities.

He did not exclude the possibility that some MK members were

acting independently to fill their own pockets.

Armed robberies were not likely to be welcomed by the ANC leadership, because they could undermine the organisation's image, Mr Heitman said.

He said it was easy to bring AK-47 rifles into South Africa.

He pointed out that these weapons, which were predominantly being used for armed attacks, were readily available in Mozambique and it was practically im-

possible for the security forces to patrol South Africa's borders.

The ANC has said it is "simplistic to place the source of such weapons at the door of the ANC".

The police and army have large arsenals of captured or confiscated AK-47s, and there had also been reports of extensive gun-running to Mozambique and Swaziland, the organisation said.

Some of the weapons had been in South Africa for some time. — Sapa

CAP  
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# ANC to meet in Bulawayo (11A)

*Sowetan 4/1/91*  
HARARE - The African National Congress is to hold a public meeting in Bulawayo on Sunday in conjunction with Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF), the Ziana news agency reports.

ANC chief representative in Zimbabwe Mr. Max Mlonyeni will report back on last month's ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg.

The meeting, which will be at the

MacDonald Hall in Mzilikazi, is being held to mark the 79th anniversary of the founding of the ANC on January 8 1912.

Zanu (PF) external relations secretary Mr. Stephen Nkomo is expected to address the meeting - which will be open to the public - alongside Mlonyeni, who last month returned to South Africa for the first time in 30 years to attend the ANC conference. - *Sapa*.

NEGOTIATIONS FM 4/1/91  
**BRIDGES TOO FAR** (11A)

**Criticism levelled** at the ANC leadership during the organisation's mid-December conference was a clear indication that the ANC leadership is out of touch with its more militant membership.

Analyst Gary van Staden, of the Institute for International Affairs, believes the ANC's hands are now tied with regard to further concessions and that, though it has stuck to the terms of the Pretoria Minute, it has reason to question the bona fides of government, in particular the security establishment.

An analysis of the Pretoria Minute illustrates some of the reasons why conflict has arisen over interpretation.

In terms of the minute, indemnities "which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from October 1 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990."

But government then went into a lengthy process of defining indemnities and requiring exiles to complete details of their alleged offences.

The document explaining this process was released by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee on November 2 — a month after the first indemnities should have been granted. This document and the provisions regarding the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles have caused grave concern and dissent among ANC members.

The release of political prisoners "which can be dealt with administratively will start on September 1 1990," the minute reads. However, government decided that this, too, was a matter for further nitpicking.

Sixty-six prisoners were released — the last in the first week of October — before

this process was stopped and all political prisoners were required to complete indemnity forms.

It is paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute which has aroused the greatest controversy: "In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect.

"As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will take place."

Government seems to have taken this to mean that the ANC has suspended the armed struggle, mass action, stayaways and consumer boycotts. The ANC says the suspension of "armed action" means the cessation of bombings and assassinations of members of the security forces — which it had already curtailed from its unbanning on February 2.

"Armed struggle," however, is seen as the full spectrum of ANC military activity, from the recruitment and training of guerillas to their eventual deployment and participation in armed action when not suspended.

If the violence continues, the ANC will find itself continually destabilised by those who see an armed response as the only way to take the political initiative.

Mass action will also form a major political campaign. This could be defused if protests are allowed to take place unhindered. Last year proved that people quickly tire of marches, but there is nothing like the prevention of marches for making them more attractive.



De Klerk

What positive outcomes have there been of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes?

The ANC/police liaison communication links, established in terms of the Groote

Schuur Minute, do work. On several occasions, the ANC has contacted the security forces with information about planned attacks in several areas and the security forces have responded promptly and in a low-key but thorough fashion. However, the positive benefits of this co-operation have not yet filtered down to the rank and file of the police force or those in the townships.

President F W de Klerk fulfilled paragraph six of the Pretoria Minute when he lifted the State of Emergency in Natal on October 18. He has also begun repealing some sections of the Internal Security Act — which the ANC wants repealed in its entirety — in terms of the minute.

Meetings involving senior government and ANC members, however fruitful in theory, will mean nothing if the central issues are not addressed: stopping the violence and providing access to land and resources. ■

# Will this man be able to end the Natal strife?

Jacob Zuma, the African National Congress's intelligence chief and chairman of its southern Natal region, faces a tough task in the year ahead.

Apart from his position as a member of the ANC team in its talks with President F W de Klerk, Mr Zuma has set himself the goal of ending the strife in Natal between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists.

A bearded man, with a warm smile and leonine head, the softly-spoken Mr Zuma has the reputation of being a skillful negotiator. He will need all the skills he has acquired to end the internecine war in Natal.

The war, which started soon after the formation of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front in 1983 and which escalated sharply in mid-1987, seems to have acquired the self-perpetuating impetus of a Sicilian feud.

Squeezing in time for an interview between appointments on his busy schedule, Mr Zuma says: "The violence in Natal has be-

## STAY STILL! PATRICK LAURENCE

come an urgent question. It is a priority issue. It is important to stop the violence in Natal ... to see how we can achieve peace."

As intelligence chief of the ANC Mr Zuma must know how strong feelings run over the conflict and how difficult it will be to excise the festering hatred and bitterness after more than 3 000 deaths.

He must know, too, that it was a quest which the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, temporarily abandoned after his visit to Natal in March last year and his discovery of the depth of antipathy towards the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in pro-ANC communities.

Mr Zuma's style, however, is that of a diplomat: he approaches tricky situations positively but not with facile optimism. He has obviously pondered long and hard on the problem.

His mother, it becomes apparent as he talks, was a powerful influence in his life. She was



**JACOB ZUMA: ANC's chairman of southern Natal region.**

known to her Zulu friends as "No-kubhekisisa," meaning, Mr Zuma explains, "a person who looks at things thoroughly".

Mr Zuma has imbibed his mother's thoroughness. He is not intel-

ligence chief of the ANC for nothing.

"We expect all political organisations in the area, all important sectors of society, all community organisations, to put their heads together," he says.

He has had some success already: the Lower Umfolozi Accord, an agreement to uphold the peace signed last September by the ANC, Inkatha, Cosatu, the SAP and the KwaZulu Police.

Mr Zuma, who was sent to Natal last year as the leader of an ANC team whose mission was to seek peace, denies that the initiative has since stalled irrevocably.

Diplomatic observers have blamed Harry Gwala, chairman of the ANC's Natal Midland's region, for "unilaterally suspending" the peace talks. The refer to him scathingly as a hardline "Stalinist".

Mr Zuma, who contends the talks were postponed rather than suspended, remains confident that the Umfolozi Accord will serve as a prelude to a full meeting be-

tween the ANC national executive committee and Inkatha's central committee.

The pending meeting will bring Mr Mandela face-to-face with Chief Buthelezi and, hopefully for the sake of peace, lead to a joint commitment to peace and mutual tolerance.

Mr Zuma, the son of a policeman who hails from Nkandla in the heart of Zululand, speaks positively: "There is a standing decision by the ANC national executive that the meeting will take place. Everything is on course. All that has not been finalised is the date."

He skillfully parries questions which he does not want to answer, smiling broadly as he does so to avoid giving offence.

He politely declines to say whether he has met Chief Buthelezi. "I know Buthelezi," he replies enigmatically. One is left with the impression that he has made it his business to find out about Buthelezi the man as well as Buthelezi the politician.

Unlike some of his ANC colleagues, who are apt to portray their personal feelings on Chief Buthelezi, Mr Zuma gives nothing away, either verbally or by gesture.

He alludes to the common ground between the ANC and Inkatha, hinting that it may facilitate attainment of an accord at national level. He refuses to elaborate, however.

"Buthelezi used to be a member of the ANC," he recalls, adding: "When Inkatha was established, it was not unknown to the ANC."

It is common knowledge that relations were cordial between the ANC and Inkatha for the first five years of Inkatha's existence after its formation in 1975 and that the two movements saw eye-to-eye on many issues.

Like a good diplomat, one senses, Mr Zuma will use points of agreement to lay the foundations of the hoped-for accord. Like a good intelligence man, he gives little away, least of all about intelligence operations.

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11/19/91

Sunday Times Reporter

It had to be one of those silly season stories. People in the ANC camp were adamant Nelson Mandela had met President F W de Klerk on Friday. And the president's men were emphatic he had not.

The intrigue began when members of Mr Mandela's family reported that the ANC deputy president had left at dawn on Friday to meet Mr De Klerk and returned late that night.

Calls to the homes of two top ANC officials elicited the answer that they, too, had gone to see the president.

Other sources claimed the ANC's national executive met yesterday to hear a "report back".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus offered a terse "no comment" from the ANC's headquarters.

### Bewildered

Yet there was Joe Slovo, Communist Party general-secretary, making tea in one room, and the NEC's Jacob Zuma standing guard outside the office with Mr Mandela's bodyguard.

Meanwhile, the news of a meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela was greeted with bewilderment in Pretoria.

The president's private secretary, Henning Van Wyk, said he had spoken to him on Friday and had assumed he was still on holiday at Hermanus. He had also spoken to Mr Mandela at 6.15pm — and he seemed to be in Johannesburg.

There is certainly enough for Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela to talk about — Operation Sentry, matric pass rates and possible round-table conferences.

Maybe they did.

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THE immediate challenge of 1991 is to begin drafting the new South African constitution.

The ANC, supported by other "liberation movements", has to some extent pre-empted this task by insisting on two procedures — an interim government and a constituent assembly. President F W de Klerk has flatly refused.

Both these issues must be resolved before the task of framing the constitution can begin.

The ANC's position on the interim government runs something like this:

- The present government cannot be both referee and player. If it is to be a major participant in framing the constitution, it cannot at the same time have the levers of power exclusively in its own hands because this would enable it to exert undue influence on the process.

- In any case, the present government can no longer be regarded as legitimate since it represents only the white people, whereas in the new South Africa all adults will have the vote.

Taking the first point, the government certainly may not be both referee and player if there is to be public confidence in the result.

## Unfettered

But nor could it make sense for the government to shut up shop and hand over the keys of the Union Buildings to some arbitrarily assembled group of people, put together by only an ad hoc procedure, accountable to no one and subject to no proper constitutional rules.

One need only ask: what would happen if such an interim government reached a deadlock on a matter of importance and ceased to function? How could the situation be resolved? What would take its place? The risk of anarchy would be great.

It seems clear that the present government, which was elected by a defined process, which was legal though many of us thought it undesirable, has to continue to run the country while negotiations take place. But, if the negotiations are to succeed, the government must not seek to

# Why we need referee to keep constitutional ball in play

STimes 6/1/91

11A  
Zach



The impasse over the ANC's demand for an interim government can be resolved, says ZACH DE BEER

manage the negotiations as well as run the country.

- Two things must be done: Some neutral person or body must be appointed to play the role which the British played in Zimbabwe and the United Nations in Namibia — to arrange meetings, establish procedures and generally guide the process.

- The government must consult with the "liberation movements" and arrange for the appointment of a number of "transition commissions", each comprising its own members together with representatives of the movements. These commissions, each dealing with a major aspect of government, should be meaningfully involved in the administration of the country.

In this way, the Nationalist government itself could gradual-

ly take a back seat without actually going out of existence. Legal continuity would be preserved, and at least a substantial measure of legitimacy achieved. Perhaps, too, people would learn to work together, and the foundations for a future coalition government might be laid.

If these steps are taken, the two arguments of the ANC, noted above, will be substantially met, while the country as a whole will have embarked upon the process of transition.

Even more difficult than the issue of the interim government is that of the proposed constituent assembly. The details of the ANC proposal (again supported by the PAC, Azapo and others) are not altogether clear, but it seems they wish to see a one person, one vote election held

now, or soon, to choose an assembly which would have unfettered power to frame a constitution which would then become the basic law of the new South Africa.

This proposal seeks to draw on the precedent of Namibia, where such an election was held in terms of UN Resolution 435, and where a constituent assembly was chosen, which approved a constitution and then simply converted itself into the first parliament of the country. The proposal does, of course, also rest on the justifiable proposition that, ultimately, the new constitution can only be legitimated by the vote of the people of the country.

As against this, the following arguments have been raised by the NP, the DP and others:

## Thorough

- A general election held now or soon would have little or nothing to do with constitutional issues, such as a Bill of Rights or proportional representation. It would be simply a contest between parties for power.

The effect on the nation would be divisive and it certainly could not be claimed that the election

had legitimated any constitution, since the constitution would not exist when the election was held.

- Under no circumstances can an elected constituent assembly be regarded as a government-in-waiting. The election of a government must follow the adoption of a new constitution, not precede it, and it must take place according to the rules the new constitution lays down.

- Namibia is no precedent. Namibia was never a sovereign state. The constituent assembly operated under the rules and supervision of the United Nations. In particular, it could only take decisions by an exceptionally large majority.

In any case, as Dirk Mudge has pointed out many times: "We did not write the constitution in a few months in the constituent assembly. We wrote it during many years, in the hearts of the people."

In other words, if there is ever to be a constituent assembly, or a constitutional conference, or a national convention, it should be established after the issues involved have been thoroughly debated, not before.

- There has to be legal continuity. Ultimately, the present parliament of the republic must enact the new constitution because it is the only body with the legal authority to do so. This is where South Africa differs entirely from Zimbabwe and Namibia.

## Necessary

Of course, it would be extremely unwise and wrong for parliament to tamper with the document produced by the representatives of the people. The House of Commons did not interfere in any way with the terms of the Act of Union of 1910. Nor did it seek to alter the Lancaster House agreement in the case of Zimbabwe.

The function of parliament in this process is essentially that of a rubber stamp: but it is absolutely necessary if good law is to be preserved.

To put it bluntly, whatever negotiating body takes responsibility for the drafting of the constitution must be strictly advis-

ory to parliament. It usurp sovereignty. However, parliament would be extremely unwise to alter its recommendations.

- It is absolutely correct that the new constitution will require the consent of the people. All the people must vote, and a majority — hopefully a decisive majority — must approve the new constitution prior to the parliamentary vote.

This could be done either indirectly — through the election by the people of a special assembly which then votes in favour of the constitution or directly, through the submission of the document to the people at a referendum for their approval or rejection.

If there is a better way to solve these problems I look forward to hearing about it.

● Dr Zach de Beer is the leader of the Democratic Party

THE way Namibia handled the independence process, which led to a constituent assembly and a multi-party democracy, was of considerable interest to the ANC, the organisation's representative in Windhoek, Abbey Chikane, said this week.

"In South Africa, with its 30 million people and numerous political parties, we will also have to have a multi-party system. The ANC will be prepared to govern with any other party with proven support - including the National Party. This would be a good example of a multi-party democracy."

He said the South African Government's resistance to the election of a constituent assembly could cause considerable tension.

Chikane, brother of South African Council of Churches general secretary Reverend Frank Chikane, said the ANC could learn much from the experience of Swapo, which had exchanged the gun for a political platform before the ANC could.

The ANC was in the fortunate position of being able to learn from the experiences and mistakes of all liberated African countries.

To counter white fears, the cultures of all groups would have to be protected by the constitution.

The Namibian example and economic mistakes of other countries had persuaded the ANC that a pragmatic approach would be needed, but one which would still tackle the economic plight of the disadvantaged.

The ANC would implement its policy of nationalisation diplomatically, not ideologically, with the particular aim of improving the quality of life among black people.

"We believe government should control 30 percent of trade and industry to obtain enough funds for more schools and an improvement in living standards. We will not nationalise that portion, but will get the business community involved."

Chikane said the ANC would probably adopt Swapo's ideas on national reconciliation: "It enabled them to start building a new nation."

Swapo's transformation from a liberation movement to a political party and the manner of the return of Namibian exiles were also examples the ANC could follow.

A negative aspect from which the ANC could learn was the Swapo Government's difficulty in meeting the high expectations of its supporters.

"South Africa also cannot avoid this problem, which has to be solved over a period of years. The only solution is to explain the problems to the people."

Chikane said the ANC was very concerned about the many black youths who gave up their schooling to participate in the liberation struggle. A large number were now unemployed and untrained.

"We are asking the business community and the international community to assist the new government in South Africa in solving the problems of unemployment and illiteracy. The ANC's responsibility is to make people aware of the new political realities and to reorientate them."

The ANC was also concerned about rightwing resistance to change. President FW de Klerk's government had to isolate extremist elements like the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, Chikane said.

# DO IT THE SWAPO WAY, SAYS ANC

Open 6/1/91

# ANC 'not responsible'

C/D Press 6/11/91

11A

The ANC has refuted PAC allegations that it was responsible for violence in the West Rand township of Munsieville and has accused the PAC of "cold-shouldering" attempts by the ANC to resolve the matter.

Earlier, the PAC accused Munsieville ANC supporters of attacking its members recently and driving over 70 PAC supporters from the township.

According to the chairman of Munsieville PAC branch, Robert Mangope, ANC supporters began attacking PAC members in April last year after Munsieville was declared an "ANC-liberated zone" in March.

A PAC spokesman, Popo Mvulane, said the ANC had delivered resolutions to the PAC in Munsieville stating:

■ PAC members could stay in Munsieville on condition the PAC leadership stayed out of the area;

■ Munsieville was too small for two political groups;

■ The ANC was to be the only oper-

ational one;

■ Munsieville PAC members should retire from politics;

■ The ANC did not have funds to finance repairs to damages caused in clashes with the PAC. Mvulane added that this was a well-organised and planned move to "commit genocide" against the PAC.

Denying the allegations, the ANC said its position on all outbreaks of violence had been:

■ Getting local structures to work at attaining peace on the ground. In this regard "the local PAC structure has been consistent in not turning up for meetings to discuss the violence, the last such attempt being on New Year's Eve";

■ To convey the message that all parties must be guided by political tolerance; and

■ Attempting to unite all anti-apartheid forces to "fight the system which oppresses us". - Sapa

# Patriotic Front just more pie in the sky?

"PATRIOTIC Front" is the latest buzzword to find its way into our political vocabulary.

After years of bitter mudslinging and even physical violence, the old "enemies" seem to be beginning to see the futility of their differences and are now talking about unity.

"Patriotic Front" is a term which has in recent months found fashion with most political organisations, principally the country's three major liberation movements - the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

Even the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is not regarded as being on the left of the ruling party, has more than once expressed the need for all black political organisations to unite.

Unity among the diverse black political formations in the country is nothing new. It was tried soon after the banning of the PAC and the ANC in 1960 and Steve Biko also made valiant efforts towards this goal during the heyday of the Black Consciousness Movement.

The Patriotic Front or, as some prefer calling it, Unity in Action, has always foundered because of the bitter mudslinging

## Formidable problems block road to unity

between the very parties trying to inch towards each other.

The reasons for this lack of unity are many and have been well-documented. Some political organisations adopted the moral high ground and spoke grandly about "principled unity" and not unity for its own sake. This was a constant theme of the PAC:

The ANC, which believed it occupied centre stage, was always derisive of overtures from the PAC for unity. As far as some of their members were concerned, the PAC existed in name only.

Inkatha was much maligned by all. It was perceived to be a government creation. Azapo was regarded as inconsequential - strong on high-sounding theories, but lacking activity on the ground.

Suddenly all these opponents seem to be moving closer together. There is discernible lessening of the vitriol which was used against each other. Inkatha and the ANC are working together to bring about peace in Natal.

Azapo and the ANC have held joint rallies in Kroonstad to bring about peace among their warring factions. There is a tripartite grouping comprising Azapo, the PAC and the ANC who are trying to resolve problems in Bekkersdal on the West Rand.

The ANC, Azapo and Inkatha were represented at the funeral of the late PAC president Zephanih Mothopeng. Last week the funeral of a former

sational fighting, particularly between the ANC and Inkatha, has claimed over 1 000 lives in the past six months in the Transvaal alone.

Against so much bloodshed and the enmity this has created, what hope is there for a Patriotic Front? Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela are still finding it difficult to meet.

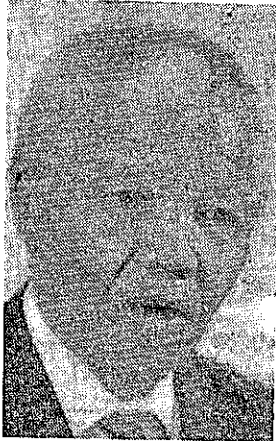
The difficulties in forging a Patriotic Front are further complicated by ideological differences between these groupings.

Whereas the difference between Inkatha and the rest is easily identifiable - Inkatha believes in free enterprise and a Western style democracy - one enters a murkier world when trying to explain in simple terms the differences between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

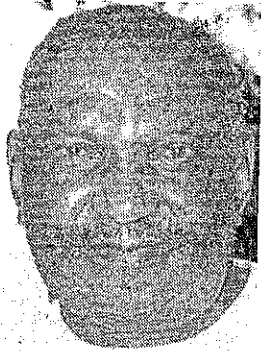
The problems facing any envisaged Patriotic Front are far more formidable than those which existed when Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union came together.

Much as the ANC, PAC Azapo and Inkatha talk about the need for a Patriotic Front, it is likely to remain just that - talk and nothing else.

Do all these things prestage the departing of previous ways of doing things separately, of engaging in verbal attacks and at times killing each other? The answer would seem to be yes and no. While there seems to be some kind of rapport among these organisations on a number of issues, it is worth remembering that inter-organisational



Nelson Mandela ... still finding it difficult to meet Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



Zeph Mothopeng ... ANC, Azapo and Inkatha were represented at his funeral.



# PAC-ANC ALLIANCE IN TROUBLE

SITimes 6/1/91

Sunday Times Reporters

THE commitment by the ANC and the PAC to a united political front may be under threat after a bloody clash in the Eastern Cape left one man dead and tempers at flashpoint.

The PAC denounced the death of Them-balethu Rasmeni, 23, in the newest outbreak of a bloody feud between the two major liberation movements in Komgha

on Monday, as "an act of barbarism".

Unlike much of the Eastern Cape where the PAC and its affiliated organisations have been subdued in vicious clashes over the past five years, Komgha has shown a strong and possibly growing PAC presence.

The militant profile of the PAC — which has made wildly exaggerated claims of successful attacks on the police in the past few weeks — has broad appeal, particularly in the light of souring exchanges between the ANC and Pretoria.

In December, the PAC's new president, Clarence Makwetu, rejected the government's invitation to take part in constitutional negotiations and commit-

ted the movement to forming a united front with the ANC.

But the fundamental differences in approach between the two organisations — which contributed to the renewed bloodshed in Komgha this week — may make a significant political linkage impossible to achieve.

The Komgha violence dates back to last October, when ANC members allegedly attacked the homes of several PAC members.

Meanwhile, the PAC has accused ANC members in the West Rand township of Munsieville of systematically attacking its members and driving more than 70 PAC supporters — including the entire Munsieville leadership — out of the area.

According to the chairman of the Munsieville PAC branch, Robert Mangope, ANC supporters began attacking PAC members in April last year, a month after Munsieville was declared an "ANC liberated zone".

Munsieville's PAC pub-

licity secretary, Basner Ngceba, said the ANC leadership — including deputy president Nelson Mandela — had been contacted regarding the violence, but nothing had been done to stop it.

But the ANC denied the allegation, saying the PAC had spurned attempts by its local leadership to resolve the matter.

However, the ANC said it would not stand in the way of PAC members who had fled the area but now wished to return.

# There are no loose guns here, says ANC

THE ANC's chief spokesman Gill Marcus has denied any knowledge of the misuse of weapons by members of the organisation.

This follows a statement by the ANC that Umkhonto we Sizwe members were "disciplined and belonged to a legal organisation".

Where there had been violations of discipline regarding weapons, the necessary measures had been taken, she said.

The statement was issued in response to a new government plan to crack down on crime by offering

*St Times 6/1/91*  
vastly increased rewards for the capture of illegal weapons particularly AK-47s.

The ANC said the campaign was aimed at using the "cloak of security to attack the ANC".

Miss Marcus said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was "irresponsible" in blaming the ANC for crime.

"Asking people to inform on arms caches and offering substantial rewards is asking them to inform on themselves. But we aren't afraid of bribes — they haven't proved

successful in the past," she said.

The organisation has said the weapons mentioned by the minister were "hardly typical weapons used in crimes".

Miss Marcus said she was unaware of any instances in South Africa where the ANC had been involved in criminal actions. If that were to happen the organisation would deal with the offender.

"If anyone used weapons in a situation which was not part of an operation, steps would be taken against the individual."

# 'New constitution by 1991'

South 17/11 - 23/1/91

11A

## ANC wants transfer of power to the people, says Mbeki

SOUTH Africa could have a new constitution within a year.

This is the view of Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC's department of International Affairs.

Mbeki told a militant crowd of more than 800 people who jam-packed the Woodstock Town Hall on Tuesday night that a new constitution might be drawn up within the next year and the opening of parliament next month would be the "last white parliament".

He said the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly was "put on the agenda by the people" in the same way that mass struggles had brought the government to the negotiating table.



POINTING THE WAY FORWARD! Thabo Mbeki at the Woodstock meeting this week

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

South 17/11 - 23/1/91 11A

Mbeki, a veteran of the international diplomatic circuit, identified the installation of an interim government while a constitution was being drawn up as "critical", saying the National Party could not be expected to preside over its own demise.

He said the ANC's aim continued to be the "transfer of power to the people".

In response to a question from the

floor, Mbeki said the ANC believed political groups should have a proven mandate.

"Let the people decide who genuinely represents their interests," he said.

Mbeki said the ANC wanted to see peace in the Middle East.

It opposed the involvement of the United States in Iraq since the USA had itself frequently been an aggressor in

world affairs.

The charismatic chairperson of the Cape Town branch of the South African Municipal Workers Union (Samwu), Mr Salie Manie, told the audience that democratic processes were essential for mass based organisations.

Manie said it was essential for people to organise and to ensure that organisations were not just "empty shells".

# Azapo's new leader 'a tower' Steeled in furnace of the struggle

118  
Sowetan  
7/1/91

AZAPO'S new president, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, is called a "tower" by his comrades in the Black Consciousness Movement and it is not an accolade misplaced.

Nefolovhodwe (43) was elected at Azapo's 10th annual congress in Cape Town about two weeks ago. He succeeds Professor Itumeleng Mosala who has since taken a lecturing post at the University of Cambridge in the UK.

Barrel-chested Nefolovhodwe has been steeled in the furnace of struggle from 1969 when he enrolled at the University of the North as a BSc student.

Nefolovhodwe, of rural peasant parents, was born in February 1947 at Folovhodwe near the Zimbabwe border in the Northern Transvaal. He matriculated at the Venda Training Institute in 1968. The following year he became active in student politics and with other activists like Steve Biko, Harry Nengwekhulu, Strini Moodley and Saths Cooper, they moulded the Black Consciousness philosophy.

Fired with the revolutionary zeal that the struggle had to be intensified, he became deeply involved in the growth of

By MOKGADI  
PELA

the South African Students Organisation (Saso).

In 1972, when he was publicity secretary of the Turfloop Students Representative Council, he led a walkout of students after the expulsion of student leader Ongkopotse Tiro.

The die had been cast and his unwavering commitment to the struggle was set.

## Expelled

Nefolovhodwe was himself expelled from Turfloop the same year, after which he took up a job as an assistant welfare officer at the Messina Copper Mine.

In June 1973, he became a teacher for six months, returning to Turfloop University in 1974.

He picked up the students' struggle where he had left off, being elected Saso branch chairperson and president of the SRC in April the same year.

Saso was banned from the campus at the time.

In July 1974, he was elected national president of Saso.

Three months later, following the Frelimo victory in Mozambique and the celebrations organised by Saso countrywide, Nefolovhodwe

was detained by security police in Durban on October 11, with many other BCM leaders.

The detention led to charges of terrorism being brought against him and eight other BCM leader in the 17-month long Saso/Black People's Convention trial.

They were charged with fomenting rebellion and promoting a sanctions campaign.

Nefolovhodwe was sentenced to six years on Robben Island.

Released in December 1982, Nefolovhodwe joined Azapo. He was also appointed regional organiser of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union (Bamcwu) in the Northern Transvaal in 1983.

That same year he was involved in Penge Asbestos Mine strike involving more than 1 700 workers and the strike led to the worldwide anti-asbestos campaign.

He was elected general secretary of Bamcwu in 1984 and later co-ordinator of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) which later merged with the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) to form the present day National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).



PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE

Nefolovhodwe brought a term of distinction into Azapo when he said there were two types of activists - "towers" and "small maats".

"Towers" were totally committed to the struggle and submitted themselves to the dis-

cipline of an organisation's principles and structures.

"Small maats" had a passing interest in politics and no commitment to any organisation.

Nefolovhodwe also cautioned members to never take issues at face

value, but to look beyond the superficial for "levels" - underlying motives, consequences of actions and alternative implications.

He joked that if he woke up one morning and found no "levels" he would die.

Nefolovhodwe was elected first assistant general secretary of Nactu in 1986, a position he held until 1988. He became co-ordinator of labour studies at Wilgerspruit Ubuntu Social Development Institute, a position he still holds today.

He was elected general secretary of Azapo in March 1990.

In this position, Nefolovhodwe committed himself to correcting the records of the organisation which went missing during police raids during the state of emergency from 1986 to February 1990.

## Leadership

All members of Azapo had to rejoin the organisation and pay monthly subscriptions. Anyone who did not rejoin or not pay subscriptions was not considered an Azapo member.

In explaining why the BCM and its organisations changed its leadership often, Nefolovhodwe said this emphasised their belief in collective leadership as espoused by

people like Amílcar Cabral and Steve Biko.

He said Azapo had established a democratic culture that prevented the disease of installing "presidents-for-life" who left the position when they died or retired through ill health.

Former Azapo defence secretary Muntu Myeza also once said an organisation's membership has the democratic right to change its leadership because no single person is greater than the struggle.

## Cult

Myeza also said the democratic changing of leadership prevented the problem of personality cults "and even Steve Biko, who was Saso's first president, was replaced by Saso congress."

As Azapo general secretary, Nefolovhodwe has intervened and negotiated peace treaties during the interecine violence between Azapo and the African National Congress in Welkom, Bekkersdal and other areas.

Unmarried, Nefolovhodwe is widely travelled and has visited many countries including Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Sweden, Britain, Australia, Canada and France.

As Azapo president, he is due to visit more countries as part of Azapo's diplomatic offensive.

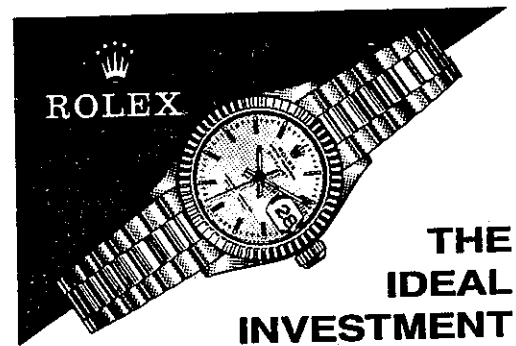
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# Business Day

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THE  
IDEAL  
INVESTMENT

## ANC to grab initiative on government's all-party conference idea

THE ANC would propose a major all-party conference on constitutional negotiations, which could include Inkatha and the CP, in its annual anniversary statement due for release this week, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

The conference would be aimed at breaking the political logjam and preparing the ground for talks on a new constitution.

The ANC's national executive committee decided on the conference on Friday at a meeting presided over by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The decision comes in the wake of speculation that it would refuse to take part in a

similar conference which government is reported to be eager to arrange.

The sources said the agenda for the conference would be relatively open-ended and there would be no pre-conditions for attending.

Agreement with the ANC's demand that an elected constituent assembly should oversee the drawing up of a new constitution would, for example, not be a prerequisite for attendance.

Neither would agreement with government's position that an interim government was unnecessary as the present government was in power legitimately.

The ANC has agreed to the conference

by pay 7/1/91  
**TIM COHEN**

on the assumption that obstacles to negotiations, mainly the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, would have been cleared away.

The ANC threatened at its consultative conference in December to suspend talks with government if these obstacles were not removed by the end of April.

The ANC hoped the all-party conference would take place in May, sources said.

In media reports last year, it was suggested that the idea of an all-party conference was discussed at talks between President F W de Klerk and ANC leaders Oliver

Tambo and Mandela.

Government was said to be in favour of such a conference, but senior ANC members have not expressed themselves publicly on the idea so far.

The proposed conference would be separate from a "patriotic front" conference of extra-parliamentary opposition groups which is planned for March 21. At this conference, organisations hope to unify extra-parliamentary opposition groups around the demand for an elected interim government and a constituent assembly.

ANC members said yesterday that several groups had agreed in principle to attend the conference. Others had not yet

agreed.

The PAC, the New Unity Movement and Azapo have all expressed themselves strongly in favour of the proposal to forge a united black front to oppose government.

PAC members, opposed to an all-party conference, say this might jeopardise black unity.

The ANC's 79th anniversary statement, which reviews the past year and indicates planned ANC action, will be made public on Wednesday — anniversary of the organisation's founding in 1912.

The statement also mentions the education crisis and the poor black matric pass rate, expected to be announced today.

at strength as the spokesman  
Rand Mines spokesman

# ANC pays tribute

BULAWAYO - The ANC yesterday paid tribute to the Zimbabwean Government and the ruling Zanu PF for continued and sustained solidarity with those still under the yoke of apartheid, reports Ziana national news agency.

Zimbabwe, Mr Max Mlonyeni, was speaking in Bulawayo at the commemoration of the 79th anniversary of the formation of the movement when he thanked Zimbabweans for the "massive support and solidarity with our struggle".

Mlonyeni spoke of developments in the struggle. Sapa.

South for 11/17/71



# Azapo pledges support in Barolong fight

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has pledged support for the Barolong-Ba-Madiboa community in their fight for ancestral land and called on other similarly affected communities to reclaim land from which they were forcefully removed.

In a statement issued by the general secretary, Mr Don Nkadimeng in Pietersburg, Azapo said it was "painfully aware that all black people were dispossessed of their land in similar ways".

The organisation condemned the action by the Potchefstroom Municipality which charged 25 community members with trespassing last week.

It said it would assist the community members with defence costs.

"We applaud the community for their decision to contest the expropriation of their land in the courts of this country, not withstanding the fact that the track record of the exclusivity white supreme court shows that the courts have abetted more than resisted black land dispossession.

"In the same breath, Azapo encourages those forcefully removed in the past to reclaim their land by all means at their disposal," the statement stated.

Nkadimeng said Azapo had at no stage "in the past recognised the legality of black land dispossession.

"In our view the land issue is central to the struggle to our people.

"A succession of white minority regimes, from Jan van Riebeeck to FW De Klerk, has been violently and systematically taking away land from black people and handing it to white farmers."

Azapo said a nation that does not resist land expropriation becomes a party to its own oppression, exploitation, poverty and powerlessness.

## Tambo to talk at Turf

AILING ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is to visit the Northern Transvaal tomorrow and Wednesday for talks with regional leaders. *40/11/90*

ANC official Mr George Mashamba said Tambo would also address a rally at the University of the North Stadium at 11am on Wednesday morning.

It is not clear how the rally will affect schooling in the area as it is taking place on the day that schools are to reopen.



## ANC warns of planned action against Bophuthatswana

A STRONG warning has been issued by the ANC to the Bophuthatswana government. *Blau 7/11/91*

The ANC said the homeland government was trying to crush the organisation.

In a statement on Saturday the northern Cape branch of the ANC said a regional programme would be put into action soon after the launch of the ANC's national programme of action tomorrow.

"We'll hit Bophuthatswana hard.

We'll hit them with everything at our disposal until such time that they have come to their senses," the statement said. *(11A)* *(11B)*

Targeted in the ANC's plans are the homeland's consulates in Kimberley and Vryburg. The ANC said it would force the closure of the consulates unless the Bophuthatswana government allowed the ANC to operate in the homeland.

The ANC is preparing a list of all

Bophuthatswana officials who own property outside the homeland.

The statement threatened to take action against those officials and to boycott the homeland's BTH bus company.

It also listed incidents in which it said Bophuthatswana authorities acted against ANC members, including the shooting of three people at Dry Harts on December 3, and the recent arrest of 43 others. — Sapa.

# PAC accuses ANC of waging grassroots war

11A  
 8/Day 7/1/91

PATRICK BULGER

ANC members have been accused of waging a grassroots war against the rival PAC, even though leaders of both organisations intend forming a united front against the government this year.

In at least two trouble spots, PAC spokesmen have accused ANC members of provoking violence and of acting contrary to their leaders' public dictates.

Antipathy between the two organisations dates back to the early 1960s. It appears to have been intensified recently by rival recruitment drives for membership.

Clashes between members of the two groups have been reported at Bekkersdal on the West Rand, Khayelitsha in the western Cape and KwaNobuhle in the eastern Cape in recent months.

The most recent clash occurred in Komga, near East London, last week when alleged ANC supporters members killed a 23-year-old PAC branch member Themba-Rasmeni.

The PAC said in reaction to the New Year's Day killing that "it does not augur well for the new year, but we nevertheless commend officials of the ANC branch who have dissociated themselves from this barbarous killing".

Now ANC members have been accused of conducting a "campaign of genocide" against ANC members at Munsieville township, Krugersdorp.

About 80 PAC members, including the leadership, had been forced to vacate the township in the face of attacks by ANC youths armed with shotguns, AK-47s and hand grenades.

Responding to the allegations, the ANC's

department of information and publicity said the ANC's attempts to resolve matters with the PAC had been "cold-shouldered".

It alleged that its chairman in the area had been shot with a Scorpion machine-pistol.

The PAC alleged that the recent outbreak of violence was the climax of a nine-month campaign to make Munsieville a no-go area for the PAC.

Detailing the record of ANC attacks on PAC members since April last year, PAC West Rand chairman Popo Mvulane said the tension began when ANC members declared Munsieville an ANC liberated zone in April last year.

He alleged that the ANC campaign was to have climaxed on December 22 last year when the PAC "would cease to exist in Munsieville".

He alleged, too, that 20 houses of PAC members had been damaged in at least three clashes.

In spite of the attempted intervention of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, the clashes had continued and PAC attempts to set up a monitoring committee comprising members of the rival organisations had received no response from the local ANC branch.

West Rand PAC publicity secretary Banzer Ngceba said there was no indication of a "third force" being involved in the violence.

Instead the PAC could only conclude that the ANC was conducting a campaign of genocide against PAC members.

# CIA enlisted to wage psychological war

NEW YORK. — The United States is waging a psychological campaign that includes broadcasting anti-government propaganda into Iraq and smuggling radios in so Iraqis can pick up American transmissions, the New York Times said today.

It said in a report from Washington that the campaign, which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had been authorised to join, was designed to shake Iraq's confidence, undermine its military and deceive its leaders about US military intentions.

It quoted officials and others briefed on the programmes as saying the psychological warfare was backed by three secret authorisations signed by President George Bush.

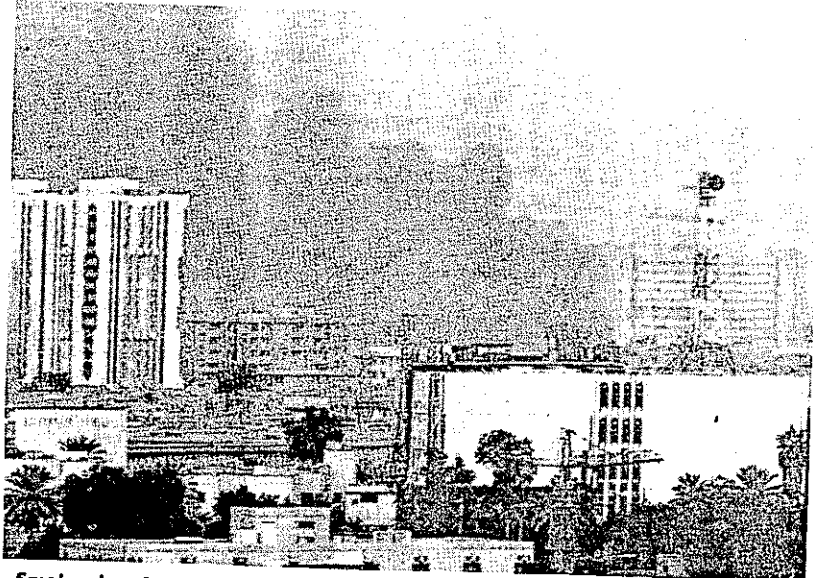
The authorisations, called "findings" because they found that covert intelligence operations would serve the national interest, permitted the CIA to join the campaign.

One broadly authorised CIA-sponsored propaganda and deception, a second allowed the CIA to work with army forces to resupply and support guerrilla fighters in Kuwait and a third gave the agency authority to attempt to "destabilise" the government of Iraqi leader President Saddam Hussein.

Washington officials were not immediately available to comment on the report.

The newspaper said the campaign included propaganda broadcasts and circulation of audio and video cassette tapes showing the US as militarily mighty and Mr Saddam's government as corrupt.

Much of the campaign was aimed at Iraqi troops in Kuwait. A million leaflets have been dropped in Kuwait urging Iraqi soldiers to desert or surrender. — Sapa-Reuter.



Smoke rises from the Iraqi Ministry of Defence building after an air attack on Baghdad by allied aircraft.

## 'We shot down 101 Allies'

NICOSIA. — Iraq said today its air defences have downed 101 aircraft since war broke out in the Gulf.

The United States and its allies said they had lost eight aircraft — four American, two British, one Kuwaiti and one Italian.

State-run Baghdad radio, monitored in Cyprus, read a military communique that said Iraqi air defences shot down seven aircraft yesterday, taking the tally to 101.

"The day of reckoning is coming and the villains will be thrown into the garbage bins of history. They will curse the day on which they were born," it announced, referring to Arab leaders who joined the Allied forces. — Sapa-Reuter.

## RAF pilots cry after loss

MANAMA (Bahrain). — Royal Air Force pilots here broke down in tears when they returned from a mission in which a second Tornado bomber was lost.

The emotional scenes yesterday at Muharraq air base followed yet another strike against Iraqi air installations.

"You feel guilty that you have survived and they haven't," said Squadron Leader Pablo Mason, 40, from Birmingham.

Squadron Leader Mason cried as he attempted to explain how he came to terms with going on bombing missions time and time again knowing it could be his turn to be shot down.

"You have got to control your emotions," he said as tears rolled down

his cheeks. "You feel cynical, terribly cynical. There is a constant awareness that in a few seconds' time you might not exist."

On the squadron's second sortie into enemy territory, an engine of one of the two-man Tornado bombers caught fire after being hit, and crashed. The pilot and navigator were seen to eject and there is hope that they are safe.

Then early yesterday, another jet crashed on return from a bombing sortie. Members of the squadron believe the crew perished with the aircraft.

The Tornados were two of eight allied planes that have been shot down so far by the Iraqi military. The other planes include four American, one Kuwaiti and one Italian. — Sapa-AP

## Weekend work for Lloyd's

LONDON. — Lloyd's of London insurance market said it would open for business today and tomorrow for the first time in its 303-year history because of the Gulf War.

"Underwriters expect to be able to continue as a market to provide adequate cover.

"But individual requirements inevitably require careful attention," a Lloyd's spokesman said today.

Lloyd's aims to help policy holders who may want to review their insurance cover during the hostilities. — Sapa-Reuter.

## In SA...

### Wosa to step up embassy demos

JOHANNESBURG. — The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) of South Africa said it was considering stepping up anti-war protest actions at embassies around the country.

Some 150 Wosa supporters gathered at a church last night to develop anti-war protest strategies.

Wosa charged that the "imperialist" US and Iraq were waging the war over oil interests, and not for the democratic interests of the working class. Millions of the servicemen involved in the military conflict were working class people.

Wosa called on the US-led forces to leave the Gulf and demanded an end to the war and the return of peace to the Middle East.

Wosa also came out strongly against the possibility of South Africa becoming involved in the conflict, saying that it would oppose any such involvement by the country's "working class" in the hostilities. — Sapa.

### 'All-out effort' to help pilgrims

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is doing all it can to secure the safe return of the estimated 300 South African Muslim pilgrims stranded in Saudi Arabia after the international airport closed indefinitely, says Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr John Sundy.

Mr Sundy said the government only found out about the closure of the airport yesterday and was investigating the matter.

Officials were trying to make contact with the pilgrims, but at this stage he could not say anything to unnecessarily raise their hopes. — Sapa.

### SACC plea for resumed talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches appealed to President Bush and President Hussein to "take stock and resume negotiations".

SACC general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, said he "abhorred" the US attack on Iraq and the Iraqi attack on Israel.

"The issue of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait has to be addressed, but we do not think war is the way to solve this problem.

"We beseech all countries involved in the crisis to reconsider peace initiatives to resolve the conflict," Mr Chikane said. — Sapa.

11A

# We'll hit you hard, ANC warns Bop

JOHANNESBURG. — A strong warning has been issued by the ANC to the Bophuthatswana government.

Targeted in the ANC's programme of action are the homeland's consulates in Kimberley and Vryburg. The ANC said it would force the closure of the consulates unless the Bophuthatswana government allowed the ANC to operate in the homeland.

In a statement, the Northern Cape branch of the ANC said that soon after the launch of the ANC's national programme of action on January 8, a regional programme would be put into effect.

## 'Hit them'

"We'll hit Bophuthatswana hard. We'll hit them with everything at our disposal until such time that they have come to their senses," the statement said.

A list of all Bophuthatswana officials who own property out-

side the homeland was also being prepared by the ANC.

The ANC threatened to take action against those officials, as well as the boycotting of the homeland's BTH bus company.

The statement also listed incidents in which the Bophuthatswana authorities acted against ANC members, including the shooting of three people at Dry-Harts on December 3, and the arrest of 43 others during the festive season.

The ANC said the homeland government was trying to crush the organisation, and that the ANC would not "let our quest for peace be misconstrued as cowardice and lack of ability on our part to defend ourselves".

In Pretoria the Anti-Bophuthatswana Co-ordinating Committee (ABCC) would consider the suspension of talks between the homeland authorities and the ANC if the state of emergency was not lifted.

ABCC publicity secretary Mr Pule Motingoa said the situa-

tion in the homeland had deteriorated into "a police camp" and that his organisation would mount pressure in mass action which would take the form of marches and boycotts.

## Bodies held

He said during the festive season, members of the ANC Pampierstad and Madiboge branches were detained by the Bophuthatswana security forces and released on bail.

Bophuthatswana authorities had refused to release the bodies of two activists who were allegedly killed by the homeland's security forces.

"This continuous practise of the Bophuthatswana government to confiscate bodies that they have shot, is of much concern to us," Mr Motingoa said.

The ABCC condemned the deportation of a University of Bophuthatswana lecturer and secretary of the ANC in Mafikeng, and that of Dr David Green — a human rights activist in the homeland. — Sapa.

# ANC to propose all-party indaba

*CPA Times 7/11/91 (1A)*  
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would this week propose a major all-party conference on constitutional negotiations, which could include Inkatha and the CP, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

The proposed conference, aimed at breaking the political logjam in preparation for constitutional talks, was decided on by the ANC's national executive committee on Friday.

The decision comes in the wake of speculation that the movement would refuse to take part in a similar conference which the government may initiate.

The sources said the agenda for the conference would be relatively open-ended, and there would be no pre-conditions for attending.

The proposed conference would be separate from a "patriotic front" conference of extra-parliamentary opposition groups planned for March 21. This conference aims to unify black opposition groups around the demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

# ANC man critical after hunger strike

ARK 63 7/1/91

KLERKSDORP. — An activist in critical condition here after an eight-day hunger strike in detention was transferred to hospital last night, said human-rights lawyer Mr Satish Roopa.

Jouberton Civic Association chairman Mr Henry Moleme and three other civic and African National Congress activists were detained under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act on December 30 and immediately embarked on a hunger strike to demand they be released or charged.

Mr Roopa said a Major Truter from Western Transvaal security police had phoned him to say Mr Moleme had been taken to hospital.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela earlier telephoned Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to secure the release of the four.

Mr Roopa said Mr Vlok had

phoned him and promised to investigate.

Two independent doctors who examined Mr Moleme separately at the weekend feared he may soon lapse into a coma and recommended he be transferred to hospital.

Mr Moleme, Mr Solly Rasmeni, Mr Tshediso Ntaopane and Mr George Noliawa are being held at Klerksdorp Prison and have vowed to continue their action until they are released or charged. They are active in ANC and local civic affairs.

Three of the detainees had taken no food or water in eight days. Mr Ntaopane began drinking water on Thursday after his condition deteriorated sharply.

Mr Moleme had, in spite of his critical condition and against legal and medical advice, refused food and water.

# Bop gov't consulates targeted

*CAPE TOWN 7/11/79*  
JOHANNESBURG. — A strong warning has been issued by the ANC to the Bophuthatswana government.

In a statement on Saturday, the ANC said a regional programme of action would follow the launch of their national programme tomorrow.

"We'll hit Bophuthatswana hard. We'll hit them with everything at our disposal until such time that they have come to their senses," the statement said.

Targeted are the homeland's consulates in Kimberley and Vryburg. The ANC said it would force their closure unless Bophuthatswana allowed the ANC to operate in the homeland.

● Two ANC sympathisers in the Bophuthatswana village of Braklaagte have been killed.

# Komaba clash latest in long 'war'

OWN Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC members have been accused of waging a grassroots war against the PAC, even though leaders of both organisations intend forming a united front against government this year.

In at least two areas, PAC spokespersons have accused ANC members of provoking violence and of acting contrary to their leaders' public dictates.

Antipathy between the two organisations dates back to the 1960s and appears to have been intensified recently by rival recruitment drives.

Clashes between members of the two groups have been reported in recent months at Khayelitsha, Bekkersdal on the West Rand and KwaNobuhle in the Eastern Cape.

The most recent clash occurred last week in Komga, near East London, when alleged ANC supporters members killed 23-year-old PAC branch member Thembaletu Rasmeni.

Responding to the New Year's Day killing, the PAC said: "It does not augur well for the new year, but we nevertheless commend officials of the ANC branch who have dissociated themselves from this barbarous killing".

## 'Genocide'

Now ANC members have been accused of conducting a "campaign of genocide" against PAC members at Munsieville township, Krugersdorp.

About 80 PAC members, including the leadership, have been forced to vacate the township in the face of attacks by ANC youths armed with shotguns, AK-47s and hand grenades.

Responding to the allegations, the ANC's department of information and publicity said the ANC's attempts to resolve matters with the PAC had been "cold-shouldered".

It alleged that its chairperson in the area had been shot with a Scorpion machine-pistol.

The PAC alleged that the recent outbreak of violence was the climax of a nine-month campaign to make Munsieville a no-go area for the PAC.

West Rand PAC publicity secretary Mr Banzer Ngeeba said there was no indication of a "third force" being involved in the violence.

Instead, the PAC could only conclude that the ANC was conducting a "campaign of genocide" against PAC members.





# PAC accuses ANC of attacking its supporters

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has accused ANC members in Munsieville on the West Rand of systematically attacking its members in the township and driving over 70 PAC supporters out.

According to the chairman of the Munsieville PAC branch, Mr Robert Mangope, ANC supporters began attacking PAC members in April last year after Munsieville was declared an "ANC liberated zone" in March.

Speaking at a Press conference, Mr Mangope said about 78 PAC members, including the entire Munsieville leadership, had fled the township in recent months.

## Situation 'tense'

He described the area as "tense".

Mr Mangope said the ANC was to petition the Munsieville superintendent calling for an end to the existence of any other political organisation in the township.

Munsieville's PAC publicity secretary, Mr Basner Ngceba, said the ANC leadership, including deputy president Nelson Mandela, had been contacted but nothing had been done to stop the violence.

However, Mr Ngceba was optimistic that representatives from the factions would meet today to try to resolve the violence.

"We believe the ANC will see reason," he added.

Mr Ngceba said he believed the political clashes in Munsieville would not jeopardise prospects for a united front of lib-

eration movements, but accused ANC supporters in the township of committing "genocide".

Meanwhile, the ANC has denied the PAC allegations and accused it of "cold-shouldering" attempts by the ANC to resolve the matter.

In a statement, the ANC said the Munsieville ANC chairman was attacked after ANC efforts to resolve the problem, contributing to the "volatile" situation.

The ANC's position on all outbreaks of violence had been:

- Getting local structures to work at attaining peace on the ground. In this regard "the PAC structure has been consistent in not turning up for meetings to discuss the violence. The last such attempt being on New Year's Eve."

- To convey the message that all parties must be guided by political tolerance; and

- Attempting to unite all anti-apartheid forces to "fight the system which oppresses us".

## Meeting called

"A mass meeting of residents called by the Munsieville Civic Association, which has been attempting to play a mediating role, resolved to allow the immediate return of residents who have fled," the statement said.

It added the ANC did not intend standing in the way of their safe return.

The ANC would investigate the matter and take necessary further steps, the statement concluded. — Sapa.

# PAC riled by ANC's talks plan

TIM COHEN

THE PAC has voiced disapproval over the ANC's proposed multiparty conference on negotiations, saying the decision to hold such a conference should first have been discussed with other liberation groups.

PAC publicity and information officer Barney Desai said yesterday the ANC's decision last week in favour of an open agenda all-party conference was precisely the kind of strategy that ought to have been decided at a meeting of extra-parliamentary opposition groups.

Stressing the PAC would formulate a more precise reaction to the ANC's suggestion at its meeting this weekend, Desai described the ANC's decision as "a bit exasperating".

The PAC recently rejected government's invitation to talks about full-scale constitutional negotiations, saying it was prepared to discuss only the mechanics for a constituent assembly election.

An ANC source said on Sunday the ANC would today propose an all-party conference on constitutional negotiations, which could include Inkatha and the CP.

The proposed conference would be separate from March's "patriotic front" conference which was aimed at presenting a common front against government.

# ANC silent on conference proposal (11A)

Political Staff

9 Nov 81/1191

The ANC would not comment yesterday on reports that it was about to propose a major all-party conference on constitutional negotiations in an attempt to break the political logjam and prepare the ground for talks on a new constitution.

The proposal, according to media reports, is made in the ANC's 79th anniversary statement to be made public tomorrow.

The decision to organise the all-party conference, which would include Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party, was reportedly taken by the ANC's national executive committee on Friday at a meeting presided over by deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The conference, which is envisaged to be relatively open-ended and without attendance preconditions, will not substitute for the proposed "patriotic front" conference of all liberation movements to form a broad coalition against the Government.

A number of black organisations, including the Pan

Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), have long expressed themselves in favour of a consultative conference of "the oppressed" to form a united front.

Contacted for comment yesterday, ANC spokesperson Gill Marcus said a press conference would be held in Johannesburg today when details about the 79th anniversary statement would be given.

Miss Marcus refused to comment on reports about the all-party conference on constitutional negotiations.

# Tambo for Durban rally

ANC president Oliver Tambo will address a rally in Durban on Sunday, according to the congress' Natal leadership.

It is expected that he will arrive in Natal on Saturday and that he will also take the opportunity to pay his respects at the graves of two former

*Sowetan 8/11/71*  
presidents of the African National Congress, Dr John Dube and Chief Albert Luthuli.

Dube was the first president of the organisation and Luthuli was the previous leader, under whom Tambo served as deputy president.

ANC leaders of the three Natal regions who

met on Sunday noted that Tambo remained deeply concerned about the level of violence in the province. It was believed that his visit would contribute towards ending this violence.

(11A)

Tambo is due to speak at Kings Park stadium at 11am on Sunday. - *Sapa*

# Tambo to report back on ANC conference

**The Argus Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will resume his hectic schedule tomorrow when he addresses a report-back rally at the University of the North stadium outside Pietersburg.

Mr Tambo, who has not fully recovered from a stroke that left his right side partly paralysed, will be accompanied by ANC executive members Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Ms Gertrude Shope and Mr John Nkadi-meng.

The rally, which starts at 11am, will be one of the last Mr Tambo addresses before returning to London for further medical treatment.

Mr Tambo is expected to report back on the ANC's consultative conference held here last month.

He is expected to tour the

strife-torn Natal area, where he is will meet ANC leaders and members of the joint ANC-Inkatha peace initiative.

His Natal tour is expected to culminate in a rally in Maritzburg next weekend.

There have been many demands for Mr Tambo to visit a number of ANC regions and address rallies, but these were turned down because of the ANC leader's failing health.

So far Mr Tambo has addressed rallies only in Johannesburg, Umtata and his hometown, Wattville near Benoni.

## 'STRAIN BEARABLE'

It is believed that the ANC feels confident that the Northern Transvaal and Natal tours will not be too much of a strain on Mr Tambo.

He is scheduled to fly out of the country at the end of the month.

*Cart - Fint's 8/1/91*  
**PAC disapproves of  
ANC talks proposal**

Own Correspondent *114*

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The PAC has criticised the ANC's proposed multi-party conference on negotiations, saying the proposal should first have been discussed with other liberation groups.

PAC publicity and information officer Mr Barney Desai said yesterday that the ANC's decision last week in favour of an open agenda all-party conference was precisely the kind of strategy that ought to have been decided at a meeting of extra-parliamentary opposition groups.

An ANC source has said the conference on negotiations could include Inkatha and the CP.

# 'No special treatment for exiles'

CAP Temp 8/1/91 (2) 11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A government spokesman yesterday issued a potentially controversial challenge to political organisations to meet the bulk of the cost involved in repatriating political exiles.

Exiles would receive no special treatment, said Mr Mike Bester of the Home Affairs Department, and state involvement in repatriation would be limited to the normal functions of government departments.

"For every person that left, for whatever reasons, thousands remained. The aspirations and expectations of the returnees must never exceed those of the people who stayed," he said.

"Their needs and requirements must be absorbed into the total requirements existing in their area for housing, schooling and medical care."

The non-governmental organisations involved in repatriation have asked that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) be given a role in the process. In response, Mr Bester said that allowing the UN a role inside SA would compromise the country's sovereignty.

But the government was willing to negotiate with the UNHCR over the contribution it could make outside of SA's borders.

## Budget

Under agreements between the ANC and government, all exiles are due to return to SA by May.

Mr Bester said the budget for the relocation would consist of government departments' contributions in the exercise of their normal duties, and a fund contributed to by non-governmental organisations "because they will definitely have to contribute substantial funds to get the exiles back to SA".

Political organisations would have to pay much of the cost of resettling their own supporters. They would be expected to transport their exiled members to South Africa, and provide them with temporary accommodation.

The PAC — which had so far refused to be drawn into official talks with the government — would have to "abandon its reluctance to talk" if it was serious about bringing its members back.

Mr Bester estimated that of 40 000 exiles, about half were aligned to the ANC and a quarter to the PAC, with the remaining 10 000 unaligned.

CAPK  
10-25  
8/1/91  
11/191

## Askaris used at airports

PRETORIA. — The deployment of "so-called Askaris" at airports is not unusual, a police statement said yesterday.

After the detention of its Botswana representative, Mr Welile Nhlapo, at Lanseria Airport last Thursday, the ANC expressed concern that

"Askaris" — former guerillas turned policemen — were being used to point out people at airports.

The "so-called Askaries" were fully fledged members of the SAP, and there was "nothing sinister" about their performing "normal police functions" at airports, the SAP said.

The police statement confirmed Mr Nhlapo's detention. — Sapa



**Detainee** <sup>Carly</sup> <sup>Temp's</sup> <sup>8/1/9</sup> <sup>cal. (11A) (S)</sup>  
**'not critical'** Police spokesman

PRETORIA. — Police yesterday said the condition of a hunger-striking detainee who was hospitalised on Sunday night after refusing food for seven days was "not serious".

Human-rights lawyer Mr Satish Roopa earlier described Mr Henry Moleme's condition as criti-

cal. (11A) (S) Police spokesman

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen said Mr Moleme was still refusing food. Two of three other ANC activists detained under Section 50 on December 30 with Mr Moleme were also maintaining their hunger strike and were in a satisfactory condition in the Klerksdorp prison, Lt Barkhuizen said. — Sapa

FIA  
8/1/91

## Tough year ahead for ANC intelligence chief

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC's intelligence chief and chairman of its Southern Natal region, faces a tough task in the year ahead.

He has set himself the goal of ending the strife in Natal between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists.

The softly-spoken Mr Zuma has the reputation of being a skillful negotiator. He will need all the skills he has acquired to end the internecine war.

### Sicilian feud

The war, which started soon after the formation of the pro-ANC United Democratic Front in 1983 and which escalated sharply in mid-1987, seems to have acquired the self-perpetuating impetus of a Sicilian feud.

"The violence in Natal has become an urgent question. It is a priority issue. It is important to stop the violence in Natal ... to see how we can achieve peace."

As intelligence chief of the ANC Mr Zuma must know how strongly feelings run over the conflict and how difficult it will be to excise the festering hatred and bitterness after more than 3 000 deaths.

He must know, too, that it was a quest which ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela temporarily abandoned after his visit to Natal in March last year.

He also knows the depth of antipathy towards the Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in pro-ANC communities.

Mr Zuma's style, however, is that of a diplomat — he approaches tricky situations positively but not with facile optimism.

### Powerful influence

His mother, it becomes apparent as he talks, was a powerful influence in his life. She was known to her Zulu friends as "Nokubhekisisa," meaning, Mr Zuma explains, "a person who looks at things thoroughly".

Mr Zuma has imbibed his mother's thoroughness. He is not intelligence chief of the ANC for nothing.

"We expect all political or-

ganisations in the area, all important sectors of society, all community organisations, to put their heads together," he says.

He has had some success already. The Lower Umfolozi Accord, an agreement to uphold the peace, was signed last September by the ANC, Inkatha, Cosatu, the SAP and the Kwa-Zulu Police.

Mr Zuma, who was sent to Natal last year as the leader of a ANC team whose mission was to seek peace, denies that the initiative has since stalled.

Diplomatic observers have blamed Mr Harry Gwala, chairman of the ANC's Natal Midland's region, for "unilaterally suspending" the peace talks. They refer to him scathingly as a hardline "Stalinist".

Mr Zuma, who contends the talks were postponed rather than suspended, remains confident that the Umfolozi Accord will serve as a prelude to a full meeting between the ANC national executive committee and Inkatha's central committee.

### Face-to-face

The pending meeting will bring Mr Mandela face-to-face with Chief Buthelezi and, hopefully for the sake of peace, lead to a joint commitment to peace and mutual tolerance.

Mr Zuma, the son of a policeman who hails from Nkandla in the heart of Zululand, speaks positively: "There is a standing decision by the ANC national executive that the meeting will take place. Everything is on course."

He skillfully parries questions which he does not want to answer, smilingly broadly as he does to avoid giving offence.

He politely declines to say whether he has met Chief Buthelezi. "I know Buthelezi," he replies enigmatically. One is left with the impression that he has made it his business to find out about Buthelezi the man as well as Buthelezi the politician.

Zuma's mission is to end

WAM

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# Freedom

# this

11A

## Mandela wants Tambo in Union Buildings



NELSON MANDELA

*Sowetan 9/11/71*

# year

**THIS** year will bring the "total emancipation" of the people of South Africa, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Delivering a statement on behalf of the national executive committee on the 79th anniversary of the ANC yesterday, Mandela said that as soon as all obstacles to negotia-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

tions were removed an "urgent" all-party congress was required to prepare for an interim government and constituent assembly.

Mandela said: "This is the year of total emancipation. I will be satisfied if by the end of the year the president (referring to ANC boss Mr Oliver Tambo) is at Union Buildings."

● To Page 2



Peter Stuyvesant  
The Internal Smoking

P.T.O.

C



ANC president Oliver Tambo, in the foreground, and his deputy Nelson Mandela at the organisation's headquarters yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Mandela: interim govt agreement likely

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he had no reason to imagine that his organisation and government would not be able to reach an agreement on the question of an interim government.

Mandela also said at a media conference that the ANC had discussed the idea of a multiparty conference with government, which had not voiced any disapproval of the idea.

He said the all-party congress would include all parties which had proven support, including Inkatha and the CP. "We are not setting out any timeframes now, but we emphasise the urgency."

He expressed the hope that all political parties would support the multiparty congress, and predicted the problem would not be enticing people to come, but controlling the number of people attending.

He also made it clear the ANC and

*B/day 9/11/91*  
**TIM COHEN**

the SACP would sit separately at the conference. "A congress of this nature would be a congress of all political parties, not of alliances, and therefore one would expect that the ANC and the SACP would go to that congress as separate organisations."

In answer to a question about whether it was time to call in an outside convener or arbiter, he said this was still the subject of discussion but he would discourage the idea of any mediator from outside, especially from outside the country.

He said it would be surprising if there were no difficulties, but what was encouraging was that there were men and women in all organisations who were genuinely interested in the peace process.

He said the ANC and government had moved closer together during their discussions, but he emphasised

the ANC had not only held talks with government but also with a host of other political groups.

The discussions between government and the ANC would not stop, but once the process of negotiations had started the ANC wanted the involvement of all political parties.

"It would be a mistake for the ANC or government to think that they are the only parties that must be involved in the negotiation process."

On the question of sanctions, he said it was the ANC's intention to hold discussions with the EC and ask it to repudiate its decision to rescind the ban on new investment in SA.

In answer to a question about whether political intolerance was a particular problem in the ANC, he said this was not confined to the ANC.

But the ANC wanted to address the problem as far as its own organisation was concerned, he said.

# Rhetoric fades on some talks issues

THE ANC yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to an interim government, the maintenance of sanctions, and township "defence units", but appeared to tone down its rhetoric on a number of issues.

The organisation's national executive committee released a wide-ranging statement at a media conference timed to coincide with its 79th anniversary.

The 24-page statement, read by deputy president Nelson Mandela, also reaffirmed that the ANC would be "committed to a review of the situation" if matters discussed in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes were not dealt with by the end of April.

According to the statement, "the government will have to take full responsibility for any delay to the constitutional negotiations caused by its failure to implement the agreements.

"What is ... required urgently is that we move forward to the establishment of the representative and sovereign body, which must within a determined period draw up the new democratic constitution."

## Duty

The ANC chastised government for "dismal failures" in terms of maintenance of peace.

"It alone controls the institutions which have the duty and capacity to ensure that all our people are protected from the threat of violence. But through its actions, over many months, it allowed the situation in which hundreds of people were killed and thousands displaced from their homes."

The ANC was committed to setting up mechanisms which "must enjoy the support and confidence of the people" for the defence of

TIM COHEN

each community.

The ANC affirmed its "unwavering opposition to any of our members and supporters using force where political discussion is called for or as a means of promoting any of our campaigns. The movement will take all necessary disciplinary measures against anybody from our ranks who resorts to these unacceptable methods."

The ANC insisted that the next Budget should reflect a genuine movement towards improving South Africans' quality of life.

"At the beginning of the year the government proclaimed its readiness and commitment to improve the quality of life of the people. The real situation is that very little has happened."

In a section on "private sector responsibilities", the ANC said there was a continuing need for the private sector to show greater sensitivity to the broader objective of carrying out a determined offensive against poverty.

"The necessary financial resources and business skills have to be released to tackle such urgent questions as the housing and education crises, with the business community acting in concert with structures that are genuinely representative of the people.

"In the meantime, all of us must now carry out preparations aimed at building an economic system that will create jobs, ensure a fair and just distribution of wealth, enable black economic empowerment, attend to the matter of the redistribution of land, lead to the elimination of poverty and focus on the objective of ensuring a rising standard of living."

However, the ANC also called for the maintenance

of sanctions "until SA is transformed into a non-racial democracy".

It would initiate discussion with the international community "to ensure the continued isolation of those who remain committed to the perpetuation of apartheid".

## Reach out

Asked if government was included in the group considered to be still committed to apartheid, Mandela said government had not removed all apartheid measures and so it should be included in this group.

In the statement, the ANC said it had to reach out to other organisations which pursued goals similar to that of a "patriotic front" for a democratic SA.

This unity required "that we further reinforce our alliance with the SACP and Cosatu, and defeat the hostile efforts to drive wedges among the member organisations of this alliance".

id to concede more parties. It was also extra-parliamentary

person one vote is enshrined in any constitutional arrangement that will emerge from the negotiation process."

mercenaries late in 1989. Sun International withdrew in May 1990 citing "outrageous" import taxes

about going back into the Indian Ocean. World Leisure Holidays' turnover was expected to exceed R35m in its first year.

# Anti-apartheid groups to plot new strategy

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — Executive members of anti-apartheid movements in Europe and North America will meet senior ANC representatives from capitals around the world in Brussels this weekend to plan their strategy for the coming months. *Ed Day 9/1/91*

The reappraisal comes on the eve of one of the most crucial periods in the struggle against apartheid.

Sources close to the ANC and Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) confirmed yesterday that the meeting would focus on:

□ A short-term international strategy in the period leading up to and beyond President FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on February 1;

□ Plans for the maintenance of sanctions in the light of the EC's stated intention to review remaining restrictions as early as next month, and,

□ A longer-term strategy during the period leading to the April 30 ANC deadline for the removal of obstacles to constitutional negotiation.

The ANC's London office confirmed the meeting yesterday, but referred inquiries to British AAM executive secretary Mike Terry, who was unavailable for comment.

However, reliable sources said the meeting, to be held behind closed doors, was called to enable senior

ANC representatives who met in SA during the ANC's consultative conference last month, an opportunity to brief AAM members on decisions taken at the conference.

Representatives of the ANC and AAM attending the meeting constitute the nucleus of the concerted campaign over the past few decades to isolate SA's government.

The AAM in Britain has already planned a series of activities, including a "day of action" on January 19 in protest at violence and repression in SA; a demonstration outside South Africa House on February 1; and a programme to update AAM branches and the British public on developments in SA.

three months to November 1991

Constitutional role mooted

# Govt thumbs up to ANC's plan for talks

~~2/11/91~~

11A

B/day 9/11/91

GOVERNMENT yesterday welcomed the ANC's proposed all-party conference as a "major breakthrough", while the ANC suggested that the conference could be transformed into a constitution-making body or an interim government or both.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said the all-party conference would principally have to draw up guidelines for full-scale constitutional negotiations.

But once this work was complete, the all-party congress could be mandated by the population to draw up a constitution — an idea not far removed from government's view of the process to be followed.

● See Page 4  
● Comment: Page 6

The CP rejected the idea out of hand, the DP welcomed it and the Inkatha Freedom Party gave it qualified support.

Top government sources predicted, however, that government would definitely be willing to attend such a conference.

In a major policy statement timed to coincide with its 79th anniversary, the ANC said the Harare and UN declarations both envisaged an all-party congress.

The conference would have to carry out three tasks, the statement said:

- To set out the broad principles within which the detailed constitutional work would be carried out;
- To determine the make-up of the body, such as an elected constituent assembly, which would draw up the constitution; and
- To establish an interim government to oversee the process of transition until a

TIM COHEN

new government was formed on the basis of the new constitution.

During yesterday's Press conference following the reading of the statement, Mandela explained that the ANC felt that once this process had been completed, the congress would dissolve.

He added that if the population voted "to give the all-party congress the mandate to draw up a constitution or to form a constituent assembly or an interim government" it would exercise those functions.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen welcomed the ANC's proposal, adding that it was particularly encouraging that all parties with a proven constituency should be able to participate.

"I also welcome it that the ANC couples further progress in the negotiating process with the undertakings in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes" and he welcomed its renewed commitment to these undertakings.

He said it was in the interests of all South Africans that the negotiating process got underway speedily.

Senior government sources said yesterday government would definitely be prepared to attend such a conference. They hailed it as a breakthrough, saying government had mooted such a conference itself.

The question of who exactly should organise the conference was unlikely to present a major obstacle to the meeting.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday his party agreed entirely that an all-party conference was desirable.

He said the DP would be keen to tackle the task of establishing broad principles

To Page 2

## ANC call

for a new constitution, "as we believe that a fairly broad consensus already exists".

But he said the DP at this stage was in agreement with the proposals the ANC had already made on a constituent assembly and an interim government.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday the CP rejected the plan because it did not provide for the freedom and self-determination of the Afrikaner.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

11A ~~2/11/91~~

From Page 1

yesterday left the door open for his party to attend the conference, pointing out that his organisation was already committed to a multiparty conference.

But Buthelezi said the ANC's call had all the hallmarks of wanting a constituent assembly and interim government in which it would play the dominant role.

The ANC wanted the government to step down, so that it could, in effect, take over.

He said Inkatha had reservations about a constituent assembly.

# Govt welcomes ANC talks plan

11A [redacted] Cape Times 9/11/91

Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The government last night welcomed an African National Congress proposal for a multi-party conference to clear the way for a post-apartheid constitution.

In a significant statement the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, welcomed "the ANC's point of view in favour of a multi-party conference in preparation for the constitutional negotiation process".

He said it was particularly encouraging that the ANC accepted that all parties with a proven constituency should be part of negotiations.

The statement, which was read for the minister by a spokesman, Mr Marius Kleynhans, said he also welcomed the ANC's renewed commitments to the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes.

It was in the interest of all South Africans that the

negotiation process got under way as speedily as possible.

Earlier the ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said in a policy document to mark the movement's 79th anniversary that "the summoning of (an all-party congress) would constitute the first step in the process leading to the adoption of the new constitution".

But he added pointedly that the all-party congress should elect an interim government and constituent assembly to plan the new constitution.

Mr Mandela appeared confident after delivering the ANC policy message that President FW de Klerk would accede to an all-party meeting, noting he had never decisively ruled one out.

"The government and the ANC have been moving closer to each other," he told reporters.

Mr Kleynhans said that while Dr Viljoen endorsed the "idea of a conference", this did not necessarily include the proposals for an interim government or constituent assembly.

Last night Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement voiced reservations over the plan, the

Democratic Party supported it and the Conservative Party rejected it outright.

"It goes without saying that the ANC sees itself as being the major player in this assembly," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement, noting that Inkatha would only accede to such a conference if it had an open agenda.

Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called the ANC proposal "a first step to subjugate the whites to a black dictator under the cloak of a democracy" and rejected participation.

"Negotiations are still on course," Mr Mandela said. "I have nothing to be despondent about... in spite of the difficulties that have emerged, we are optimistic."

The ANC document said the movement was approaching the future with only two aims. "These are the total abolition of the system of apartheid, not its reform or amendment, and its replacement by a genuine non-racial democracy," it said.

"Power must be transferred into the hands of all the people so that they, the people, govern."

The government view is that interim governing bodies are unnecessary to precede a new, non-racial

system and could complicate the process.

But Mr Mandela said Pretoria "has been persuaded to abandon many positions" since the launch of racial reform in February last year.

"An all-party congress means that all parties who have got proven support would be able to attend," he said.

Such a congress would mean each political party would be on its own. The SA Communist Party, he said, would also have to attend on its own and not as part of the ANC-SACP alliance.

"(But) we are not prepared to accept the idea of a mediator from outside. We are perfectly capable of taking our own decisions and implementing them," Mr Mandela said.

Neither would the ANC accept racially-defined voters' rolls.

Asked what the minimum achievements would be for the ANC to say it had reached its goal in 1991 — dubbed "the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people" — Mr Mandela said: "I will be satisfied when (ANC) president Oliver Tambo is in the Union Buildings."



# ANC wants new order this year

11A

9/1/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The ANC has set aside 1991 as a year in which a new political order guaranteeing the rights of all South Africans had to be introduced, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In a statement read by Mr Mandela at a press conference in Johannesburg, the organisation's national executive committee declared 1991 a year of "political emancipation", reaffirmed its support for sanctions, mass action, self-defence units and the formation of a patriotic front, and reiterated its demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

"We advocate the election of a sovereign constituent assembly, vested with full powers to negotiate and adopt a constitution that will be acceptable to the millions who would have elected the assembly," Mr Mandela said.

The statement to mark the ANC's 79th anniversary was presented by ANC president Oliver Tambo and read by Mr Mandela.

It strongly urged President de Klerk to implement agreements entered into in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes, warning that the ANC would still review its involvement in talks if the agreements were not implemented by April 30.

"We will continue to use all means at our disposal to ensure that these agreements are adhered to, both because of their intrinsic importance and because of their relevance to the process of an early start to the process of negotiating a new constitution," the ANC said.

Mr Mandela said later ne-

gotiations with the Government were firmly on course and he was hopeful that as much progress would be attained this year as last year.

The ANC said although it was believed that parties at the negotiating table should represent proven constituencies, it was nevertheless necessary that an all-party congress be called to discuss various issues.

The all-party congress, which could be convened only after all obstacles to negotiations had been removed, would be charged with the responsibility to:

- Set out the principles within which constitutional work would be carried out.
- Determine the make-up of the body, such as a constituent assembly, that would draw up the constitution.
- Establish an interim government to oversee the transition to a democratic government.

## Takeover

The ANC said just as the dismantling of apartheid was important, so was the abolition of the Government.

It would have to be replaced "by an authority which would include representatives of the National Party as well as those of other political formations".

Asked what minimal developments would satisfy the ANC before the end of the year, Mr Mandela said nothing short of "the complete emancipation of the people" and Mr Tambo's takeover of the Union Buildings would be satisfactory.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would take "all necessary disciplinary measures" against anybody in its ranks guilty of using force "where political discussion is called for or as a means of promoting our campaigns".

# The road to mass freedom in 1991

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9/1/91  
FOCUS

FELLOW South Africans, today 8 January 1991, we observe the 79th anniversary of the foundation of the ANC.

On this historic occasion I greet you all on behalf of our president, Oliver Tambo, the National Executive Committee of the ANC and the rest of our membership.

We wish you all a successful new year, one which should see our country take resolute steps forward on the road to freedom, justice and peace.

This past year marked a turning point in our struggle for the liberation of our people from the yoke of apartheid tyranny.

As a result of the victories scored through the struggles waged by our heroic people, the balance of forces within our country has shifted irrevocably in favour of the cause of national liberation, democracy, peace and social progress.

Since the beginning of the colonial settlement of South Africa, successive white minority regimes took power, committed to the perpetuation of racist and colonial domination.

## Future

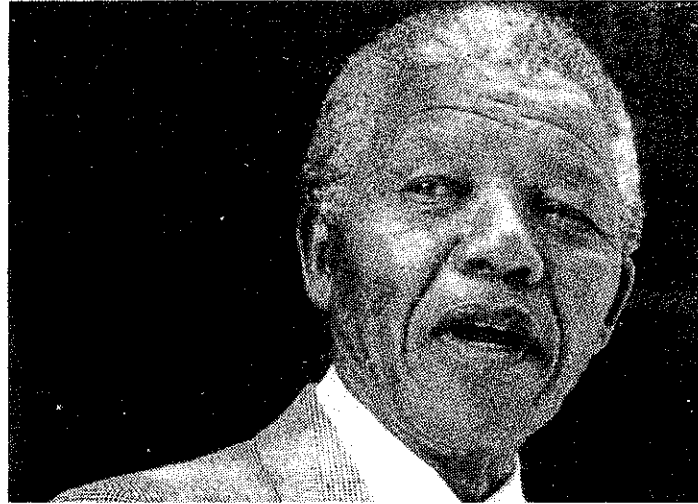
During this past year, the white ruling group had to admit that it could no longer resist the tide which has resulted in the historic process of decolonisation through which millions of people gained their independence and their right to self-determination.

It had no choice but to accept that it was the right of all the people of South Africa, black and white, jointly, to decide the future of the country.

This is the true significance of the decisions that the National Party government was obliged to take, relating to the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the inevitability of a negotiated resolution of the problems facing our country.

For its part, the ANC understood the decisive importance of this popular victory. It was on the basis of that understanding that the ANC pointed the way for-

**This is part one of a statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the occasion of the 79th anniversary of the ANC delivered by the deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday.**



**ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela**

ward by taking the initiative to ensure that the process of resolving the problems of our country by peaceful means should begin.

We understood the magnitude of the people's victory because we have, for decades, been involved in struggle. The ANC, and masses of the people whom it leads and inspires, had not been content to talk about struggle.

We had engaged the racist enemy in a relentless offensive in which the courageous activities of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the mass actions of the people played a decisive role.

We take this opportunity to salute both commanders and combatants of Umkhonto and the fighting masses of our people, as well as the other organised formations of the democratic movement which played a central role in the struggle which has brought us where we are today.

We refer here specifically to the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, religious bodies of all faiths and many outstanding patriots, among them sportspeople, cultural

workers, traditional leaders, business people, academics, media workers and others.

All of these forces know precisely what repression and the arrogance of white power means. They know what it means when those who stand for justice, reason and dialogue are condemned to death, long terms of imprisonment, driven into exile and subjected to relentless persecution.

## Demand

It was precisely because of this actual experience that they also understood the magnitude of the victory that the democratic forces had won when, as we have said, the Pretoria Government gave in to the demand of the majority and conceded that the future of our country must, as a matter of right, be decided by all its citizens.

We must, at this stage, make the point that all the people of the country, regardless of the political cause they espouse, have a fundamental democratic right to express their views in public through peaceful demonstrations and other forms of mass action.

We will defend the right of the

people to this basic human right both now and in the future. All state practices intended to limit or circumscribe the exercise of this right must be ended without any delay.

Furthermore, the point should be clearly understood that it is wrong to pose negotiations and mass activity as being opposed to each other.

The mass involvement of the people in the process of negotiations is a vital component; part of the process of ensuring that the very result of these negotiations reflects the true interests and aspirations of these masses.

The voice of the people will therefore continue to be heard through mass action in all its forms.

In terms of the issue of the fundamental transformation of South Africa, the principal question of South Africa, the principle question that faces us now, that confronts all the people of our country, is - what do we do with the common victory we have all scored enabling all the people to participate in shaping the destiny of our country!

The ANC approaches the future with only two aims in mind. These are the total abolition of the system of apartheid, and not its reform or amendment, and its replacement by a genuine, non-racial democracy.

Power must be transferred into the hands of all the people so that they, the people, govern.

We believe these are victories over the system of apartheid which should be striven for by every South Africa African who dares call himself or herself a patriot, without anyone seeking to play with the lives and hopes of the people to gain what can only be temporary sectarian political advantage for themselves.

**\*Continued tomorrow**

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# ANC's all-party plan welcomed by government

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JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress's call for an all-party congress to thrash out a new constitution has been welcomed by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The call has been rejected by the Conservative Party, while the Inkatha Freedom Party has adopted a cautious open-door approach.

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela proposed yesterday that all political parties should meet to establish broad principles within which detailed constitutional work could be carried out; to determine the body, such as an elected constituent assembly, that would draw up the new constitution; and to establish an interim government.

After this was completed the congress could, if mandated, continue as an interim government or dissolve.

## 'Encouraging'

Dr Viljoen said it was particularly encouraging that the ANC accepted that all parties with a proven constituency should be part of negotiations.

He welcomed the ANC's renewed commitments to the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes.

"It is the government's point of view that the negotiation process is dependent on com-

pliance with undertakings in these minutes."

Dr Viljoen said the legitimacy of the negotiation process would be ensured through a multi-party conference.

"I welcome the ANC's point of view in favour of a multi-party conference in preparation for the constitutional negotiation process."

It was in the interest of all South Africans that the negotiation process started as speedily as possible.

Deputy-leader of the CP Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg rejected the idea as "none other than a first step to subjugate the whites to a black dictator under the cloak of democracy".

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed suspicion about the ANC's proposal, but said if Inkatha were approached by the ANC it

would seek a mandate from its members about responding.

Chief Buthelezi said although Inkatha was committed to a multi-party conference, the ANC's call had all the hallmarks of wanting a constituent assembly and an interim government in which it (the ANC) would play the dominant role.

Inkatha had reservations about a constituent assembly.

At yesterday's meeting, opened by ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo to commemorate the ANC's 79th anniversary, Mr Mandela said it would be difficult to place a time frame on the congress.

But he said: "Urgency is absolutely necessary."

He added that while his organisation and the National Party were the main actors in the negotiating process, they were not the only ones.—Sapa.

# ANC, AAM to meet to formulate strategy on SA

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Executive members of anti-apartheid movements in Europe and North America will meet senior ANC representatives in Brussels this weekend to plan their strategy for the coming months.

Sources close to the ANC and Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) confirmed yesterday that the meeting would focus on:

- A short-term international strategy in the period leading up to and beyond President FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on February 1;

- Plans for the maintenance of sanctions in light of the European Community's stated intention to review remaining restrictions as early as next

month, and

- A longer-term strategy during the period leading up to the ANC's April 30 deadline for the removal of obstacles to constitutional negotiations in South Africa.

The ANC's London office confirmed the meeting yesterday, but referred inquiries to British AAM executive secretary Mr Mike Terry. He was not available for comment late yesterday, however.

Reliable sources said the meeting, to be held behind closed doors, was called to afford senior ANC representatives who met in South Africa during the ANC's consultative conference last month an opportunity to update AAM activists on decisions taken at the conference.

# Money for exiles — will govt help?

THE Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, has asked the ANC to work out the government's financial role in the repatriation of 40 000 exiles.

Mr Du Plessis's move is a shift from the government's earlier position, when a senior official involved in the repatriation exercise, said it was up to organisations like the ANC and PAC to foot the repatriation and resettlement bill.

Mr Du Plessis met the chairman of the ANC's organising committee for the return of political exiles, Mr Jackie Selebi, and other officials at the weekend.

● Full report — Page 7

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9/1/91

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# ANC calls for return to school

Capt Tants

9/11/91

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Unless the government drastically reforms black education, the 1991 academic year will be a disaster, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) warned yesterday.

The ANC, meanwhile, called on pupils to return to school and vowed to do all in its power to ensure normal learning and teaching.

The NECC blamed the dismal black matric results for last year on the fragmented apartheid education system and the unequal allocation of resources.

NECC national chairman Mr Monde Tulwana warned of further deterioration unless there are "drastic fundamental changes".

While the NECC is prepared "to walk hand-in-hand" with the government to resolve the deepening crisis in black education, some in the government are still dragging their feet, he charged. The provision of

textbooks for 1991 is a matter of urgency.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a strong appeal to black pupils to return to classes and lauded white parents who had opened their schools.

"The disastrous matric results among African students once more bring into sharp focus the urgent need to end the system of apartheid education," Mr Mandela said. "This issue cannot await the introduction of a new constitution, but must be acted upon now."

The return to school by black pupils could not "be the end of the matter", he added. A single education system for all South Africans was an urgent priority.

"We demand that the doors of learning be opened now, so that the country as a whole begins seriously to tackle the urgent question of the development of our human resources for the building of a free, peaceful and prosperous society," he said. — Sapa

ANC rally  
Cape Times 9/11/91  
halts car  
production

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Production was suspended at the Mercedes Benz plant here yesterday afternoon after workers, in defiance of management, left the plant en masse to attend an ANC rally in Mdantsane marking the 79th birthday of the movement.

Waving ANC and South African Congress Party banners, the workers toyi-toyed up Fleet Street.

A company spokesman, Mrs Wendy Hoffman, said last night that employees had unilaterally left their work stations, contrary to agreed procedures.

She said the company was disappointed the ANC had chosen to hold the rally on a working day without any prior consultation on the effect it would have on business operations in the region.

Capl Times 9/1/91 (11A) (233)

# Exiles: Barend asks ANC for help

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis has asked the ANC to work out the government's financial role in the repatriation of 40 000 exiles.

Mr Du Plessis met Mr Jackie Selebi, chairman of the ANC's organising committee for the return of political exiles, as well as other officials at the weekend.

Mr Selebi said Mr Du Plessis had asked the delegation to work out what funds would be required for the repatriation process.

A spokesman for Mr Du Plessis's office last night confirmed the meeting had taken place, but would not give details.

This week Home Affairs official Mr Mike Bester, who is in charge of co-ordinating

the efforts of several government departments involved in the repatriation exercise, said it was up to organisations like the ANC and PAC to foot the repatriation and resettlement bill.

Mr Selebi said he told Mr Du Plessis that the government had a financial responsibility towards the exiles, who are due to return before April 30 in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

He added he had told Mr Du Plessis the ANC believed the government had a responsibility to the people coming back, partly because the government was responsible for their leaving.

"He suggested that we make our proposals and that is what we will be doing," Mr Selebi said. He said another meeting was planned.

Last weekend's meeting took place amid

growing fears that the repatriation programme would run into financial difficulties, particularly if the government insisted there was no role for the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

"Donor countries prefer to give their money to the UNHCR rather than individual groups," Mr Selebi said.

He said the ANC did not have the funds to pay for the repatriation.

The Rev Frank Chikane, chairman of the National Council for the Co-Ordination of Refugees (NCCR), said he was disappointed the government was not carving out a bigger role for itself in the repatriation process.

"I am disappointed that the government does not see the return of the exiles as an extraordinary event. They are treating it as an ordinary event," he said.



# Power to the people in 1991

Sowetan  
10/1/91

11A

**THIS** year we must focus our attention on the central question confronting our country - the question of the transfer of power to the people.

This requires that a democratic constitution be adopted, based on the principle of one person one vote in a united South Africa, incorporating an entrenched and justifiable Bill of Rights and protected by a representative and independent judiciary.

In other words, this year 1991 must see us realise the goal of the political emancipation of the majority by the introduction of a political order which will guarantee the democratic rights of all South Africans, including the rights to language, culture and the pursuit of religious beliefs.

The reality we still face is that whatever might have been done or said during the past year, our country continues to be ruled by an apartheid white minority regime, which functions on the basis of an apartheid constitution and a litany of apartheid laws.

This is a situation which no amount of sweet words and declarations about commitment to a democratic future can change.

Its continued existence represents a perpetuation of a crime against humanity which should not be tolerated for one day longer.

What is therefore required and required urgently is that we move forward to the establishment of a representative and sovereign body which must, within a determined period, draw up the new democratic constitution.

As is well known, we have advanced the demand that this body should be an elected Constituent Assembly.

The early installation of an interim government, as a body with real power in fact and in law, and in control of all instruments of state power, is critical to the process of the transition to the new order.

Quite clearly this process of transition away from apartheid

This is the second and final part of a statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the occasion of the 79th anniversary of the ANC delivered by the deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, on January 8 1991.

## FOCUS

cannot be supervised by an apartheid institution, which is precisely what the present government is.

The National Party must understand and accept that not only apartheid legislation must be done away with, but also that its government, itself an apartheid institution, should also be abolished.

In the interim, it must be replaced by an authority which would include representatives of the National Party as well as those of other political formations that would be participating in the process of negotiations.

The ANC is committed to the view that the transition to a non-racial democracy should be as short as possible.

### Failures

During this past year, the government demonstrated some dismal failures in terms of the maintenance of peace in this country.

It alone controls the institutions which have the duty and the capacity to ensure that all our people are protected from the threat of violence.

But through its actions, over many months, it allowed the situation in which hundreds of people were killed and thousands displaced from their homes, in some instances as a result of actions carried out by elements within its own security services.

This situation should not be allowed to recur.

We reiterate our call to all those who serve within the police and the army to commit themselves to the non-racial and democratic future which is certain to become a reality.

All those must act now to end

all campaigns of terror against the people and thus prepare for their place as part of the security forces of a new and peaceful South Africa.

In the light of our experience, we would like once more to affirm the right of the people to self-defence.

By decision of our consultative Conference, our movement is committed to assist the people throughout the country to set up the necessary mechanisms for the defence of each community, which mechanisms must enjoy the support and confidence of the people as a whole.

We would also like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our unwavering opposition to any of our members and supporters using force where political discussion is called for or as a means of promoting any of our campaigns.

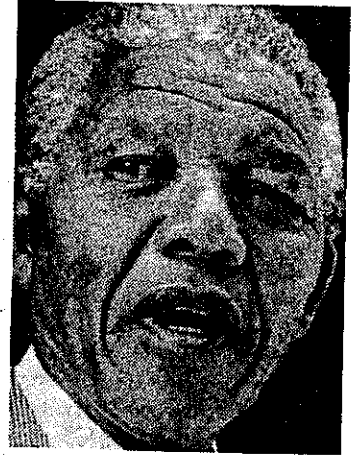
The movement will take all necessary disciplinary measures against anybody from our ranks who resorts to these unacceptable methods.

At the same time, as we wage a struggle for an interim government at the national level, it is necessary that we also act on the matter of local government by taking all the necessary steps to ensure that these old apartheid institutions, such as the community councils, are finally abolished.

Urgent measures are required to ensure that all our people are subject to the same system of education and that all schools are open to all, without discrimination on grounds of race or colour.

Accordingly, we must make the point here that the measures announced by the government to open white schools need to be changed radically.

It is quite clear that these measures are designed to slow down or otherwise make very dif-



ANC Deputy President,  
Mr Nelson Mandela

ficult the process of desegregating these schools. Such actions do not serve to inspire confidence in the commitment of the government to genuine change.

We will require the continued support of the international community to undo the damage caused by the system of white minority domination and to enhance the social order we are fighting for, of freedom, justice, peace and prosperity.

I would also like to take this opportunity directly to address the members and supporters of the ANC.

We face an urgent challenge to re-establish and expand the organisational structures of our movement among all the people of our country and in all areas, both rural and urban. After thirty years of illegality, it is not easy to realise this objective.

Our situation is made more difficult by the fact that our country is still ruled by an apartheid regime, many of whose members continue to see us as part of a "total onslaught" which must be rebuffed through a "total strategy".

We must therefore expect that at every stage there will be forces within the present state system, and the establishment at large, which will be lying in wait to destabilise and discredit our movement.

# Back demands of ANC, unions told

Stev 10/11/91.  
By Kaizer Nyatumba  
and Brendan Templeton

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged black South Africans to use their power to change those still bent on maintaining apartheid structures.

Speaking at the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers Association (Potwa) biennial congress in Johannesburg, he reiterated the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly, saying it was necessary that trade unions made a greater input towards ANC policy and added their voices to the demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

"It is the duty of everyone in the trade unions and other formations to make every democrat understand why we make these demands. Negotiation is a weapon which is exploring the peaceful transfer of power to the people," Mr Mandela said.

Workers' struggles could not be relegated to the factory floor. Workers, like other members of the oppressed community, were black and oppressed when they left the shop floor.

It was for this reason that workers who went on strike needed the community's support. The struggle for national liberation was a struggle for all the country's people, and therefore had to involve everybody.

## Thrash out

Mr Mandela's speech came a day after the release of the ANC's 79th anniversary statement calling for a constituent assembly, an interim government, the maintenance of sanctions and the convening of an all-party congress to thrash out constitutional issues.

The ANC leader said that although his organisation was willing to compromise to make a contribution to as wide an agreement as possible, it would not accept a junior partnership

in any form of apartheid.

Mr Mandela said black South Africans had to use their power to change those bent on keeping apartheid structures. This would make those in favour of apartheid "feel the power of a people unwilling to give in to a wrong and unjust system".

He also voiced his organisation's dissatisfaction with the widespread violence in the townships and the way the Government was dealing with it.

South African Communist Party chief Joe Slovo told the Potwa congress that whatever differences existed between the party and the ANC were "not competitive". While the SACP believed in a social South Africa, the ANC had so far not been clear on this issue.

Mr Slovo, who stated that if there were no differences between the two allies there would be no need to have an alliance, said those who stood against maximising the unity of the oppressed were not serving the interests of justice.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday called on trade unions to make a greater contribution to ANC policy to get a constituent assembly and an interim government off the ground.

Mandela was addressing about 200 delegates at the third biennial congress of the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) at Nasrec, outside Johannesburg.

"It is the duty of everyone in the trade unions and other formations to make every democrat understand why we make these demands (for a constituent assembly and interim government). Negotiation is a weapon which is exploring the peaceful transfer of power to the people," he said.

The struggles of the working people could not be relegated to the factory floor. At the end

## Unions asked to chip in on ANC policy

of the day, he said, workers were also black and oppressed when they left the shop floor.

"Workers who go on strike need the community's support. When we talk of a national liberation struggle, we mean a struggle of and for all the people of our land.

"Black South Africans should use their power to change those still intent on maintaining apartheid structures.

"Let them (pro-apartheid forces) feel the power of a people unwilling to give in to a wrong and unjust system."

On a more conciliatory note, Mandela said the ANC was willing to compromise to make a contribution to as wide an agreement as possible. But the organisation would not accept a

junior partnership in any form of apartheid.

Main congress speaker Joe Slovo of the SACP conceded there were differences between the ANC and the SACP, but said: "Whatever differences exist, these are not competitive. While the SACP believes in a socialist SA, the ANC has not been clear on this issue."

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Britain yesterday welcomed the ANC's call for an all-party congress to pave the way towards constitutional negotiations.

A Foreign Office spokesman also noted as "significant" the fact that Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen was quick to support the idea. — Sapa.

B/209 20/11/91

(11A)

(11B)

After a dark end to 1990, this year has started on a note of optimism, reports **Shaun Johnson**

# February 2nd moves back into sight

**T**HE ANC's detailed policy statement for 1991, unveiled this week by deputy president Nelson Mandela, suggests that this year could see the real business of negotiations finally beginning to overshadow the grandstanding and point-scoring which characterised the process in the latter months of 1990.

Senior diplomats have hailed the statement as the "re-dawning of the age of reason".

If other parties to the negotiations adopt a similarly conducive approach, they said, the optimism of February 1990 could well be recaptured by February 1991.

While the statement faithfully reiterates the policy positions adopted at the ANC's recent consultative conference — which was militant more in tone than in substance — its overall import is conciliatory and open-ended, showing a demonstrable commitment to breathing life and urgency into the negotiating process.

While there is no movement on issues such as mass action, sanctions and the deadline for the removal of "obstacles" such as the return of exiles and release of prisoners, the statement leaves little doubt that the ANC's primary concern now is to achieve progress beyond the bilateral "talks about talks" phase.

In other words, while obstacles remain and will continue to be emphasised by the ANC, the organisation has signalled that it believes they will be removed — and is formulating strategies on the basis of that confidence. This reverses the doomsday mood which infused the process after the consultative conference.

In the statement, and even more clearly in answering questions at a press conference afterwards, Mr Mandela displayed remarkable confidence and was at pains to play down potential difficulties. "It would be surprising if there were no difficulties among

us (in getting the all-party conference off the ground)", he said, "but we are prepared to face these difficulties and we can foresee some of them."

"But what is encouraging and very important is the fact that you have men and women in all organisations who are genuinely interested in the peace process... what we are trying to develop now is a joint strategy which involves all the people who can influence decisions..."

He reacted firmly to a suggestion that the anniversary statement's scant reference to the negotiation process itself meant that the process was "out of the window".

"That would be a very grave mistake to make," he said. "The central issue is that negotiations are still on course."

Nothing had occurred to make him feel despondent about the prospects for substantial progress in 1991, he said, and "it is quite

clear that the Government and the ANC have been moving closer to each other".

Important points of disagreement which remained — principally over the concepts of an interim government and a constituent assembly — could be dealt with through "persuasion and discussion", said Mr Mandela.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government would continue while necessary he said, intimating that such a need would persist until the work of the proposed all-party conference was completed.

There is no certainty that the ANC's all-party conference will materialise in the precise form proposed, but the proposal has given the idea tremendous impetus. This is borne out by the response of the Government and, to a lesser extent, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

While the ANC has set out three tasks for the conference — two of

which deal with the constituent assembly and the interim government, and are therefore controversial — these are not necessarily seen as conditions for participation.

Most importantly, diplomats believe, the initiative could mark the beginning of an extended compromise over these key issues. The all-party conference effectively puts the demand for a constituent assembly on ice: something to be negotiated itself. It also addresses President de Klerk's unease about dealing exclusively with the ANC.

Further, the suggestion that the all-party conference might be converted — by popular, proven demand — into a constitution-drafting forum and even an interim government of sorts, could signal a coming-together on previously deadlocked issues. In fact if not in law, the leaders at the all-party conference could conceivably begin to share power — a "dry run" for what is to come. □

Star 10/1/91

11A

# PAC upset over call for congress

11A

Groote Schuur  
10/1/91

**THE PAC is surprised at the ANC's call for an all-party congress, a move initiated by Government, when the nation is waiting for unity talks among liberation movements.**

Speaking from Cape Town, the PAC's Mr Barney Desai yesterday said that he was more surprised at the insinuation that the all-party congress would flow into a constituent assembly.

This, Desai said, went against the PAC's view that the liberation move-

**By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN**

ments should sit down in a principled united front to draft joint strategies to confront the Government.

"I am surprised that the ANC did not consult with the PAC prior to announcing the all-party congress in view of the fact that a meeting of the liberation movements was in the offing," Desai said.

Desai said that the ANC has failed once again, as it did when it arranged without consultation last year's meeting at

Groote Schuur and Pretoria, to consult with the oppressed.

It appears they have made the decision to convene an all-party congress "in close consultation with Pretoria", hence the "warm welcome" from the capital, Desai said.

He also warned that if the all-party went ahead and grew into a constitution-making forum "it would sidetrack the call of the oppressed for a constituent assembly based on one-person-one-vote".

"The whole proposal sounds like they are once

## **Azapo rejects all-party talks**

**JOHANNESBURG. —**  
The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will not participate in the multi-party conference over constitutional negotiations proposed by the ANC.

A statement yesterday reiterated Azapo's call for a consultative conference of liberation movements, and rejected the inclusion of parties from "the oppressor camp", including President F W de Klerk.

Azapo president Dr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said that before constitutional talks with the government could be considered, black opposition groups should "meet to resolve the multiplicity of viewpoints and agree on a common agenda against the enemy". — Sapa

# Flurry of denials on govt money for exiles

CAH: Ter: ES '10/11/91 (11A) (11A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and the ANC yesterday both denied that their discussions at the weekend involved the issue of government financial assistance for the ANC's repatriation of exiles.

Business Day yesterday reported that Mr Du Plessis had asked the ANC to suggest ways in which the government might offer financial assistance to the programme of repatriating 40 000 exiled South Africans by April 30.

Neither the minister nor the ANC would elaborate on the details of discussions held at the weekend. Mr Du Plessis described the talks as "technical", and denied asking the ANC to

submit suggestions regarding financial aid for repatriation.

Earlier this week Mr Jackie Selebi, chairman of the ANC's Organising Committee for the Return of Political Exiles, said the minister had suggested the ANC come up with concrete proposals on how the government could assist in the repatriation process. Mr Selebi was not available for comment yesterday.

But the ANC yesterday also denied requesting assistance from the Minister of Finance.

"We wish to point out that all discussions regarding repatriation have been held with the appropriate department, namely Home Affairs," a statement said.

Capt Tants  
Friday, January 10 1991

114

# ANC rally cost Benz R6m

Own Correspondent

**EAST LONDON.** — Millions of rands in production were lost this week when most of the 3 500-strong workforce at the Mercedes-Benz SA manufacturing plant here left work to attend an ANC rally, a company spokeswoman said yesterday.

Production was suspended on Tuesday afternoon for about three hours when employees unilaterally left to attend an Mdantsane rally marking the 79th anniversary of the ANC.

MBSA spokeswoman Miss Rene Kilian said from the company's headquarters in Pretoria that the estimated loss for the period production was suspended was R6 million.

Production at the plant returned to normal yesterday when workers returned to work.

She said negotiations would start with the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa) today on the workers' conduct on Tuesday. Discussions would take place "in accordance with the agreed collective procedure existing between the company and those representing Numsa".

"While recognising the importance of the occasion, Mercedes management made it clear to the shop stewards (on Monday) why the company could not grant their request for a suspension of production," she said.

"The Mercedes management stated that while the company was committed to constructively contributing to the socio-economic development of a true

democratic, non-racial South Africa, it is not a political organisation and cannot accommodate the wishes of one political party above the other."

She added that as the suspension of production is contrary to agreed procedure, the company is considering a no-work-no-pay policy.

Mercedes Benz has reportedly also criticised the ANC for holding a rally on a working day without prior consultation on the effect it would have on business operations in the region.

Numsa general secretary Mr Moses Mayekiso said the MBSA management should understand the obligations of their workers to their political organisations and urged them not to adopt the no-work-no-pay policy.



# Push for assembly

Cart Times 10/11/91

## Mandela tells union

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged delegates at the congress of the Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) to campaign for a constituent assembly.

"It is the duty of everyone in the trade unions to make every democrat understand why we make these demands. Negotiation is a weapon which is exploring the peaceful transfer of power to the people."

Mr Mandela called for "mass action for the transfer of power to the people", but said that the ANC was willing to compromise to realise the widest possible agreement on a future South Africa.

The keynote speaker at the congress, SA Communist Party (SACP) general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, said the ANC did not share all the objectives of the SACP, but the differences between the organisations were not "competitive". — Sapa

# ANC 79th birthday rally

Sowetan

11/1/91

Sowetan Reporter

11A

THE Eastern Transvaal region of the ANC will hold a rally to celebrate the movement's 79th anniversary at Ermelo's Wesselton Township Stadium tomorrow.

Ms Jaqueline Molefe will read the National Executive Committee's statement of intent for 1991.

"The regional executive committee will be introduced to members from all parts of the Eastern Lowveld and as far afield as Bushbuckridge in the Lowveld," Mr Jackson Mthembu, the PRO of the region said.

Release those who  
fought for justice  
— Qibla member

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

QIBLA member Yusuf Patel, jailed for five years in the Pan Africanist Congress-Qibla trial under the Internal Security Act in 1988, has been paroled from Paarl's Victor Verster prison where he served as "a common criminal" after earlier being treated as a "security prisoner" and then a "potential security prisoner".

But the leading member of the Cape-based Islamic organisation, Imam Achmad Cassiem, who was sentenced to six years' jail in the same trial, is still being held on Robben Island.

Both Patel (39) and Imam Cassiem (44), who was voted co-winner of The Indicator Human Rights Award 1989, refused to apply to the state for indemnity.

Paarl-based Patel, who visited the Reef and Pretoria this week to thank people who gave them moral support, said in an interview in Lenasia this week he could not thank "the enemy" for his release on December 28. "We do not recognise the status of an illegitimate state. Neither we nor any of the other political prisoners should have been in jail in the first place."

Patel said he had been given an indemnity application form last November, but refused to sign it. Among the conditions for indemnity was that he foreswear violence. "It's a question of (FW) de Klerk's sincerity.

"He expects us to renounce violence. He wants us to forgive and forget," said Patel. "But is the state prepared to do the same? Is it prepared to acknowledge its guilt for committing atrocities against the oppressed?"

The courts had found that neither Patel nor Cassiem had committed any violence, though they had intended to overthrow the state by violent means.

Muslims in the Cape regarded their conviction as "conviction of the Quran".

A pamphlet issued by a Muslim group in Cape Town at the time said: "In the Pretoria regional court the magistrate read out four verses from the Quran when he passed judgement against Achmad Cassiem and Yusuf Patel. By convicting these two men he has declared the verses of the Quran as subversive."

Patel, re-united with his wife Badrunisha and nine-year-old daughter Amina, said he would stand by his Islamic ideals. Qibla was motivated by the Quranic injunction to "strive in the path of Allah in the way of those who are oppressed. Our position all along is to serve Allah and His creations and to see a just social order. That is our minimum and maximum demand."

Patel said that because he and Cassiem had been tried with PAC members, the impression had been created that Qibla was allied to the PAC. "Our position in fact is that we are prepared to work with the PAC and the ANC to bring about a just social order."

After his conviction, Patel was transferred from Pretoria to Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison where, he said, he was held as a "potential security prisoner", apart from other inmates. He was transferred to Victor Verster in July 1989 and four months later, was informed he had been classified a "common criminal". Last January he was moved to the prison's medium security section.

The Patels were angered by the continued incarceration of other political prisoners. "The oppressive state is still victimising those who are struggling for a just social order. We don't see why they are in jail in the first place."

The Qibla member, who was a partner in a small clothing business before his detention, said he had received several job offers but would take a few weeks to decide what type of work he will do. In terms of his parole, he has to be employed, he has to notify the prison authorities of any change of address or employment and to be in regular contact with the prisons welfare authorities.

Mr Whyte, who stood for the NP in the Berea municipal by-

serving 90 days in prison for civil debt.

found unharmed in the company of Mr Jurgens.

and could not help himself to control his sexual preferences.

## Zulu king refuses to meet Tambo

By Kaizer Nyatsumba  
Political Staff

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has apparently snubbed ANC president Oliver Tambo by refusing to meet him this weekend, according to unconfirmed reports.

Mr Tambo, who returned to South Africa towards the end of December after spending three decades in exile, will address a rally at Kings Park Stadium in Durban on Sunday.

Unconfirmed reports said ANC chief of intelligence and southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma, said to have accompanied KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to see King Zwelithini on Monday, tried to arrange a meeting between the Zulu king and Mr Tambo this weekend.

King Zwelithini refused, outlining previous discourtesies of the ANC in denying him an audience.

## Power cut cripples Tokoza businessmen

By Thabo Leshilo

Tokoza businessmen are facing financial disaster — the result of the month-long electricity cut by the Alberton Town Council.

Electricity supply to the township was discontinued in December following a rent and services boycott which left residents owing the council R1,7 million for electricity.

Ike Mdlalose, vice-chairman

of the Tokoza Chamber of Commerce and shopowner, has even stopped selling perishables and goods which need refrigeration.

He estimated that some shop-owners had lost up to 95 percent in returns on perishables because of the electricity cut.

Another resident, Nomvula Dlamini, who also runs a nursery school at her home, said she could no longer buy food in bulk for the nursery school and her family.

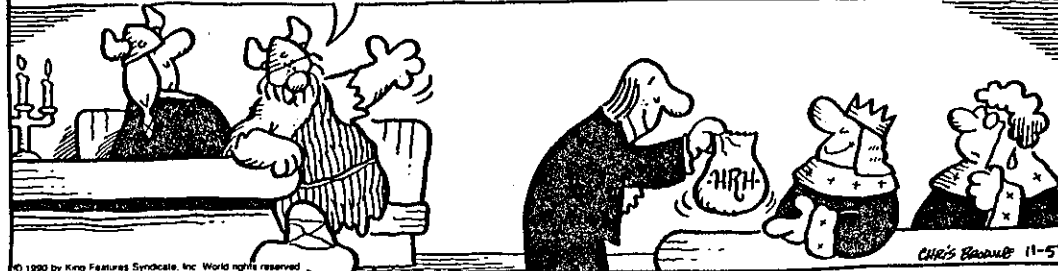
Tokoza administrator Gert Muller said residents would now have to pay between R200 and R250 for services after the breakdown of talks between the Tokoza Civic Association and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA).

The TPA withdrew from the negotiations on the services issue on Wednesday after the TCA leaked sensitive information about the negotiations to the press.

### HÄGAR the Horrible

By Dik Browne

RICH PEOPLE ARE SO PRETENTIOUS! LOOK—MONOGRAMMED DOGGIE BAGS!



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CHRIS BROWNE 11-5

FM 11/11/91 (11A) ~~202~~  
 bution of the land, lead to the elimination of poverty and focus on ensuring a rising standard of living for all the people."

There's no reference to nationalisation or similar measures; the ANC seems prepared for a more moderate economic line. It concludes: "As South Africans we know very well that liberty and poverty are uncomfortable bedfellows."

ANC POLICY FM 11/11/91

## **SELECTIVE SANCTIONS**

The ANC, continuing to reflect an ambivalent attitude toward sanctions, says in its 1991 policy document this week that, though it will press for the continuation of sanctions, it would like to see the speedy removal of these political pressures. (11A) ~~202~~

Deputy president Nelson Mandela says the movement is to ask the EC to rescind its recent decision to lift the ban on new investment in SA. Success in this approach seems unlikely.

Apart from this, the ANC has adopted its softest line in a decade, showing that while its militant membership still favours sanctions — as shown at its mid-December Consultative Conference — the leadership is eager to begin movement away from them.

ANC leaders privately say they are keen for economic restructuring to begin but this does not mean willy-nilly removal of sanc-

FM 11/11/91 (11A) ~~202~~  
 tions. They would like sanctions to be used in more sophisticated ways as a weapon for the continued removal of apartheid and as pressure for social restructuring, like nonracial, unitary sports bodies.

"We are determined that our country should, as soon as possible, take its place as an equal member among the world community of nations, without any sanctions against it. This requires that we achieve speedy movement forward toward its democratic transformation," the document notes.

Calling for urgent attention to improve the quality of life of the poor, the ANC criticises government's lack of progress, despite a stated commitment. "The forthcoming Budget and public expenditure in general must reflect genuine movement."

The ANC calls for continued pressure for a living wage and welcomes "agreements between some unions and employers to help provide alternative employment for workers who are unavoidably retrenched. We urge other companies to follow these examples."

It asks the business community for "a determined offensive against the abject poverty which afflicts so many of our people. The necessary financial resources and business skills have to be released to tackle such urgent questions as housing and education."

The ANC commits itself to an economic system "that will create jobs, ensure a fair and just distribution of wealth, enable black economic empowerment, attend to redistri-

# ANC launches in Bop — and five die

**T**HE resurgence of violence in the Bophuthatswana village of Braklaagte coincides with the formal launch of three African National Congress structures in the area in the dead of night on December 29/30 to avoid harassment.

Within 10 days of the launch of branches of the ANC, its Women's League and its Youth League, five people were reported to have died in conflict allegedly triggered by vigilantes who support President Lucas Mangope.

Many more were injured, an unknown number arrested and hundreds had fled the village, seeking refuge on neighbouring farms, in Zeerust or as far afield as the Reef.

At one level, the return of the ANC to Braklaagte — and the surrounding area of Lehurutshe — simply adds more fuel to the fire that has smouldered and flared intermittently in the area since it was incorporated into Bophuthatswana two years ago against the will of a majority of residents.

At another level, it is a pointed reminder that the present hostile reaction of the Mangope government to the ANC — evidenced in the detention of ANC members, the serving of deportation orders on ANC Mafikeng branch executives, the banning of the ANC's regional organiser from recent funerals in the Dry Harts area — has a long history.

It was in the Lehurutshe area in the 1950s, when local residents took up the ANC anti-pass campaign, that Mangope as chief of one of the villages first faced physical confrontation by ANC-aligned residents.

The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) states that "vigilante activity started in November when the ANC started organising in the area". A Trac spokesman said the homes of ANC leaders had been first attacked by vigilantes but more recently the attacks had been more wide-ranging, taking in all those who opposed the Bophuthatswana government.

Although the pro-Bophuthatswana vigilantes refer to themselves as "Inkatha", there are no indications that

The village of Braklaagte has once again been torn apart by violence — this time over the rejuvenation of the ANC.

**By JO-ANNE COLLINGE**

they have any links with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The first three deaths occurred at the weekend in conflict which Bophuthatswana police ascribe to arson. Sources in Braklaagte state that the burning of four houses of pro-homeland residents was a sequel to earlier attacks by vigilantes, both in the adjoining area of Welverdiend and in Braklaagte itself.

According to the official Bophuthatswana National News Agency (Bopana), a further two people were killed on Tuesday when police opened fire on "a large and angry crowd of about 100 people (who) attacked the Braklaagte police station with stones, knobkierries and commercial explosives". Three policemen and two civilians were injured in the clash.

Attorney Clive Plasket, who visited the area on Tuesday and was ordered out of the police station when he attempted to negotiate protection for villagers, said he had spoken to numerous residents who alleged they had either been assaulted by the police in the last week or that vigilantes had attacked them in the presence of the police.

"I saw one person who said he had been stabbed by vigilantes in front of the police inside the police camp in Braklaagte," said Plasket.

He added that as he had approached the make-shift police station he had seen a mob gathered at the neighbouring home of headman Edwin Moiloo, armed with sticks, kierries and axes. Moiloo is far from a popular leader, having been imposed on the community by Mangope while the people looked to the son of a previous headman, Pupsey Sebogodi, to take on leadership.

Earlier resistance to incorporation was countered by the direct and heavy-handed action of the Bophu-

thatswana armed forces — beginning with the "bloody Easter" of 1989 when pupils who refused to declare support for the homeland were allegedly beaten up at a road block by soldiers, where subsequent community meetings were teargassed and violently broken up by police and when people held at Motswedi police station were brutally assaulted and denied access to lawyers.

The Bophuthatswana government, through Bopana, has denied that its forces have supported vigilantes in Braklaagte. In fact, they deny all knowledge of the existence of the "Inkatha" band.

"The police would like it to be known that they know nothing about an alleged group of vigilantes operating in the Braklaagte area," a Bopana statement read. "The police are investigating the possibility of the trouble recently in the Braklaagte area having been caused by two opposing factions. The police however deny giving any assistance or support to any particular faction."

THE GULF CRISIS

# SA support for Hussein from unlikely bedfellows

South Africans — from the far right to the far left — are as divided in their opinion of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and the impending Gulf war as they are among themselves. **By TSHOKOLO wa MOLAKENG**

**S**ADDAM HUSSEIN will have unexpected allies in South Africa if he goes to war with the US: the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Boerestaat Party.

The African National Congress, however, has backed the United Nations resolution to attack Iraq unless it quit Kuwait.

Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait last August and the UN Security Council ordered Baghdad to evacuate the emirate by next Tuesday, or face military action.

The ANC's support was cushioned in semantics. The representative, Joel Netshitenzhe, this week said the ANC preferred a peaceful resolution and commended the negotiations which have been held.

He added that war spelt danger for the world in terms of civil casualties and international destabilisation.

Asked whether Iraqi President Saddam Hussein did not have genuine grounds to seize Kuwait as he had claimed it was Baghdad's 19th province, Netshitenzhe replied: "We are not opposed to the UN resolution."

However, he also read the UN the riot act on two scores.

He said it was duplicity on the West's part to apply sanctions against Iraq as punitive measures when, with regard to South Africa, it had argued that sanctions were counter-productive.

The ANC representative was on Saddam's side when he agreed that the Palestinian issue also had to be addressed.

Saddam has repeatedly stated that the solution to the Gulf crisis fell short unless it involved the Palestinians' plight in Israel. He has also threatened to attack Israel, and later Saudi Arabia, where the American-led multi-national troops are deployed.

"The matter is more serious; it is colonial. The ANC is not against the Jews but the Arabs need support to get their own land," Netshitenzhe said, adding that the ANC wanted the UN to take stronger action against Israel — be it sanctions, material or moral support.

**T**he Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) said it was not an alibi for Sad-

dam to link Kuwait with the Palestinian question because the Jews had invaded Palestine. The Palestinians, like the Jews, were also original inhabitants of the area, and they had to live together in harmony, said the MJC administrator, Imam Hassam Solomon.

"There is a national Arabic-Islamic resurgence to shake off superpower influence. And any Arab or Muslim who stands up for the Arabs is justified."

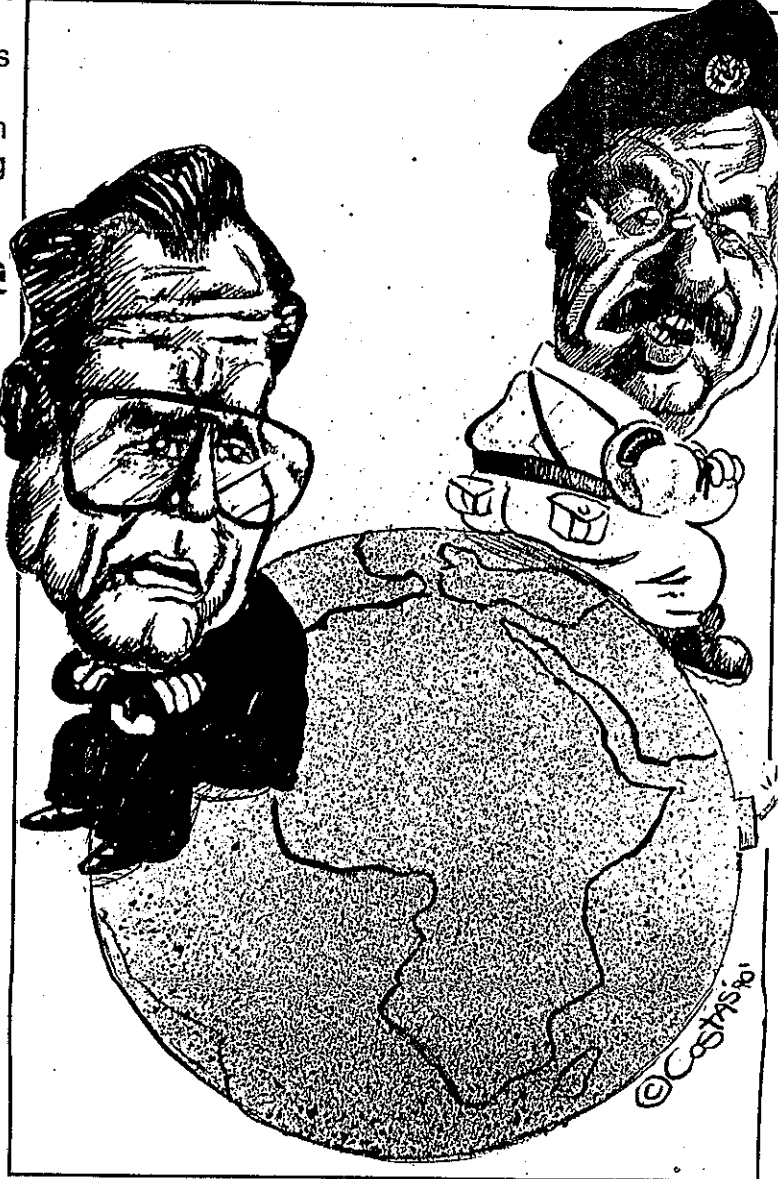
Saddam has warned that "every Muslim will be a missile to be thrown against the enemy once he launches his armed aggression against Iraq".

Solomon pointed out that Saddam's action was not "simply an invasion ... it is more complex ... Kuwait and Saudi Arabia serve American interests".

He added that it would not be a "wise move" for Saddam to go to war as he (Solomon) preferred a political settlement which, he said, the United States — which had invaded South American countries and Vietnam before — could provide.

He did, however, predict that the US would not take up arms as there was no consensus either in that country or in Europe.

**C**hairman of the local Zionist Federation, Solly Sacks, said if there was no war and Iraq pulled out, Saddam, "a greedy tyrant with a huge army which had no employment",



would in future "do something as he will have nuclear power and will have learnt the West's ways".

He denounced claims that the Kuwait invasion was similar or related to

the Palestinian affair. "The Arabs have never been displaced. They ganged up against Israel and had to be fought off."

Sacks also rejected allegations that

the Palestinians were oppressed: "Israel is the most colour-blind country in the world. The Palestinians enjoy the same rights as the Israeli prime minister."

Sacks acknowledged that America had been most vigorous in the affair because it wanted the oil, although she was right as it was endorsed by the world, even Saddam's "Arab brothers".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "extremely improbable" that Iraq could defeat the allied forces. De Beer, who likened Saddam to Hitler, said the Iraqi leader had to be stopped in his "international piracy" mission.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said the US — which inspired and fostered the UN resolution and is now at the forefront in the impending war — had no business intervening in the Gulf crisis as it had no "oil wells to dictate upon people who have them".

Azapo representative Siphon Maseko said the intervention was ironic because the US had failed to take similar steps in Israel, Panama and South Africa. He attributed the interference to America's "lust to show off its deadly weapons" and to prescribe oil prices.

Maseko said nobody, except the Middle East inhabitants, could argue about the legitimacy of Iraq's invasion. But he suggested that Saddam might have a point as colonialism had divided territories randomly.

**B**oerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder concurred that Kuwait was Iraq's land.

"America, England and all people have no right to interfere in Arab affairs. They must get out," he said.

Van Tonder added that Iraq should give the allied forces a thorough beating.

The Pan Africanist Congress said that if American force of arms was used against Iraq, "we would give every support to the Iraqi people".

However, the PAC said it was committed to world peace. It called for an urgent international conference "not only to resolve the issue but also that of occupied Palestine which was colonised by the naked aggression of international Zionism".



Creating fresh momentum ... ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu this week called for an all-party conference to continue negotiations

Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

THE African National Congress' call for an all-party conference this week was the first step on the road that, if all goes according to plan, will lead to a new constitution for South Africa and a general election within 18 months.

Sources close to the negotiating process are optimistic that major obstacles to the adoption of a new constitution have been removed.

Chief among them are the ANC's compromise this week on a constituent assembly and interim government — agreeing that the all-party conference could be mandated to continue these tasks — and the government's scrapping of the principle of group rights.

The next step that will kick the negotiating process into life will be president F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of parliament on February 1. He is expected to scrap the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act (long-awaited), but also to deal with the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

The government is aware of growing impatience within ANC ranks — as manifested at last month's consultative conference — and is anxious to overcome sticking points such as the release of political prisoners. In addition, draft legislation amending the Internal Security Act has been approved already.

A surprise element in De Klerk's speech could be an announcement of intention to scrap the Population Registration Act, the last great pillar of apartheid. Several cabinet ministers, led by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, have been pushing for the abolition of the act, but the practical implications of doing away with it — for instance, what to do about segregated schooling — could prompt De Klerk to hang back.

Some sources are optimistic that all the obstacles will be removed before March — certainly long before the April 30 deadline envisaged in the Pre-

w/mad 11/11-17/1/91 (11A)

## ANC conference call ends political logjam

The ANC's call this week for an all-party conference may have unblocked the logjam in negotiations. If the conference goes ahead, and if the government scraps the remaining pillars of apartheid, a new constitution could be drawn up and a general election held within 18 months, reports **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

toria minute. When that is clear, the anti-apartheid forces are to meet for a "patriotic" conference on March 21 to discuss joint strategy in the constitutional negotiations.

The conference will bring together the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the Non European Unity Movement.

In a significant departure, the Inkatha Freedom Party has been invited to attend but there is some doubt as to whether it will avail itself of the opportunity.

The ANC call for an all-party conference this week was important in breaking the political logjam in South Africa. Coming after months in which the country's two main political rivals — the ruling National Party and the ANC — have been at loggerheads, the ANC's call has created fresh momentum for negotiations.

Some observers interpreted the call as a sign that the ANC had pre-empted the government's own plans for an all-party conference.

However, the evidence seems to indicate that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela made the proposal with the full knowledge and backing of the government.

Mandela conceded at Tuesday's press conference that he had discussed the issue with De Klerk before the announcement. "This is an obvious development," he said. "It would have formed the subject of discussion between us."

The ANC's proposal for a conference of all parties bears an uncanny resemblance to the government's own plan that was being hawked about at the end of last year. The only difference is that the plan is a lot more palatable to many in the mouth of Mandela than it would have been in the mouth of De Klerk.

Mandela was remarkably upbeat about negotiations this week. "Nothing has happened to make me despondent," he said. "I am confident that we are going to make as much progress this year as we made last year."

He said there was no specific time frame for the conference, though he emphasised the "urgency" of the matter. Sources believe that the conference could get started in April or May this year — sometime soon after the March 21 anti-apartheid congress.

A committee to decide how parties can qualify to attend and how many delegates each can have is likely to be set up soon, possibly in February.

While the ANC continues to advocate an elected constituent assembly — a demand rejected by the government — and an interim government, it has cleared a potential obstacle by allowing

that if the all-party congress obtains a popular mandate, it can continue as a constitution-making body or an interim government.

While there are major issues still to be ironed out, the government and the ANC are already remarkably close on the actual constitutional principles. Both favour a bill of rights with an independent judiciary and one-man, one-vote in a united South Africa.

The government has scrapped the notion of group rights and its economic policy, which Finance Minister Barend du Plessis spelt out in London six weeks ago, has also moved very close to the ANC's. Both groups favour economic growth while recognising the need for a redistribution of wealth.

Some government planners are talking about the two-tier federal American constitution adapted to South African conditions, while the German federal and proportional representation systems are getting a look in.

Aspects of the Westminster system are still in the running, from the ANC side. Even Mauritius' constitution is about to be examined.

The toughest stumbling block at the negotiating table itself could be Inkatha's demand for a highly federalised system that will create a virtually autonomous state in Natal.

The Conservative Party could find itself outmanoeuvred if it does not climb on the bandwagon and simply relies on a white referendum to stop the constitution. Polls project that De Klerk's popularity is on the rise again among whites who are growing used to the idea that apartheid and white rule are going forever.

The biggest block to peace itself could be an extreme rightwing attempt to stop the process with violence. For this reason, De Klerk has been arguing with the ANC to retain some security powers in the Internal Security Act.



# Numsa backs men's Mercedes walkout

Star 11/11/91  
EAST LONDON — The National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) leadership has backed members who walked out of the Mercedes-Benz factory in East London on Tuesday to attend an ANC rally.

Mercedes-Benz recorded its concern to Numsa officials about the walkout by union members at the plant.

At an estimated cost of R6 million, production was suspended after workers left the premises without permission to attend the ANC's 79th anniversary celebrations.

The general secretary of Numsa, Moses Mayekiso, said on Tuesday the workers' action did not go against any agreement with the manufacturer.

ANC supporters, he said, "had the right to at-

tend the rally of the party they supported".

It was the first time in 30 years that ANC supporters could openly celebrate the founding day of their organisation and they did not choose the day to fall on a weekday.

This was the ANC's response to the walkout, he said.

The company had questioned an ANC rally on a working day.

ANC spokesperson Gill Marcus said there should have been some recognition by the company for the significance of the day for the workers.

"Generally speaking, our policy is not to be disruptive to working routines, and most rallies take place over weekends, but in the calendar of the people there are certain significant dates when rallies would be attended, like June 16 and August 9." — Sapa.

NEGOTIATIONS FM 11/1/91

# A QUESTION OF TIMING

11A

The ANC has introduced a subtle but possibly vital change in its policy on how to achieve a democratic SA.

Previous ANC policy called for "free and fair" elections (still a condition) that would produce an interim government. This government would then appoint a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution. The NP government, quite understandably, has resisted this idea strongly on the grounds that behind the fancy words would be the stark reality of black majority rule.

Current thinking, set out in the ANC's remarkably moderate policy paper for 1991, is that the constituent assembly would be elected first, followed by the appointment of an interim government. This significant reversal seems to promise whites a much greater say in designing a new constitution, before handing over any power.

The ANC believes the ball could be set rolling by an "all-party congress," including the NP, in the near future. The ANC sees as another benefit the creation of a "patriotic front" of organisations opposed to apartheid and minority rule. The notion of a patriotic front is apparently gaining credibility among the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement, to name some of the important players.

The ANC policy paper also makes a specific call to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) "to co-operate with us in genuine good faith to save the lives and property of people." Deputy president Nelson Mandela says negotiations are under way to convene a top-level meeting between the ANC and IFP leaderships, including himself and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In the ANC's view, the function of the suggested all-party congress would be to:

- Set out broad principles within which detailed constitutional work would be carried out;
- Determine the composition of the body — such as an elected Constituent Assembly — that would draw up the constitution; and
- Establish an interim government to oversee the process of transition until a new parliament was elected and a democratic government formed on the basis of the new constitution.

No other grouping, including government, has produced a plan for transition that is as clear as this and it should be taken seriously.

The ANC has repeated that it is keen to get away from the situation where "the ruling NP is both a player and a referee." It argues further that "the NP must understand and accept that not only apartheid legislation must be done away with, but also that its government, itself an apartheid institution, should also be abolished. In the inter-

im, it must be replaced by an authority which would include representatives of the NP as well as those of other political formations that would be participating in the process of negotiations . . . quite clearly, this process of transition away from apartheid cannot be supervised by an apartheid institution, which is precisely what the present government is."

These mature stages of negotiations depend on the implementation of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, the removal of apartheid laws and an end to violence. Failure to implement the agreements, the ANC says, "will put in very serious doubt the announced commitment of the government to genuine negotiations . . . We, for our part, are committed to a review of the situation if outstanding agreements are not implemented by April 30, 1991."

The ANC says it will hold the government responsible for any delay in the process toward constitutional agreements. "Transition to a nonracial democracy should be as short as possible . . . Prolonged uncertainty about the future will itself result in further conflict and destabilisation. Our liberty, which has been denied for so long, should no longer be delayed."

There can be little doubt now that the faction in the ANC which urges haste has the upper hand.

It would seem that government can no longer claim that the ANC is unwilling to come to the table.

Mandela made it quite clear, responding to questions, that negotiations are on track, but the ANC is concerned that "while we are negotiating with the government, it is failing to live up to its responsibility of maintaining law and order. What is even more disturbing is the involvement of the security forces in the promotion of this violence. This could derail the peace process, but we are determined to see that the government carries out its duty."

The ANC also warned its own members against political intolerance, saying disciplinary measures would be taken against "anybody from our ranks who resorts to these unacceptable methods." This is obviously an area where government feels the ANC is not doing enough to encourage a climate conducive to negotiations.

In the January 8 policy document, drawn up under the chair of ANC international relations chief Thabo Mbeki, the hand of Mandela is evident throughout.

The ANC's slogan for 1991 is the "Year of Mass Action for the Transfer of Power to the People." Recognising a major weakness, it concedes: "Everything will remain a dream unless we are strong enough to move



Mandela and Tambo . . . to a democratic SA

the masses of the people to understand, accept and support the perspectives we put forward." ■

## EDUCATION ~~52~~

### THE LOST BOYS FM 11/1/91

The adjectives — like "appalling" and "disastrous" — that have been applied to the matric results of the Department of Education & Training (DET) may have lost their force through repetition, but they are accurate.

Nearly two-thirds of candidates failed. As predicted by the FM last week, the results were the worst ever, representing a 6% drop on last year's 42% pass rate.

That 64% failure sounds even worse when it is translated into tens of thousands of young people and seen in the context of the estimated one million matric candidates that have failed since the 1976 Soweto student uprising. Unskilled, unmotivated, drawn easily into reckless political activity or crime, these are the members of the "lost generation."

The response to the black matric results is the familiar "something has to be done." But practically nothing will be done, at least for some time. It is beyond the capacity of anyone to do anything, so riddled is the system with incompetence, corruption, poor morale, lack of discipline and resources, muddled thinking and inequality. And even if all these problems could be solved by waving a piece of magic chalk, there would still be the vast, choking pressure of sheer numbers.

Everyone is quick to blame someone else.

The DET, hapless heir to a bankrupt and hated ideology, blames boycotts and

(11A) (11A)  
**Paso: Stay  
out of white  
schools** *At 7:15*  
11/1/91

**JOHANNESBURG. —**  
The Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) yesterday called on black pupils not to enrol at white schools, saying the opening of these institutions to other races was a liberal ploy to suppress the militancy of black children.

Paso also argued that it was futile for black pupils to enrol at white schools.

Asked what alternative Paso could offer to those pupils who cannot enrol at black schools because of lack of space, spokesmen replied that the refusal of black pupils to enrol at white schools would place pressure on the government to build more schools. — Sapa

music, and it increases their mi  
favourite music? "The blues," sa

## Tambo goes <sup>11A</sup> back to Natal

*Star 12/11/91*  
DURBAN — ANC presi-  
dent Oliver Tambo has  
returned to war-torn  
Natal for the first time  
since he fled South Africa  
30 years ago.

Yesterday he travelled  
to Ohlange school, Inan-  
da, where the founding  
leader of the African Na-  
tional Congress, Dr John  
Dube, is buried.

Mr Tambo called for  
all liberation organisa-  
tions to unite and work  
towards the end of white  
minority rule in South  
Africa. "If we do this we  
shall have come of age as  
a people," he said. —  
Sapa.



# Anti-apartheid groups in meeting with ANC

LONDON. — European anti-apartheid movement leaders and overseas representatives of the ANC started a closed-doors meeting in Brussels yesterday to review strategies in response to latest and expected developments in South Africa.

The movements have vowed not to slacken their international campaigns to isolate Pretoria, in accordance with the ANC's call for continued sanctions and boycotts against South Africa until the ANC, and only the ANC, calls for measures to be relaxed or dropped. In recent months however, there has been a growing acceptance within the movements that strategies may have to be adapted soon, and possibly radically, in response to President F. W. de Klerk's reforms.

It is expected that during the three-day Brussels meeting the implications of Mr De Klerk's anticipated announcement at the opening of Parliament next month, of the abolition of the Group Areas and Land Acts, will be extensively discussed. — Sapa

# Tambo, Buthelezi to meet on 'war' in Natal?



Mr Oliver Tambo

*Cap-Temp 12/1/91*  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Delegations led by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet "in the very near future" to discuss ways to end the seven-year war in Natal.

This emerged yesterday when Mr Tambo, accompanied by senior ANC national executive committee members, landed at Louis Botha Airport here on a "fact-finding" mission.

It was the first time in more than 30 years that the now aged and frail ANC president had visited Natal.

In an emotional scene at the airport, Mr Tambo told more than 300 ANC supporters: "1991 is the year when all of the people of our country will come together and overthrow the system of apartheid."

He said 1991 was to be a year of "great unity and great achievement".

He paid tribute to the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, saying: "He manages and controls the ANC as no one could."

## Reform pressure

A member of the ANC's national executive, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, warned that the ANC's campaign of mass action would continue as "apartheid is still alive".

"Mass action is an important part of our struggle and until we feel that change has become irreversible we shall continue with it."

He said recent reforms had been forced by "ongoing pressure" exerted by the ANC on the government.

Yesterday afternoon Mr Tambo visited the grave of the first ANC president, Mr John Langalibalele Dube, at Ohlange High School in Inanda, near Durban.

Today he will visit Umgababa, where at least 17 people died this week after a group of Inkatha vigilantes attacked an ANC settlement, allegedly in "revenge" for previous attacks.

Mr Tambo said yesterday: "The fighting that is going on among our people in Natal gives us cause for great worry."

He will also address a rally at King's Park Stadium today.

# Thirty-five die in Sebokeng vigil massacre

W/C-ARCUS 12/1/91

~~11A~~ 11A

PRETORIA. — Thirty-five people died and 23 were seriously injured early today at a vigil massacre in Sebokeng, police confirmed.

Ambulances, doctors and nurses at Sebokeng's 900-bed hospital have all been put to work to stabilise people injured in the attack on a funeral vigil.

Some of the victims were children, according to acting secretary Mr Daniel Douglas. The emergency operation is being led by medical superintendent Dr Anne van der Spuy.

Mr Douglas said about 40 gunshot patients were still being treated. Six were in casualty and five still in the operating theatre with 12 doctors and about 20 nurses treating them.

## Injured had gunshot wounds

Most of the injured had gunshot wounds, some from AK-47 automatic rifles and some from 9mm handguns.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Mostert said that a unit of the riot police had been posted on the scene to protect the mourners prior to the shooting — but had been asked by the ANC members to leave as the people had not wanted them there.

He said the attack on the group of about 300 ANC mourners was launched by an unknown group of men, who had lobbed two RGD handgrenades into the tent, and fired at them with AK-47 semi-automatic rifles.

Colonel Mostert said the allegations that the police had arrested and released the alleged murderers of the local civic association organiser, Mr Mphikeleli Christoffel Nangalembe, for whom the vigil was being held, were "totally false".

## Funeral of ANC member

The four men, alleged by the community to have been arrested by police, were in fact picked up for illegal ownership of AK-47s and later released on bail by the courts — and police were, moreover, certain that these men had had nothing to do with Mr Nangalembe's murder, Colonel Mostert said.

Police would investigate other reports that 9mm bullets had allegedly been identified by medical personnel at Sebokeng hospital.

African National Congress spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the funeral had been for an ANC member who had been kidnapped and killed.

Police had arrested his killers, but later released them, Ms Marcus alleged. The ANC believed they were the same people involved in today's massacre.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu today criticised police for their handling of the massacre.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC was concerned about the common usage of the AK-47 rifle in crime by gangs "and the fact the police are allegedly the biggest stockists of AK-47 rifles".

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) today strongly denied that it was responsible for the horror killing.

PAC spokesman Ntsundeni Madzunya said they deplored the massacre and believed in unity among the "African masses".

## 'Would not help struggle'

"We do not believe that violence of such a nature would help our struggle," said Mr Madzunya.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok today expressed shock and outrage at the massacre and gave his assurance everything possible would be done to track down the killers.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) also condemned the massacre.

"We strongly condemn the killing of innocent people who had gone to pay their respects to a man who died in the ongoing bloody violence that is tearing the black community apart," said Azapo spokesman Mr Strini Moodley. — Sapa.

● Seventeen people suffered bullet wounds and one man was killed in a night of violence in Khayelitsha yesterday, police confirmed.

Police are looking for five men, who went on the rampage, allegedly after a three women employees of the Lingulethu West Town Council were shot at while driving in Bonga Drive, Khayelitsha, near the police station.

One woman suffered shrapnel wounds while a number of bullet holes were found in the car.

Shortly before midnight, five men set fire to a number of houses in R-Block and fired shots at the residents. A woman and seven men suffered bullet wounds.

A few minutes later, houses were set alight in D-Block and more shots were fired, killing one man and wounding nine others. — Sapa.

# DOWN LINE IN THE ECONOMIC DEBATE

**I**N the year since Nelson Mandela was released and "talks about talks" got underway the language of the anti-apartheid economic debate has shifted from an emphasis on "nationalisation" to "growth through redistribution".

Organisations backing the Freedom Charter - like the ANC, SACP and Cosatu - still hold firm to the document's demands for public control of banks, mines and monopoly capital. But the Charter is now described as a long-term vision.

Observers say the toning down is a recognition that post-apartheid economic management will have to work under the threat of capitalist-orientated programmes in a "mixed economy" format.

Meeting in Harare in April and September, progressive, mainly university-based economists developed the outlines of programmes for social security, pensions, housing, land, education and training, labour relations, local government, agriculture, mining, industrial policy, taxation and finance.

The early version of the programme included phrases such as "dismemberment of the conglomerates" (six huge companies which control most of the private sector) and "nationalisation would be an essential part of the reconstruction programme". But these were rather visibly dropped from the September discussion document.

■■■■■■■■

Response to the document has been mixed.

Although pointing out glaring inconsistencies - such as more State spending, but a commitment to lower inflation - big business welcomed the document's change in rhetoric.

These disputes are more and more frequent within ANC-Cosatu-Communist Party circles. SACP economist Phineas Malinga recently wrote off nationalisation of the mines as a viable strategy, even though it is still the formal policy of the National Union of Mineworkers.

There are also the challenging ideas of Raphael Kaplinsky of the University of Sussex in England, who works closely with Cosatu. He is investigating manufacturing growth through micro-enterprises (small black businesses) that can extend beyond the traditional domain of hawking. He supports flexible 'Japanised' production systems.

"It may seem crazy for a post-apartheid South Africa to target the export sector in the face of the economy's present problems," Kaplinsky concedes, but insists that South Africa desperately needs foreign exchange to import new manufacturing equipment.

"In addition," he says, "learning through exporting" has been the experience of all the successful newly-industrialising countries.

■■■■■■■■

Kaplinsky will run into opposition from others in the Cosatu camp. Small businesses don't have unions. High-tech, flexible production systems tend to make workers redundant and speed up the work pace for those who do keep their jobs.

Stephen Gelb, of the University of Durban-Westville, attacked the free market version of this strategy in the recent issue of the journal *Transformation*. "The direct employment potential is quite limited," says Gelb. "This strategy is likely to expand the 'wedge' between employed and unemployed."

Gelb and many others call for a more inward-looking strategy, which would emphasise labour-intensity on the shop floor and production of goods for the local market.

Most ANC economists are united in opposition to the power of high finance and uncontrolled financial speculation in the South African economy. They also tend to avoid any mention of socialism - even as a long-term goal - and instead support broad welfare principles.

But with militant local activists yet to speak on the economic debate, questions cannot help but emerge on land redistribution, nationalisation of the economy's commanding heights, planning, dismembering of the conglomerates, production for internal versus external markets, and labour versus capital manufacturing.

Technical as some of these questions may seem, they will be decided, says Gelb, "out of the political process and reflect the balance of power there (at the grassroots)". But the debate is nonetheless important in clarifying the possibilities and their consequences.

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## BRIAN POTTINGER checks the guest list for a proposed all-party conference

PLANS for a political round-table raise the obvious question: who will come to the party? And, more to the point, who among South Africa's myriad groups should be allowed to come?

The joint authors of the idea of the multi-party talks — the National Party government and the ANC — are coy about the issues.

Government spokesmen insist any group which has proven support should be invited. Like the ANC, they are reluctant to say who, exactly, they mean. Otherwise, they suggest between 12 and 15 participants.

ANC spokesmen say it should not be the right of any one organisation to decide who should, or should not, be there. But some participants are clearly more acceptable than others.

Here follows a brief check-list of who would qualify to come — and those who are likely to decline.

● First up, obviously, is the ruling National Party which, despite all appearances to the contrary, still holds military, economic and political power, firmly in its hands.

Recent opinion polls suggest it enjoys the support of more than

half the white population and nearly 17 percent of the entire South African community.

President F W de Klerk personally enjoys the support of 26.6 percent of all South Africans, and some polls put his support among blacks at a surprising 22 percent.

The National Party government has an obvious interest in getting negotiations under way. The delays over the transitional issues — such as prisoner releases, exile returns and domestic violence — has taken the steam out of the reform process.

### Keen

The idea of an all-party conference, in fact, arose in private discussions between President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as a way of leap-frogging the immediate problems and restarting political momentum.

● The ANC is equally keen on an all-party conference and is a major player. Just over half of all South Africans support the ANC,

a poll in August last year suggested. Earlier polls showed the ANC enjoyed 58 percent of support in the black community, although this had dropped to 53 percent by late last year.

Nelson Mandela's personal popularity soared above all rivals, although the return of ANC president Oliver Tambo (he only had one percent support of all South Africans late last year) is likely to raise some interesting questions as to who, in the future, is the most popular of the ANC leaders.

The NP and the ANC, in pursuing a negotiated settlement, are tapping into a main spring of South African sentiment. Well over three-quarters of South Africans, black and white, prefer negotiated settlements to violent options.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important element. A slick public relations operation and claims of membership running into the millions is, however, generally belied by the opinion polls.

A survey last year gave Chief Mangosuthu Buthezezi slightly less than two percent of national popular support. And a September poll, amid the violence in the Transvaal between ANC-aligned and Inkatha-aligned supporters, showed a drastic drop of support for Inkatha in areas outside Natal.

The same poll showed half the black sample regarded Inkatha as a negative influence on the negotiations process and only the AWB pipped Inkatha as the most negative influence.

### Unions

Inkatha remains suspicious of the all-party conference, but shrewdly recognises it as the only game in town. The ANC may dislike the organisation, but cannot ignore it. Chief Buthezezi, thus, will be at the table.

● A fourth major player will be the Trade Union Federation Cosatu. The ANC sees it as a separate entity, with its own constituency and entitled to its own place at the table.

Its distinct, loyal constituency is hard to determine, as many Cosatu unionists are also members of the ANC and even the SA Communist Party.

# Players from all sides of the field

Sides

Such divided loyalties have not yet been put to the test, but a poll in September last year of black opinion showed that 19 percent of blacks regarded Cosatu as a more genuine representation of black opinion than the ANC.

Cosatu, as part of the alliance of ANC-SACP, is also likely to be at the table.

● Next in line on popular support scales is the Democratic Party. Polls in August last year gave the party 7.8 percent of overall support among all South Africans. The party, regarded as representing classically liberal values, has welcomed the idea of an all-party conference.

● The Pan Africanist Congress remains enigmatic. The polls show consistently low support for this organisation, although its growth capacity in the event of a

13/11/91  
failure of a negotiated settlement is great.

### Assembly

An August poll by the Institute of Black Research (IBR) gave the PAC 2.7 percent of support among all South Africans.

An Integrated Marketing Research poll at the same time among 2 100 economically active black people, however, indicated 20 percent believed the PAC was the genuine representative of black opinion — perhaps reinforcing the view that the PAC is largely an upper-class black phenomenon.

The PAC is dead against the all-party conference, for two reasons: it believes the black resistance groups should first unite against the government;

and, secondly, that the government should commit itself to a constituent assembly and interim government before any negotiations begin.

It is 50-50 right now whether the PAC will stick to its guns or join the round-table.

● The SA Communist Party also enjoys an anomalous position. Its overall support is low — just over one percent of the total population. But its influence is much greater — in the trade unions, "otivics" top echelons of the ANC and cultural quarters in the resistance groupings.

As part of the "alliance" it, too, will be at the table — and if the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings are anything to go by, doing much of the talking.

● Ironically, the Conservative Party's real strength, like the

SACP, is belied by the polls. The IBR survey gave the CP only 1.5 percent of overall national support, but it could claim anything between 20 and 30 percent of white voters.

Its support, like the PAC, would grow in the event of failed negotiations. Like the SACP, it also has influence beyond its numbers in the supportive institutions: in this case, the security forces and the public service.

The CP — like its wilder cousins in the AWB — has declined the invitation to attend the multi-party talks.

Two groups remain to be considered: the participants in apartheid structures and, for want of a better description, the black "silent sector".

### Respect

● Only four percent of all South Africans support the tri-cameral parliament, with its fractious coloured and Indian parties.

The Labour Party remains the most organised and prominent of these groups and, in that it has all but declared itself for the F W camp, it is likely to be stoutly defended by the NP as a participant at the round-table.

The fate of the Indian parties is less certain.

The position of the homelands is also hard to determine. Some, like Enos Mabuza's Kangwane, have gained the respect of both ANC and government. Others, are more doubtful.

Discussions are under way for an "observer status" for these entities, although Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is hoping, Canute-like, that the whole thing will go away and leave him with his fiefdom intact.

● The last category: the black "silent sector". All sorts of players lay claim to the allegiance of this element. In the bad old days of apartheid, the "leaders" who pushed themselves forward to represent this "moderate" community were always regarded askance as the puppets of the apartheid system.

The designation is now less applicable. One of the largest conservative black political groupings — the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, under John Gogotsha — does not yet even register on the opinion polls, but its numbers are reported to be growing.

Other conservative groups can be found in churches (the Zionists, for example) and at local government level: Soweto's veteran Sofasonke Party.

The exact size of this group is difficult to determine, but if one takes all the support for the ANC, PAC and Inkatha together, it still leaves roughly 40 percent of black opinion unaccounted. Perhaps they are with the "silent sector".

It is the status of this grouping, you can bet, that will cause the toughest fights over representativity at the multi-party talks.

By SEKOLA SELLO

**T**HE PAC's youth wing – the militant Azanian National Youth Unity – has been brought under firm control by the PAC, curbing the power that the revolutionary group has wielded in Africanist circles.

It is believed that Azanyu had its wings clipped at the PAC's recent congress.

Since the youth group was formed three years ago, Azanyu has kept alight the fires of Africanism while the PAC was in exile.

There has been a growing perception that Azanyu exercised enormous control in the organisation, with claims that the PAC was afraid of implementing policies which Azanyu rejected.

The youth faction is seen as responsible for the

# Have Azanyu's young lions been tamed?

i/A

C/Pren 13/1/91

PAC rejecting negotiations with the government.

But it seems things have changed and the young lions of the PAC have been tamed.

Azanyu spokesmen deny that they have been the effective power behind the PAC.

While few Africanists question the role played by Azanyu when the PAC was banned, many felt the youth group played too dominant a role, to the extent of operating outside the parameters of

PAC policy.

Azanyu finance secretary Nhlanhla Lebea and secretary general Carter Seleka have admitted they erred.

Recently, Azanyu dissociated itself from a PAC draft economic document released by PAC secretary general Benny Alexander.

Azanyu later apologised, but the damage was done and the youth were seen to be defiant and arrogant.

Another blow to Azanyu was that few of

their radical members were elected to office in the PAC.

Instead, former Robben Islanders like president Mlamli Makwetu and Dikgang Moseneke took senior positions.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai would not confirm claims made against Azanyu, saying he was not prepared to make statements based on rumours.

He did admit there had been differences with Azanyu at the congress, but described these as "not substantial" and having been resolved in a brotherly way.

Azanyu's congress at Cala in the Transkei on January 26 should shed some light on the rumoured dispute and make public the group's relationship with the PAC.

# Leaders comfort Vaal families

*Sowetan 4/1/91*  
By DON  
SEOKANE

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, accompanied by their wives and other members of the ANC, yesterday visited the bereaved families of the gruesome Sebokeng massacre.

The ANC delegation, which also included the chairman of Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal region, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, visited Sebokeng hospital to comfort survivors of Saturday night's slayings.

At a Press briefing held at the hospital, Kgalema attributed the massacre to a "notorious gang which has been responsible to a number of crimes, including rape, car hijacking and robbery".

He said the gang was targetting comrades who were not prepared to live under their "iron-fist".

Names of 15 of the known gang members have been submitted to the police, he said.

Police had arrested 10 members of the gang by yesterday.

Azapo's leader talks to Patrick Laurence about the need for a patriotic front

# Safeguarding the struggle

Spew 14/1/91.

11A

**P**ANDELANI Nefolohodwe, newly elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), is a man who talks with tremendous energy and matching conviction.

He scarcely pauses for breath as he interprets the political situation and explains why he believes Azapo has a major role to play in the crucial times ahead.

His political roots go back more than 20 years to the era when black consciousness was a rising force in the black community. Listening to him it is obvious he is still nourished by the same sap.

He recalls that he was present at the founding congress of the pro-black-consciousness South African Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1969 when Steve Biko was elected its first president.

Today, however, Azapo, as the premier exponent of black consciousness, is not at the centre of the stage as Saso and its kindred organisations once were. It has had to yield to the African National Congress and, to a lesser extent, the Pan Africanist Congress; they have brought their ideologies — non-racialism and Africanism

— with them to the fore.

Mr Nefolohodwe does not deny that the black consciousness movement has experienced two exoduses of its members: the first, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when ANC loyalists left; the second, in the late 1980s, when Africanists departed to help revive the PAC.

But he sees that as a strength, not a weakness, remarking: "The black consciousness movement was founded to foster liberation. We resuscitated the ANC and the PAC."

Mr Nefolohodwe, the university educated son of a peasant, does not spell out the details. But it is common cause that the ANC and PAC were outlawed and crushed in the early 1960s and that there was a hiatus in black resistance until it was rekindled by the emergence of Saso and, a couple of years later, by the Black People's Convention.

Many activists who were politically revived by black consciousness organisations later joined the ANC or the PAC, Mr Nefolohodwe says. He does not bear grudges, however.

He philosophises: "The struggle

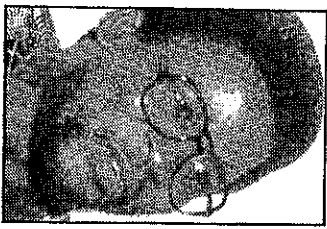
is to liberate people, not to liberate Azapo... If you are a liberation

movement, you are looking at forming a process of liberation. That is what Steve Biko did."

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Pandelani Nefolohodwe... nourished on black consciousness.

the machinations of President de Klerk and imperialist forces. Having learnt from decolonisation in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia, they are trying to co-opt "a section of the liberation movement" and use it to deflect and delay the liberation process.

He fears a "neo-colonialist" solution may be foisted on South Africa, referring to Kenya, where the Mau-Mau stalwarts were sidelined although their movement was at the cutting edge in the fight against colonialism.

Mr Nefolohodwe does not mention which component of the liberation movement is in danger of being deployed by Mr de Klerk and his imperialist allies against their ideological brethren. But, by deduction, it is the ANC — the only sector of the movement engaged in talks with Mr de Klerk.

He attaches great importance to the idea of a unified patriotic front between the "liberation forces" and is gratified that the notion is being mooted by the ANC, the PAC and Azapo.

"The liberation forces must come together and consult and share our perceptions about what to do. We must agree on minimum

demands." A minimum charter of demands is the best guarantee against the divide-and-rule strategy of the neo-colonialists, he adds.

The formation of a patriotic front is high on Azapo's agenda for 1991, Mr Nefolohodwe says, noting that Azapo held two major conferences to promote the idea last year.

Azapo remains firmly committed to its long-standing demand that a constituent assembly, elected on a one-person one-vote basis, draft a new constitution for South Africa. It is opposed, and has been since as far back as 1983, to the idea of a national convention of political parties determining the fate of the nation.

A conference of parties — or, by implication, an all-party congress — is a national convention by another name and Azapo will resist any attempt to bring a national convention in via the back door, Mr Nefolohodwe says.

Another priority on Azapo's agenda is the formation of self-defence units in the townships, he adds.

Referring to township violence, he concedes that Azapo cadres have had clashes with ANC mem-

bers and that there is a culture of political intolerance in the black community. But, he insists, it is important to look beyond these problems to their underlying cause: "the evil system" which foments intra-back strife.

He warns, however, against the dangers of "sectarianism" in the black community, the assumption by one political movement that it has the sole right to represent blacks and that its rivals should be driven out.

The present crisis in black schooling is in large measure the product of "sectarianism", the bid by one section of the liberation movement — he does not say which — to make schools part of its political domain.

Schools are a "terrain of the political struggle" because it is there that the "oppressor" tries to "domesticate the people", Mr Nefolohodwe says. But, he adds, they are not the terrain of only one section of the liberation movement.

Anti-sectarianism must be added to the clamour for non-racialism and democracy or else the liberation struggle will suffer reverses in 1991, he warns. □

# Nats invited to join ANC campaign

Own Correspondent

11A  
14/1/91

DURBAN — The president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, invited President de Klerk and the National Party yesterday to join the ANC's programme of mass action to bring about a speedy end to apartheid.

Addressing about 50 000 people at Kings Park Rugby Stadium, Mr Tambo's largest reception since he returned to South Africa last month, he said mass action was the only weapon the people of South Africa had at their disposal to bring about change.

"We invite all political parties, including the National Party, which has vowed to wage battle against apartheid, to join us in action against this doomed system.

"We cannot afford to relent. The challenge we must meet without fail is to intensify the struggle on all sides.

"Through the struggle we have reached the position where we are today and it is through the struggle that we will achieve freedom for our children," he said.

# Mandela, Buthelezi could meet soon

DURBAN — The ANC is hoping a delegation lead by its deputy president, Nelson Mandela, will meet an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation headed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this month, Sapa reports.

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said this at a banquet honouring ANC president Oliver Tambo in Durban on Saturday night.

PATRICK BULGER reports Inkatha Institute executive director Gavin Woods said in an interview yesterday a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi was in the offing.

He said he understood the ANC wanted to sort out certain problems with

its middle-ranking Natal leadership before a meeting could go ahead.

At the banquet, Mbeki said the country's crises — one of which was the "culture of violence" — had to be solved by common consensus.

Referring to intolerance within his own organisation, he said: "You cannot say you are a liberation organisation and still use force against people just because they disagree with you."

All parties had to be involved in negotiations for a constituent assembly. Noting the latest violence in Natal's Umgababa area and in Sebokeng, Mbeki said: "We have got to turn this thing around. For this to be a good year we need a new constitution."

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S/1004/14/119

# Exploring the roots of a nonracial society

<sup>13/10/91</sup>  
**THE UNBREAKABLE THREAD: Non-Racialism in SA, by Julie Frederikse (Ravan Press, R29,95)**

**CREATING** a nonracial society from the strict divisions imposed on SA by centuries of segregation and apartheid is a task that long exercised the minds and energies of those struggling for a just social order.

Julie Frederikse, author and historian based until recently in Zimbabwe, explores the roots of nonracialism in this, her third book on southern Africa.

Unlike her two previous works — the first on the media and the Rhodesian war and the other on SA's political upheavals in the mid-1980s — the book has a less polemical and controversial edge.

"It is not a book by a journalist with a point of view," Frederikse said in an interview this week, "It lets people speak for themselves."

This it does and in 200 interviews what emerges is a fascinating history of the motivations of those

<sup>14/11/91</sup>  
whose vision of a nonracial society is now being incorporated into government policy.

What is now being taken for granted — that all South Africans will have to learn to live together — was not as readily apparent in SA's gloomier days. "We saw the struggle strictly in terms of one race versus another race," Patrick Lekota, then a hardline black consciousness student and now a senior member of the ANC, says in a typical interview.

"We were arrested with men who were blacks like ourselves, men with whom we had shared platforms and campaigned together against apartheid. But it was precisely from among those men that some of them took the witness stand, side by side with the SA Security Police, and condemned us and sent us to jail."

It was especially in the trade union movement where whites often played a vanguard role that many blacks first came to realise the futility of a race-based analysis.

<sup>11A</sup>  
Inevitably it was the credo of class-based politics, leavened by what was seen to be happening on the ground, that nurtured the nonracial approach.

Frederikse documents the early arguments between the Charterists and the Africanists whose gripe has been that whites tend to take up leading roles in organisations.

Frederikse and a team of researchers conducted over 200 interviews to produce a book that it is exhaustive and covers an important aspect of SA political history.

A tradition of resistance steeped in nonracialism bodes well for the future of the country, Frederikse says. "Race cannot be wished away but a more subtle analysis shows racism up for what it is."

Whether the nonracialism that Marxist analysis gave birth to can readily be translated into political pluralism and tolerance is perhaps SA's next great challenge.

**PATRICK BULGER**

11A

14/1/91

2 Cape Times, Mo

## Use Namibia as a model, says Mbeki

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC secretary for international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki yesterday mooted the Namibian electoral process as a way forward for South Africa, saying the registration of political parties with proved support bases was the only method to ensure a proper constitution.

In an interview with SABC-TV, Mr Mbeki said the organ that deals with a new constitution must be representative of all South Africa's people — including such groups as the CP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"The legitimacy of the new constitution would derive from the fact that the people participate in the body that draws up the constitution.

"We support the Namibian experience," Mr Mbeki said. — Sapa





# Massacre: ANC call for De Klerk to resign

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A call for the resignation of State President De Klerk and his government has been made following the murder of at least 35 people at a funeral vigil in Sebokeng at the weekend.

The Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereniging (PWV) region of the ANC will recommend that the organisation call for the immediate resignation of President F W de Klerk and his government.

The ANC's regional chairman, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, told journalists outside the Sebokeng Hospital yesterday the government should resign because of its "indifference" in dealing with violence in the townships.

Mr Motlanthe was a member of a top ANC delegation who toured Sebokeng yesterday and visited families of some of the victims of the massacre.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday declared Sebokeng an unrest area and imposed a 9pm-4am curfew. He appealed to all Sebokeng residents to "assist the police in enforcing law and order in their township".

Mr Vlok said 10 people had been arrested in connection with the Saturday morning massacre, and more arrests were expected to be made soon. He said police had taken possession of at least six AK47s, one of which had already been ballistically linked to the shooting.

The ANC delegation, which included Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Dr Beyers Naude, Mr Henry Makgoti and Mrs Getrude Shope, was led by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and national chairman Mr Walter Sisulu.

The ANC leaders spent 3½-hours in Sebokeng after visiting the scene of the massacre, house number 11472 Vena Street, Zone Seven.

Neighbours and others said a criminal gang, alleged to have been helped by Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), opened fire on mourners at the home of ANC organiser Mr Christopher Nangelembe, who was allegedly killed by the same gang.

At least 35 people died and more than 50 others were injured in the 2am attack.

Mayhem later ensued when angry residents set fire to houses of suspected members of the gang, killing at least one woman.

## Notorious gang

Standing next to Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, Mr Motlanthe said the ANC leaders had gone to the township "to witness ourselves the wanton killing of innocent mourners at a vigil". The delegation was briefed by leaders of local ANC structures in a meeting lasting about 80 minutes at the Khutlo-Tharo High School in Zone Three.

Mr Motlanthe said the ANC leaders were told the attack was orchestrated by "members of a known notorious gang which operates in the area without any police interference". He said local ANC leaders had asked the police to attend the vigil to protect mourners, "but the police were not there until after the attack".

Police have denied the ANC's allegations, saying they were asked by ANC members to leave the vigil.

Mr Motlanthe said the ANC had appealed to its followers not to take the law into their hands. Any uncovered gang members had to be handed over to the police, he said.

ARGUS  
14/1/91

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# Cape Times

Jobfinder Inside

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MONDAY, JANUARY 14 1991

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## Massacre: 10 held

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have arrested 10 people in connection with the weekend massacre of 35 mourners at an ANC vigil at Sebokeng outside Vereeniging, and have declared the township an unrest area.

They have also seized two vehicles and seven AK47 rifles — one of which has been ballistically linked to the attack — and clamped a 9pm-to-4am curfew on the area, police spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said yesterday.

A woman was among those arrested. Colonel Mostert said the township was "very tense" yesterday. More arrests were expected, he said.

Police and military reinforcements from 32 Battalion moved into Sebokeng on Saturday in an attempt to re-

store calm after youths retaliated by firebombing at least five houses thought to be linked to the attackers.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said two people were necklaced in the township on Saturday night.

Mr Nelson Mandela visited some of the 50 injured at the Sebokeng Hospital yesterday.

Mr Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu visited Sebokeng under heavy guard. The two men said the police were "accountable" for the violence.

Mr Sisulu said the mourners at the funeral had asked the police for protection in anticipation of an impending attack, but there had been no police on hand at the time.

A police spokesman said a police

reaction unit had been at the vigil, but had left after being asked to do so by ANC officials at the scene who said their presence was "provocative".

The people massacred were among 300 attending an all-night vigil for Christoffel Nangelembe, an ANC activist who was found strangled on a rubbish dump last week at Sebokeng.

Mr Vlok condemned the killings as "the most shocking and horrifying deed" and said the police "will not rest until these killers have been tracked down and brought to justice".

Township residents alleged that the

To page 2

● ANC to set up 'defence structures' —  
Page 2

From page 1

attackers were members of the local Five Star Gang. *CAPT Truitt 14/1/91*

Police said 27 people died on the spot and another eight died at Sebokeng Hospital, where about 50 injured people were being treated.

Residents immediately began searching for the attackers and appeals by ANC leaders for calm were shouted down.

While the motive for the slaying re-

mains unclear, residents alleged some of the attackers had links with Inkatha.

But Sapa reports that the leader of the Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade, Mr Themba Khoza, denied the ANC's accusation of Inkatha involvement in the killing.

"We cannot rule out the possibility of the incident being carried out by ANC members," he said.



HOSPITAL VISIT ... Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday visited the survivors of Saturday's Sebokeng massacre.

Picture: REUTERS

# New councils 'target'

CMT-Trans 14/11/91

Own Correspondent

202 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Coloured and Indian management committees will be the next targets in the campaign to force the collapse of government-sponsored local authorities, says Mr Cas Coovadia, assistant general secretary of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast), which spearheaded a campaign against black local authorities.

He said more consumer boycotts and marches could also be expected.

Cast is pushing for the resignation of all councillors ahead of a new deal for non-racial local governments.

Mr Coovadia said Cast would decide on action later this month, once reports from its regions had been received.

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# NUM call to reject talks

PORT ELIZABETH. —

The New Unity Movement (NUM), at its sixth annual congress yesterday, called on South Africans to reject negotiations with the "ruling class" and defeat the "grand sell-out" being planned.

More than 300 delegates, including NUM members from exile, attended the three-day congress here.

According to the NUM, the leadership of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has embarked on a campaign to re-establish "lines of collaboration between the oppressed on the one hand and exploited workers and peasants on the other".

— Sapa

Case to file 14/1/91

114

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By PETER DENNEHY

A KHAYELITSHA woman who was shot through the leg twice on Friday night yesterday said her husband had recognised one of the men who shot at them.

Mrs Nophumzile Claasen, 18, an ANC member of R Block, Site B in Khayelitsha, said her husband Mr Nicholas Claasen had gone to the door just before 11pm.

He was shot in the shoulder, and he said: "Wushe, why are you shooting me?", but his assailant continued firing, she said.

Mr Claasen was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital where his condition has been described as serious.

Mrs Claasen explained that her husband had recognised one of the gunmen from the time he (and she) were among Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana's supporters in Crossroads, some of whom now stayed in shacks opposite Site C.

## Shooting victim recognised attacker

Mrs Claasen did not know the gunman's name but believed "Wushe" was a nickname.

Mr and Mrs Claasen had joined the ANC when they moved to Site B. She said she was sure they had been attacked because they were ANC members.

Several shacks had been burnt by the attackers, who had carried petrol with them in jerry cans. She had heard that 18 people had been wounded, and one had died, she said.

Police liaison officer Major Gys Boonzaaier said there had been two attacks on Friday night, each of them apparently by five men.

The first incident had occurred shortly before midnight in R block, where eight people

were shot and some shacks set alight. Shortly after that, in the early hours, more houses were set alight in D Block, Site C, he said, and nine more people were shot. One of them, Mr Phumlile Mtaceba, had subsequently died.

Police were investigating charges of murder, attempted murder and arson.

Several of the injured were still in Groote Schuur Hospital, Major Boonzaaier said.

Mr Michael Mapongwana, regional chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, said he had heard that 19 people had been admitted to the Day Hospital — which is now open 24 hours — with gunshot wounds or burns on Friday night.

He confirmed that some had come from Site B, and others later from Site C. Among the buildings burnt down in Site C had been a former crèche which had been used as an office by the ANC and by the Civic Association.

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# ANC to set up 'defence structures'

DURBAN. — The latest violence in Umgababa and Sebokeng would compel the ANC to form "defence structures" for its supporters, the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

The ANC would develop defence structures in ANC zones as a matter of urgency — while continuing to seek political solutions to the violence.

Speaking at a rally of about 40 000 people at Kings Park stadium in Durban, Mr Tambo said the Lower Umfolozi Accord between Inkatha and the ANC should be built upon.

The congress director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, had already said on Saturday night that it was hoped Inkatha and ANC delegations, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela respectively, would meet in January.

Yesterday Mr Tambo said government failure to meet ANC demands has sparked a decision by the organisation to intensify its campaign of "mass action".

"We must intensify the struggle on all sides, and make 1991 a year of freedom."

Mr Tambo voiced disappointment that ANC demands for the scrapping

of apartheid legislation, the return of all exiles and the release of political prisoners had not been met.

He also condemned the fresh wave of violence which has claimed "more than 50 lives" in Umgababa and Sebokeng.

But Mr Tambo welcomed regional peace initiatives and called for ongoing consultation.

He said only "time restraints" prevented him from meeting the Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelithini. Prince Mwayizeni Zulu, a member of the Zulu royal family, attended the rally.

He invited all South Africans of any "colour, race and creed" and political parties, including the National Party, "to join us in action against this doomed apartheid system".

● At a banquet in honour of Mr Tambo on Saturday night, Mr Mbeki said the country's crises had to be solved by common consensus.

He referred to intolerance within his own organisation. "You cannot say you are a liberation organisation and still use force against people just because they disagree with you.

"There needs to be an interim government, but let this be the subject of discussion at such a (multi-party) conference." — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

## Black 'summit' faces setback

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

A renewed war of words has erupted between the ANC and Inkatha over the proposed meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Prospects of an early meeting between the two leaders remain remote.

Chief Buthelezi claimed yesterday the ANC deputy president had told him to "be patient".

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said he felt

compelled to reveal this information in view of ANC foreign affairs head Thabo Mbeki's statement on television on Sunday that such a meeting depended on Chief Buthelezi's acceptance of a date and venue.

Chief Buthelezi said he had not received any formal indication from the ANC's national executive that it desired such contact. *Saw 15/11/91*

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus refused to say whether the ANC had proposed specific dates and venues for the meeting.

# Outrage<sup>cart</sup> at burning<sup>15/1/11</sup> of flags<sup>11A</sup>

By DALE GRANGER

JEWS have reacted with "outrage" to the burning of Israeli and United States flags by militant Muslim cadres in Cape Town on Sunday — and a US embassy spokesman has questioned the "taste" of the demonstration.

The US embassy spokesman also defended the US military presence in the Gulf.

His comment comes after a meeting at a Rylands cinema on Sunday night where ANC constitutional member Mr Dullah Omar and ANC executive member Mr Ahmed Kathrada called for US forces to withdraw from the region. People present also shouted "Death to the US" and "Death to Israel".

The flags were burnt by cadres wearing khefiyehs (Arab head-dresses) and the US was accused by Mr Kathrada of "naked imperialism".

Mr O Futeran, chairman of the Western Province Zionist Council, and Mr J Fintz, chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, said in a statement last night that Cape Town's Jewish community was "outraged".

They described the incident as a "wanton act of racial and religious incitement at a time when all people of South Africa should be working to achieve reconciliation".

C



# ANC plans largest protest

*CAPE TIMES*  
15/1/91  
114

DURBAN. — The largest nationwide protest action in South African history is expected on Friday, February 1, when ANC supporters take to the streets to launch a programme of "mass action" to demand the formation of a constituent assembly.

This was revealed in a circular sent by ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo to all the regional committees of the organisation.

The programme, drawn up at the ANC's conference in Johannesburg in December, has been planned to coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 1.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday that permission would be sought for all marches.

The demonstrators' main demand will be for a constituent assembly to be formed to create a new constitution.

# It's back to the road of education for liberation

Carl T. Mills 4/11/91  
M

FROM a long-term point of view, it is unfortunate that the education crisis is identified in the consciousness of most people with the overt political mobilisation of students and, more recently, of teachers.

For it is really in the classrooms and in alternative educational projects that the decisive action is taking place. Indeed, the melodramatic aspect of this struggle for improved educational provision led to suicidal slogans such as *liberation before education* in the days of "ungovernability" (1985-86).

This was a decided step backwards from the slogans and practices of the Black Consciousness Movement in the '70s, when the notion of *education for liberation* first became a mass phenomenon in South Africa. At present desperate efforts have been launched by political, community and church organisations to get the black student population back on the highway of education for liberation.

## Motivated

In regard to our longer-term priorities, the following sectors are seen by most educationists, regardless of their political allegiance within the liberation movement, as the main ones.

**Teacher Training:** Without a core of well-equipped, highly motivated and flexible, self-directed educators, no system can succeed.

**Pre-school and primary education:** What happens in any modern, relatively industrialised country is to a large extent determined by what is taught (or not taught) in these sectors. A complete overhaul of these sectors in accordance with a post-apartheid or Azanian conceptualisation of South Africa has begun in many circles in our country.

According to Roy Padayachee of the National Education Coordinating Committee: "... there are seven million children of pre-schooling age in this country. Of these, an estimated six million are from economically disadvantaged homes... Of these six million... only 150 000 are enrolled in some form of pre-school activity." (Weekly Mail, October 28, 1990).

**Language education:** One of the most disastrous consequences of Bantu education was the damage it inflicted on generations of black school-going children via its racist language policy. Because of the

continued dominance of English in the modern urban and industrial sectors of South Africa, the lack of competence of the vast majority of black children and adults in this language is one of the major road-blocks to their (and the country's) rapid development.

Moreover, apartheid policy, in spite of appearances to the contrary, has deliberately stunted or distorted the development of the indigenous African languages as languages of modern science and of business and employment. Education for a democratic South Africa has to address this question urgently.

**Maths/science/technical education:** The deliberate policy of National Party governments of depriving black children of those skills needed to run a modern industrial economy has succeeded so well that it is threatening to boomerang on the ruling elite, since there are not enough blacks with such skills who are in a position to fill the huge gaps left by the brain drain and the relative expansion of the economy.

Further down the road, the economic consequences of this racist strategy are already clear as far as built-in constraints to economic expansion are concerned...

## Programme

Besides these four fundamentals, it is essential that we begin to redress the urban bias of all educational investment in this country and that we continue carefully considered compensatory education programmes at all levels...

In reflecting on a programme of action for education for a democratic South Africa, we have to bear in mind that whatever we propose cannot be separated from the general political development in South Africa. A programme of action must include the following:

- Increased direct and indirect political pressure on the present government to abolish all discrimination based on "race" in the educational sphere. This involves, among other things, the insistence on

## VIEWPOINT

by NEVILLE ALEXANDER

a unitary educational system under one Ministry of Education.

- Demand maximum discretion for teachers (under the supervision of competent subject-teacher associations) in regard to syllabuses, teaching resources, methods, assessment of performance, etc.

- Control at the local level of all educational institutions by those who use them. At the primary and secondary-school level, this would imply control by popularly elected PTSA's. Such popular committees to have the final say in regard to who should teach and what should be taught in these institutions.

- Africanisation of the syllabuses and curricula. By this we mean, in the first place moving away from the narrow Eurocentrism and colonialism of the present content of education.

- Mass training (and retraining) of all educators along lines consistent with the democratic, non-racial ethos espoused by the entire liberation movement in South Africa. This process, which has already begun under the aegis of teachers' and some community organisations, should be accelerated.

- Intensive policy research into all aspects of education, including the financial and administrative aspects. In this regard, the collation and analysis of all that is actually being undertaken in the educational sphere is of primary importance. Equally important are comparative educational studies and research.

- Heavy concentration on language, maths, science and technical education at all relevant levels. Formal as well as informal programmes should be initiated or supported wherever possible.

- Political education of all youth, especially the student youth, towards an understanding of the real significance of the programme and the life-giving slogans of *Education for Liberation* and *Education for a Democratic South Africa*.

□ This is an extract of a paper prepared by Dr Alexander for a conference at the University of Kansas.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

**CITY DEMO:** Demonstrators outside the United States embassy are watched by police yesterday.

AR 6/16/1/91

## Muslims arrested outside US embassy in city

**Staff Reporter**

SIXTEEN Muslim protesters have been arrested outside the United States Embassy on Cape Town Foreshore.

Demonstrators representing the Muslim Youth Movement and the Muslim Students' Association gathered outside the embassy about 1pm yesterday to denounce US actions in the Gulf.

Some, wearing Arabic scarves and holding an Iraqi flag, shouted: "Down with imperialistic Zionism. Neither East nor West, justice is best."

Others held placards and chanted slogans, including "Save oil, burn Bush" and "Bush go home and solve your own problems — death to Bush."

The protest was held shortly before visiting US Secretary of Health and Human Services Dr Louis Sullivan was due to address a Press conference at the embassy.

A spokesman for the demonstrators said the group viewed the presence of the US forces in the Gulf as "a clear indication that US imperialism has returned to its old style of domination and exploitation".

Police gave the group five minutes to disperse after warning that the gathering was illegal.

Placards were confiscated and members of the group were arrested after they failed to disperse.

## Backlash likely if holy shrines are hit

LONDON. — Islamic fundamentalists might unleash their anger against American and other Western interests if sacred shrines in southern Iraq are hit during air raids.

The holiest shrines for the Shia, after Mecca, are in Iraq in the cities of Najaf, Kerbala and Samarra, as well as in Baghdad itself.

For the Shia worldwide, Najaf is as holy as the Vatican for Catholics. It is the seat of Ayatollah Khoi the Marje, or the spiritual leader of the world's Shia. It also houses the Shia Islamic university where the late Ayatollah Khomeini studied, like most of the famous ayatollahs,

Many Muslims, Shia and Sunni, believe that Imam Ali, Prophet Mohammed's cousin and the first man to embrace Islam, is buried there, while the tomb of his son Imam al-Hussein is in the nearby city of Kerbala.

President Saddam Hussein has cunningly placed his chemical war manufacturing facilities in Samarra. — The Independent.

# Support for Saddam from SA Muslims

ARGUS  
16/11/91  
11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Muslim leaders here came out in support of President Saddam Hussein and said most Muslims in South Africa agreed with his decision to go to war.

They regarded America as the enemy and manipulator who had its own interest at heart and that of the Israeli government.

Mr M S Laher, president of the Islamic Mission Society said Saddam was linking the Kuwaiti issue with the Palestinian issue, which was why he had the support of Muslims the world over.

## No American protest

America was concerned only about its own interest, because for the last 20 years Israel had brutally controlled the Palestinians without any real protest by the Americans, Mr Laher said.

"But when Iraq invades Kuwait, America all of a sudden feels it has a duty to act against Hussein. Why are they not doing anything about the way Israel is treating the Palestinians? The Israelis have no right to be there," he said.

Mr Abdulla Deedat, a well known personality in Muslim circles said he backed the Iraqi leader.

Saddam had the unanimous support of Muslims in this country, he added.

"The United States has been bullying Arab countries for the last 20 years, especially after the Shah of Iran was ousted by Khomeini.

"I admire the Iraqi leader for not heeding to American pressure. The Americans have the fear that they do not know what Saddam is up to."

He said war would be the best way to determine the views and positions of Muslims in this country and around the world.

"America, Israel and their allies are enemies of Islam. As far as the Saudis are concerned, we Muslims regard them as American puppets. While all of us pray to the Ka'bah in Mecca, they (Saudis) pray to the White House in Washington," he said.

Mr Deedat's brother Achmad, a Durban Muslim leader, expressed different sentiments and said Saddam was in the wrong when he invaded Kuwait.

A war would be catastrophic, he said.

There are still about 3 000 South African Muslims in the Middle East, says Sheik Nazeem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council.

No "general exodus" of the visiting Muslims, including about 50 South African students, was expected.

Students at universities in Riyadh, Mecca and Medina had no intention of returning to South Africa.

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January 16 1991

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## Slain PAC men linked to attacks on police

**EAST LONDON.**  
Police yesterday linked two dead Pan Africanist Congress members to armed attacks in the Eastern Cape which left two policemen dead and three injured.

A police spokesman said that "intensive investigation" had linked Mr Mongezi Colin Cakata of Duncan Village, and Mr Jabu Jeremiah Mdunge of Tembisa, to two attacks on policemen in the Eastern Cape.

The PAC men were shot dead at a scrapyard at KwaZakhele near Port Elizabeth on January 2, after allegedly firing on police.

According to a police spokesman, ballistics tests carried out on the AK 47s used by the two men on January 2 had established that the same weapons were used in the previous attacks on the policemen.

Three other men were arrested at the scrapyard shootout, and weapons were seized.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said in a statement on Monday that Mr Mdunge would be buried at Tembisa on Saturday. — Sapa

# Murdered man 'judged people'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The murdered ANC member whose funeral vigil became the scene of the Sebokeng massacre on Saturday was involved in a "people's court" which sentenced four "gangsters" to death three weeks earlier, township sources alleged yesterday.

Police confirmed they were looking into allegations of a people's court operating in the Vaal Triangle township.

Township sources, who did not want to be named for fear of retribution, said Mr Christoffel Nangalembe passed the death sentences at a people's court on December 22 last year.

The ANC has admitted he was involved in efforts to combat crime.

The sources alleged that the four gangsters, who eventually escaped execution, might have been ANC members who then formed a breakaway faction and took revenge. One of the four was said to be related to senior Inkatha member Mr Temba Kubheka. The ANC has alleged a relative of Mr Kubheka's was involved in the mass slaying.

Police have arrested 10 people in connection with the massacre. Their names have not been released.

Mr Nangalembe, 28, was found shot and strangled on January 6. His killers have not been found.

ANC PWV regional chairman Mr Kgalema Motlanthe said Mr Nangalembe was not part of an organised ANC crime-prevention unit but was prominent in youth structures. He confirmed, however, that Mr Nangalembe had chaired a meeting

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From page 1

*with local gang members to discuss crime.*

"This gang was told that their activities would not be tolerated. It was a joint meeting at which the gang was to be given a stern warning to desist from terrorising the community," Mr Motlanthe said.

But the sources said Mr Nangalembe sentenced four men to death for gang-related activities.

They said the men were handcuffed in pairs. Two were locked in the boot of a car and the other two in the car itself. The vehicle was then set alight. But the men managed to escape. Two weeks later Mr Nangalembe was killed.

Another version of the car incident was reported in a Sunday newspaper, which said a former gang member claimed there were clashes between the gang and comrades in early December. A meeting was called and a truce was reached.

It reported the former gang member as saying some members were unhappy about the truce and kidnapped four of the pro-truce faction.

He alleged that the four members were put into a car and driven away.

The car stalled, however, and the driver left it to call the police. When he returned the men had fled and the car was in flames.

The former gang member and the four men were later approached by Inkatha members, who offered to help them get revenge. Two of the men accepted the offer, he said.



# No interest in hotel

11A

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus yesterday denied the organisation had any intention to buy the La Rosa hotel in Berea. *Sowetan 17/1/91*

Tenants of the building were concerned when they saw deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, Mrs Winnie Mandela and several other ANC members visit the hotel last week.

The residents feared the building would be used to house returning exiles and officials and that they would be evicted.

Marcus denied the claim. She said if the ANC was to consider buying the building, it would take tenants' feelings into account.

"We will not be in the position of being landlords," she said. - *Sapa*.

# Tambo visits 'Operation Vula' trialists

By Musa Ndwandwe

THE mastermind behind the much-publicised "Operation Vula" ironically was inside the country and a free man when the trial was heard in the Durban Supreme Court on Tuesday.

Neither the security police nor the Law and Order Minister could arrest ailing African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo when he met with the eight trialists in Durban on Saturday.

Tambo, granted temporary indemnity by President FW De Klerk, was on his

South 17/11-23/1/91  
weekend tour of Natal. He had last visited the province in 1958 shortly before the organisation was banned.

Mr Sphiwe Nyanda, 40, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Mr Mac Maharaj, 65, former member of the ANC National Executive Committee, Mr Raymond Lala, 32, Ms Catherine Mvefese, 25, Ms Susana Tshabalala, 30, Mr Dipak Patel, 26, Mr Pravin Gordan, 41, Mr Munnessar Sanka, 22, and Mr Billy Nair, 62, face several counts for allegedly plotting to overthrow the South African state.

They were all released on R300 000 bail in November last year in the Durban Regional Court.

During his application for bail last August in the Durban Regional Court, Nyanda disclosed that "Vula" was set up in Lusaka in 1987 by the President's Committee headed by Tambo.

The indictment against the eight also cited Tambo as the mastermind behind the military plot.

ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela told the organisation's national consultative conference in Johannesburg last month that "Operation Vula" was a legitimate military project of the ANC under the command of its president, Tambo.

The hearing was adjourned to next Wednesday.



# Union: (11A) 'practice what you preach' (11A) comrade'

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

A top union official on Tuesday warned ANC members that democracy will never be achieved in South Africa if they do not practice it themselves.

"If we want democracy in our country, we must start at home, in our own organisations," said chairman of the South African Municipal Workers Union, Mr Salie Mani.

"It is not good enough to ask (President) F W (De Klerk) to give us democracy. Sowetan

**Vote 17/191**

"Furthermore, democracy is not simply a question of putting matters to the vote and taking the majority decision.

"We must allow different views to be expressed. It is the right of people to state wrong views."

Mani - who shared the platform at a Woodstock meeting with ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki - said the practice of shooting people for saying the "wrong" things had to stop.

## Efforts

He also urged ANC members to focus their efforts on building the organisation, work that would hone skills needed in a future government.

"Our needs have changed," he said.

"It is not good enough anymore for us just to have marches and rallies. These are still important, but we need to address the question of building the organisation in a serious way and the question of preparing to govern the country.

## Rallies

"It is not as exciting or adventurous as attending mass rallies and toy-toting, but it is one of the most crucial issues facing us now.

"It is not good enough to say we want the vote. The other important issue is the question of democracy. This is a priority."

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A TIMES

## Kagiso Trust trio quit after EC pressure

31 Day 17/1/91

PATRICK BULGER

TWO ANC officials and a UDF office-bearer have resigned from the Kagiso Trust's Natal regional committee because of pressure from the EC.

The trust, the principal channel for EC funds earmarked for "victims of apartheid", has come under intense criticism for an alleged bias towards the UDF/ANC political camp.

The European backers — in an attempt to have the trust portray a more non-partisan image — were also behind the appointment of Eric Molobi as the new general secretary.

This puts him in charge of the organisation, which has a R76m budget, in place of

Achmat Dangor, who has headed the trust for several years.

EC representatives in Brussels had been unhappy for several months with Natal academic Michael Sutcliffe's position as treasurer of both the trust in Natal, and a Natal region of the ANC, a European diplomat said yesterday.

Sutcliffe was one of the trust's three Natal regional committee members who announced yesterday they were stepping down from their positions.

The others are UDF executive member Yunus Mahomed and ANC Natal secretary

Sibusiso Ndebele. (11A) (11A)  
The diplomat said that while Molobi had been prominent in the UDF, his involvement in education and other non-political community initiatives meant he was likely to project a more non-partisan image.

Dangor becomes national director. In effect this makes him Molobi's deputy.

Mahomed — who will remain a national trustee — cited his involvement with the UDF as his reason for withdrawing.

Sutcliffe said yesterday a European government, which he would not name, was conducting a vendetta against him.

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term to be



# Mandela set to lead march on parliament

South 17/11 - 23/1/91

11A

## ANC plan to put 'popular pressure' on government

A MARCH on parliament on February 1 by African National Congress (ANC) members is expected to be the opening salvo in the organisation's new year campaign of "mass action".

According to sources the march, to be held on the opening day of parliament, will be led by ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

ANC Western Cape spokesperson Mr Trevor Manuel said he could neither confirm nor deny that Mandela would lead the march.

Manuel said an official announcement on the issue would be made later.

### Strategy

He said the march would demonstrate "popular pressure" in support of the demands outlined in the ANC's annual statement on January 8, marking the ANC's 79th anniversary.

In the statement, the ANC announced a three-stage strategy:

- To demand the removal of obstacles impeding a proper climate for negotiation;
- To initiate the process of an all-party conference; and
- To establish an interim government to oversee elections for a constituent assembly and the eventual formation of a new government based on a new constitution.

The ANC has set an April 30 deadline for the removal of obstacles to create climate for negotiation and has warned of suspending talks should their demands not be met by the deadline.

# Time to change gender attitudes

South 17/1 - 23/1/91

THE images flash across the screen: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo. They face the press as they leave yet another meeting with FW de Klerk or Kobie Coetsee or Adriaan Vlok, or all of them together.

Negotiations seem set to become an all-male affair.

By including two women in its delegation when it met with the government at Groote Schuur last year, the African National Congress attempted to address the issue.

At a subsequent meeting in Pretoria, however, no women were present and have been absent ever since.

Why are there no women at the highest levels of decision making at this decisive point in South Africa's history?

For the majority of men in the country, this is not an issue. Despite progressive statements made by the ANC, women who have been active in politics know there is a vast difference between policy and practice.

Child-rearing and domestic chores remain the sole responsibility of the woman in many households.

Many men think sexual harassment, abortion and wife-battering are personal problems that are not of political consequence. They are considered best dealt with within the home or in committee or by priests and imams.

## White parties

In two of the country's white parties, the National Party and the Democratic Party, there's little hope that women would be represented at the negotiating table — although their constituencies include South African women with privileged and educated backgrounds.

While the ANC considered the participation of women in all aspects of political life a priority, there is little thought given to how this is to be achieved.

When a member of an ANC branch argued for the election of women to branch executive committees, he was opposed by both men and women present.

"Everybody should have an equal chance," somebody said. "Why particularly women? That is discrimination," said another.

Experience shows it would have to be an outstanding woman who would be elected onto a committee alongside a group of men who are not expected to be quite so exemplary.

It is not "discriminatory" to push women into the leadership. Affirmative action can only readjust an imbalance that has left most women voiceless until now.

The ANC's Women's League has realised this and now wants the organisation to ensure that 30 percent of all people nominated for any position within the ANC be women.

## Negotiating

They further want 30 percent of the ANC national executive to be women. Presently, three of the 35 are women — Ruth Mompoti, Gertrude Shope and Jackie Molefe.

They are no longer prepared to take a back seat and believe they should be adequately represented at the negotiating table.

While women were well represented at the recent consultative conference, it was mainly the men who led the commissions.

Only tough talking and intense lobbying by women over the next five months could possibly make the June conference different.

Leading League member and recently returned exile, Nosiviwe Mapisa, says she is not in favour of "token" women in the ANC leadership.

"But we have women within the movement of the right calibre to ensure that those nominated will be genuinely worthy," she says.

"Sexism is so entrenched in our society. It can only be changed if women are represented in all decision-making bodies, in all structures and on all levels.

"Once women have a voice, they can use it to deal with questions like abortion and contraception," Mapisa says.

Why is it that so many women have participated in the fight against apartheid, yet few presently hold leading

The all-party conference being mooted to get proper negotiations off the ground is likely to be an all-male affair.

As the country's political future unfolds, the absence of women at the negotiations and other forums is conspicuous.

In the ANC, National Party and at every level, only outstanding women get elected to positions alongside males who are not expected to be as exemplary, writes Zubeida Jaffer



Marike de Klerk



Nelson Mandela



FW de Klerk



Cheryl Carolus

positions within the anti-apartheid movement?

Women will have to execute tasks themselves — even if they are still learning how to do so. They will thereby gain the confidence to fully participate in the politics of the country.

This will be fraught with difficulty. Not only will many men resist the changes but also older women who believe in age-old customs, such as lobola.

Although older women are more conservative, younger women are generally critical of this tradition.

Today the ANC and other political organisations are once again legal and many who have never been politically active, are rushing to join.

These new members have a strong commitment to eliminate racism but have little or no understanding of the wrongs of sexism.

And when women want to tackle their sexist perceptions, they are warned by their male comrades to "take it easy".

For so long now, women have had to forego their concern about problems they specifically face in the interest of a broader national political agenda.

At the consultative conference of the ANC Women's League held at the time

of its public launch last year, most of the discussions focused on the Natal violence.

Little attention was given to women's issues.

Nevertheless, the League said in a comprehensive policy statement on May 2 last year that genuine equality would have to be based on a real understanding of gender oppression.

Efforts are also underway to draw up a Charter of Women's Rights.

## Informing

The Women's League is spearheading a national campaign to determine women's needs which would be incorporated into the Charter that will guide a future government on women's issues and be a constitutional instrument of the new, non-sexist South Africa.

What are women doing in political organisations at the other end of the negotiations table, the National Party and the Democratic Party, for instance.

I was astonished to discover that women in the National Party, through their organisation, "Vroue Aksie", primarily occupy themselves with informing women about initiatives presently being taken by their husbands.

But even this is a significant move away from earlier days when their or-

ganisation was orientated towards "social get-togethers for the ladies".

Chairperson of the Transvaal "Vrou Aksie", Mrs Antoinette du Plessis, who automatically holds this position because her husband is the leader of the Transvaal, attributes this shift to the efforts made by Mrs Marike de Klerk.

"Mrs De Klerk, when her husband was still leader of the Transvaal, built up Vroue Aksie into a more action-directed organisation, instead of an organisation that only makes fudge for the men. That's the role men foresee for us," she said.

These women within Vroue Aksie, however, see themselves as playing a "behind-the-scenes" role in the process of negotiations unfolding in our country.

"Women are really the power behind the throne. We are very often the people who form the minds of the men in informal discussion. We play such an important part in the informal politics of the country. We can actually get men to calm down or get them to really do a war dance," she said.

"If we talk about negotiations, it's not actually to protect any rights of women. We would rather like to have discussions towards a peaceful South Africa.

In a peaceful South Africa, I feel that our rights will be in order," she said.

Yet after more than four decades of being the ruling party, the National Party has only three women in parliament and five on the President's Council.

One is Martha Olkers, also the deputy mayor of Grahamstown, who says the role of women in a new South Africa is increasingly being discussed at branch level in the NP.

"Women don't make too big an issue of it — the issue of getting the constitution accepted was so much more important."

The other problem, she says, is which women to put on a negotiating team.

"In our senior group, there is no female. Rina Venter is most senior but she will not be included because being a new member, she is low down on the Cabinet protocol list," she said.

## Top structures

"They should have involved us earlier so that some of us would have been in the top structures. It's a lesson for them.

"I think there should be women because we have always been the go-between and negotiator between our husbands and children and everything else.

"We feel strongly about it, but it is basically a practical problem," she said.

Women's problems — such as abortion, safe contraception and childcare — will have to be addressed only after a new constitution is in place.

"I can't see any way that negotiations will break down because some people are against abortion."

In the Democratic Party, there was a greater commitment to the need for women to participate in negotiations but little hope that DP women would in fact be there.

The only way women will be represented at the negotiating table, says Dr Anita Worrall of the DP Women's Forum, is if they come together across political parties to lobby strongly for such representation.

As in the National Party, the debate among women in the DP is more about general constitutional matters than specific female issues, according to the only woman member of the national executive of the DP, Dr Esther Lategan.

Dr Worrall, however, says the DP women have gone so far as to study the 1958 United Nations convention on the elimination of discrimination and hope to pressure the government — present or future — to become a signatory to this convention.

"That convention is very important in that it acts as a bill of rights for women," she says.

"We believe we must create awareness among women about the problems they have," she said.

Affirmative action — promoting competent women at every opportunity — is the answer for George city councillor, Democratic Party member and former head of the women's military college in George, Hilda Burnett.

## Make provisions

"I think it is very important that the constitution should very clearly make provision for women and if even necessary, some affirmative action be taken to make sure that women's rights are entrenched. If we don't do it now, I don't know when it will be possible," she says.

Surprisingly the only woman member of parliament for many years and veteran human rights campaigner, Helen Suzman, does not believe it to be particularly important that women should be present at the negotiating table.

She places her hopes on a bill of rights which would safeguard the civil rights of every South African.

"I don't think there is a special niche required for women as long as there is a bill of rights which safeguards the civil rights of every individual. There could not then be any special disabilities because a bill of rights would surely include a clause which would militate against any discrimination against women," she said.

The white women interviewed on the whole were very distant from the problems confronting the majority of South African women.

Issues such as birth control and wife-battering seem not to feature prominently on their agendas.

# Kagiso Trust seeks new image

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two ANC officials and a UDF office-bearer have resigned from the Kagiso Trust's Natal regional committee, because of pressure from the European Community (EC).

The trust, the principal channel for EC funds earmarked for "victims of apartheid", has been criticised for an alleged bias towards the UDF-ANC political camp.

The European backers, concerned to portray a more non-partisan image, were also behind the appointment of Mr Eric Molobi as the new general-secretary of the trust, which has a budget of R76m.

EC representatives had also been unhappy with the fact that Natal academic Dr Michael Sutcliffe was treasurer of both Kagiso and the ANC's Natal region.

Dr Sutcliffe, UDF executive member Mr Yunus Mahomed and ANC Natal secretary Mr Sibusiso Ndebele all stood down from the Kagiso Natal committee yesterday.

While Mr Molobi had been prominent in the UDF, his involvement in education and other non-political community initiatives meant he was likely to project a more non-partisan image, a European diplomat said yesterday.

**Police arrest  
PAC members**

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JOHANNESBURG. — PAC members were detained and weapons were confiscated in a pre-dawn police swoop on Kagiso township, near Krugersdorp, yesterday.

The PAC has named the arrested men as Mr Themba Hlatswayo, Mr Paul Vusi Hlatswayo, Mr Richard Pretty Moletsane, Mr Siphon Mtshembe and Mr Thabo Kekana, adding the sixth was Mr Mike Matsobane, a leading member in the PAC national executive.

Police confirmed five of the arrests, but denied Mr Matsobane was one of them. — Sapa

# New impartial officers for Kagiso Trust

Sowetan 18/1/91



TWO African National Congress officials and a United Democratic Front office-bearer have resigned from the controversial Kagiso Trust's Natal regional committee because of pressure from the European Economic Community.

The Kagiso Trust, the principal channel for EEC funds earmarked for the "victims of apartheid", has come under intense criticism for an alleged

bias towards the ANC/UDF political camp.

EEC representatives in Brussels, who visited South Africa late last year, have been unhappy for several months with Natal academic Dr Michael Sutcliffe's position as treasurer of both Kagiso in Natal, and the southern Natal ANC region.

Sutcliffe was one of the three office bearers to

resign. The others are UDF executive member Mr Yunus Mahomed and ANC secretary for southern Natal, Mr S'bu Ndebele.

The European backers were also behind the appointment of Mr Eric Molobi as the new general secretary.

This puts him in charge of a R76 million budget. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



NEGOTIATIONS FM 18/1191

## **FRESH START** (11A) ~~SECRET~~

The ANC and government will hold their first major meeting of the year on Monday.

Teams headed by President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will attempt to salvage the Pretoria Minute.

The meeting, expected to be in Pretoria, comes against a background of widespread dissatisfaction with government's failure to implement fully the conditions of the Pretoria agreement.

It is believed that the Department of Justice is prepared to modify the controversial

## **CURRENT AFFAIRS**

FM 18/1191 (11A) ~~SECRET~~

clause C of the indemnity agreement which will remove the onus from certain categories of ANC members to reveal what crimes they have committed.

The issue of an envisaged multi-party congress to take place probably in the second half of this year will also be on the agenda. Both sides agree on the concept of a multi-party congress but differ on its purpose.

The ANC sees a multi-party congress as the new central negotiations arena. According to ANC thinking, it will come up with an election process leading to a constituent assembly.

The assembly, in turn, will nominate an interim government which will include members of the ANC, NP and others; and govern until a new constitution has been drawn up. However, the NP sees a multi-party congress as the forum which will draw up a new constitution.

The ANC opposes this as it believes elections are necessary for a representative constitution-making body.

Talks will also cover the issues around suspension of armed action, including violence in the townships, the role of the police and mass action. ■



## Hedged gold sales bolster Anglo results

MATTHEW CURTIN

ANGLO American bolstered the December quarterly results of its gold and uranium division by hedging gold sales, division chairman Clem Sunter said yesterday.

Anglo posted improved after-tax profits at Vaal Reefs, Western Deep Levels, Elandsrand and SA Lands (Sallies).

Attributable earnings rose 17,6% to R165m for the group as a whole.

Sunter said Anglo had taken advantage of the improved gold price in the two weeks before the outbreak of war in the Gulf. Most gold sold forward came from the Freegold operation.

Anglo's hedging policy did not represent speculation but was rather an attempt to find a good gold price to cover working costs and capex programmes.

Gold mining experts said Anglo's decision to hedge on gold prices represented a major strategy shift. Frankel Max Pollak Vinderine analyst Rob Gillan said yesterday that, until the September quarter last year, Anglo had never hedged on gold.

In the third quarter, it had begun to do so "aggressively". He estimated 20%-22% of Freegold's production, about 6 000kg, was sold forward, with smaller amounts sold from Elandsrand and Sallies.

Anglo had judged the impact of the outbreak of war correctly, banking on the gold price increasing to around \$400 before falling away once the conflict had started, said Gillan.

See Page 13

## 30% bid surprises Saambou

SEAN VAN ZYL

SAAMBOU Holdings's board of directors was taken by surprise yesterday when a bid, rumoured to be backed by the Bankorp group, for 30% of the building society's share capital was announced.

Market rumours suggest that everyone from Nedbank to Mannie Simchowitz is behind the Trafalgar bid. But the strongest suggestions surround the Bankorp group. Bankorp's executive chairman Piet Liebenberg was unavailable for comment last night.

Saambou's chairman Hendrik Sloet says that the first time he heard of the bid was when he opened yesterday's paper. "We have not been approached by any of Trafalgar's directors and I haven't a clue as to what they intend doing should they gain a 30% interest."

Despite the rumours, Trafalgar MD Pieter Hougaard says the offer is being financed solely by his company.

"The bid is not an attempt to gain control, but to build up a strategic stake in Saambou," he says.

Saambou's share price is trading at a discount of about 59% to its net asset value of approximately 220c, Hougaard says.

"The difference in net asset value and the share price of 130c made Saambou a good buy."

Volumes traded in Saambou climbed to 136c yesterday from the 130c close in response to Trafalgar Portfolio Manager's

To Page 2

## Mugabe calls on Chief Justice to quit

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe yesterday called on Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay to resign if his conscience could not accept the recent amendment of the declaration of rights, permitting nationalisation of land without appeal to the courts.

"I do not know whether he is using his legal brain or any other brain," Mugabe said when asked to comment on the judge's warning the judiciary may repudiate the amendment.

"If certain laws are repulsive to the conscience of a judge then that person

should not sit as a judge, pure and simple."

Mugabe challenged the judge's statement that legislation which undermined the principles of the constitution could be invalidated by the courts, despite the lapse of the 10-year guarantees in Zimbabwe's 1980 constitution and Mugabe's parliamentary majority of more than two thirds.

"If we decide that a certain law is necessary and the law is duly passed by parliament, the role of the judges is to interpret the law and not seek to reverse it," he said.

## ANC set to buy R20m Jo'burg building

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC is set to buy the 22-storey Shell House in central Johannesburg.

A property broker put the value of the 16 000m<sup>2</sup> building at about R20m.

Negotiations for the purchase are at an advanced stage, although neither the ANC nor Shell would formally confirm yesterday that they were dealing with each other.

A Shell employee said, however, that staff were told at a meeting on Wednesday that they would move to new premises in Rosebank in October. They would share their present premises with the ANC from March.

A decision had been taken to allow the ANC to use the executive suites on the eighth floor, the employee said, adding that Shell staff were perturbed by the deal because it raised fears of possible bomb attacks and political protests in their midst.

Reacting to a Business Day inquiry, a Shell spokesman said Shell SA had informed the Shell Pension Fund, which owned the building, that it wanted to leave. The fund's trustees had decided to sell the building.

"We are currently negotiating with an interested party and hope a deal can be concluded in the near future," he said.

The ANC would not confirm that it was buying the building.

A spokesman said the organisation had been searching for a building to accommodate all its headquarters staff under one roof and was looking at a number of possibilities.

However ANC sources this week also confirmed the deal.

The ANC head office is now in Munich Reinsurance Building, Sauer Street.

stew 18/1/91

## We shall take power by force if we must, Mandela says in Zambia (11A)

LUSAKA — Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the ANC would take power by force if it failed to reach agreement with the South African Government on ending apartheid.

"At the moment we are using argument and persuasion.

"If these do not succeed, we will use power," the ANC leader told reporters at the end of a two-day visit to Zambia.

"We are very far from at-

taining the vote. The only way to achieve this is by taking mass action."

Mr Mandela accused Pretoria of using vigilantes to encourage recent black versus black violence, which had claimed many lives.

He arrived in Lusaka on Wednesday for talks with ANC cadres there awaiting repatriation to South Africa.

— Sapa-Reuter.

# Talks follow ANC changes

CHANGES in the Natal leadership of the ANC paved the way for January 29 talks between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha sources said yesterday the removal of Patrick Lekota from the ANC's Natal leadership, and the election in November of Jacob Zuma as the ANC's first southern Natal regional chairman, had eased relations between the two sides.

Natal-born Zuma, who is head of ANC intelligence, played a major role in negotiating the Umfolozi Accord with Inkatha aimed at ending violence in northern Natal and is being viewed as a precedent for the upcoming national meeting.

Zuma has been party to a number of other local agreements with Inkatha and has played a leading role in negotiations with government. He is also a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The sources said Lekota's replacement by Zuma made the meeting more palatable to an Inkatha delegation.

"Lekota was a serious problem. He was

By Pam 13/1/91  
PATRICK BULGER

very aggressive publicly towards Inkatha," the source said.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose who, with Zuma, will help draw up an agenda, said yesterday the meeting was a sensitive topic.

Mdlalose hinted at the possibility of "joint activities" between the two groups, but would not elaborate.

The ANC has confirmed the meeting will occur, but would not comment further.

Inkatha Institute Director Gavin Woods said yesterday the meeting would complete the political triangle in the country. The ANC and Inkatha had reached reconciliation with government and the two organisations were on the verge of reconciliation between themselves.

ANO reports that Mandela said in Lusaka yesterday the organisation had ruled out the possibility of involving Umkhonto we Sizwe in curbing township violence.

He said the military wing was created to fight apartheid and not "to fight against any section of our people".

# Latest ANC proposals raise hopes for future

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

ANC proposals for a multi-party conference on South Africa's political future could give the negotiation process a major boost.

Welcomed by the government

## NEGOTIATION

and others, such a conference is one of the most important points concerning the structure of negotiations on which both the National Party and the ANC agree.

And the fact that this conference, as envisaged by the ANC, would play a preliminary role and would not be tasked with actually writing the new constitution could well encourage participation by other key players whose objections to talks have so far kept them away from the table.

The proposal for a forum of parties appears to reflect a softening of the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly, or at least a keenness to make it more acceptable.

Clearly, the ANC is no less committed to a constituent assembly — in fact it is

launching a campaign outside parliament when President de Klerk opens it on Friday, February 1 to give voice to this demand — but it appears readier to talk about the options and possibly to make it easier for other parties to accept the concept.

## Achieve consensus

ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki shed more light on the thinking behind a multi-party conference when he addressed a packed meeting in Woodstock this week.

In essence, the ANC sees a conference of all parties with proven support sitting together to decide how the negotiation process should be conducted, who should be involved and how.

It is apparent the ANC is keen to achieve consensus on this and also on broad principles that would serve as the foundation for both the process and the final product.

Ultimately, the ANC favours a constituent assembly based on a non-racial election as the only accountable and democratic structure for the

creation of a new constitution.

But even on this question, there appeared from Mr Mbeki's phraseology — a small signal though it was — a willingness to accommodate differences of opinion when he said that the multi-party conference would "we hope" opt for a constituent assembly as the best way to formulate a new constitution.

The multi-party conference would then in effect constitute itself as an interim government to supervise the transition to a new order.

This would obviate the difficulties of bringing in outsiders — such as an international monitoring body — to act as overseer and could engender confidence in the process among political adversaries who would all feel they had a stake in the future.

## Smooth the way

The government remains opposed to a constituent assembly, arguing that parties in it would be bound by mandates and there would be little room for compromise and negotiation. This, it says,

would tend to entrench existing political divisions without attempting to provide the means to resolve them.

But, as a preliminary step, a multi-party conference is more widely acceptable and it could help to smooth the way.

Much will now depend on getting all other major parties to agree to attend. So far, the Conservative Party has dismissed the concept and the PAC has indicated it is interested only in talking about arrangements for a constituent assembly. They could be persuaded that they would gain from attending.

Also, the success of a multi-party conference will depend on whether it can reach consensus on basic principles to guide the process from there on.

That could go a long way towards developing the trust and confidence parties will need from their own constituencies.

When it comes down to it, participants would need to believe, and be able to say, they were acting in their supporters' best interests.

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CAD Texts 18/1/91 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

# Natal talks 'complete triangle'

JOHANNESBURG. — Spokesmen for both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have cautioned against unrealistic expectations of the January 29 meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"It's one thing for leaders to meet and shake hands, another to transfer the reconciliation down to grassroots level," said ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma. "Without grassroots support, it would be impossible to stop the violence."

Inakatha's Mr Themba Khoza said the meeting would not necessarily end the violence, but saw it as a "contribu-

tion toward the lessening of violence".

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, former Inkatha general secretary who resigned to lead the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, said supporters of the two organisations needed to perceive firm agreement between the leaders before the violence would end.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi have been personal friends since the 1940s, and exchanged warm letters during Mandela's 27 years in prison.

But Mr Mandela had repeatedly refused to meet Chief Buthelezi since his release last February.

The ANC previously accused Chief

Buthelezi of using violence to broaden his constituency beyond Natal, and to force a meeting with Mr Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi, in turn, accused the ANC of trying to crush Inkatha and other black political groups.

Although both leaders have called for an end to the violence, bloody clashes have continued.

Inkatha sources claim that changes in the ANC's Natal leadership made Chief Buthelezi's movement more amenable to a meeting.

In particular, they cite the removal of Mr Patrick Lekota as Natal chairman, and his replacement by Natal-

born Mr Jacob Zuma, head of ANC intelligence.

The Inkatha sources say that Mr Lekota was "publicly aggressive" towards Inkatha, while Mr Zuma played a major role in negotiating the local peace agreements which paved the way for the January 29 meeting.

Inkatha Institute director Mr Gavin Woods said yesterday that the January 29 meeting would complete the political triangle in the country. The ANC and Inkatha had both reached reconciliation with government, and were on the verge of reconciliation between themselves. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

CAPT TUK 18/1/91 (11A)

## ANC 'to buy Shell's Joburg skyscraper'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is set to buy the 22-storey Shell House in central Johannesburg. A property broker put the value of the 16 000m<sup>2</sup> building at about R20 million.

Negotiations for the purchase are at an advanced stage, ANC sources confirmed this week.

A Shell employee said staff were told at a meeting on Wednesday that they would move to new premises in Rosebank in October.

A Shell spokesman said Shell SA had informed the Shell Pension Fund, which owns the building, that it wanted to leave.

The government, meanwhile, has issued 700 temporary travel documents to ANC exiles, opening the way for the first mass return of exiles since the start of negotiations.

# Vlok welcomes ANC-Inkatha plan for talks

Political Staff

ARGUS 18/1/41  
114  
JEB

THE office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has welcomed the meeting between the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, due to take place in Durban on January 29.

The meeting was announced in a joint statement issued by the ANC's intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma and Kwazulu Minister of Health Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Their get-together comes at a time when political violence is threatening to delay negotiations for a new constitution.

## POSITIVE STEP

A spokesman for Mr Vlok, Captain Craig Kotze, said the meeting "is a positive step in the right direction".

He said Mr Vlok maintained that the road to peace lay in the attitude of leaders and their followers.

Until a process of dialogue started and until peoples' basic attitudes had changed, "very little could be done about achieving a lasting peace".

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the meeting was "the best news we have had for a long time".

"Naturally everyone will hope that progress will be made at this meeting towards the termination of township violence.

"I would go further and suggest that the meeting between the two leaders and their head committees offers an admirable chance to begin dialogue on matters of policy."

Dr De Beer hoped they could work towards agreement on an economic system which would encourage growth and a better quality of life for all.

# Tambo not about to resign

(11A) ANC  
19/11/91

**STAFF REPORTER**

THE ANC has denied reports which said Oliver Tambo — the organisation's ailing president who was left semi-paralysed by a stroke attack — was expected to resign next month because of ill-health.

It was alleged last weekend that Mr Tambo's pending resignation was leaked to the press following last month's joint meeting of the ANC's midlands and northern Natal region.

Saki Macozoma, an ANC spokesman, said Mr Tambo was not considering retiring at the moment.

However, Mr Macozo-

ma did not rule out the possibility that the ANC president might announce his retirement at the organisation's conference in June.

Last year, when Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo met at a Swedish Clinic where Mr Tambo was recuperating from a stroke, reports had it that Mr Tambo already wanted to hand over the reins.

However, Mr Mandela and the NEC apparently asked him to stay on until the ANC's conference.

Mr Mandela is expected to replace Mr Tambo.





Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus.

**Muslim demonstrators hold placards condemning America's attack on Iraq during a protest near the American Embassy on the Foreshore yesterday.**

## Pro-Iraq protests in USSR

# 167 Muslim protesters arrested at US Embassy

MOSCOW. — Hundreds of demonstrators waving portraits of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein gathered in Moscow and Leningrad to condemn US and Soviet policy in the Gulf.

About 150 demonstrators in Moscow, mostly Arabs, shouted in Russian outside the US Embassy: "Holy war", "We shall win" and "The Soviet Union has betrayed us".

But they remained behind metal barricades outside the building on the busy Sadovoye ring road. An Israeli flag was set ablaze.

In Leningrad about 500 protesters filed down a central street yesterday chanting slogans.

Cars belonging to Arab students blocked traffic temporarily and set off a smoke bomb.

Fear of terrorist attacks by Iraqis and Palestinians living in Soviet cities has prompted Western embassies to tighten security.

Top embassy officials have met representatives of the KGB security service to agree on measures to protect their nationals. — Sapa-Reuter.

By VIVIEN HORLER  
Weekend Argus Reporter  
MORE than 160 people, including women and children, were rounded up by police while holding a peaceful demonstration near the American Embassy on the Foreshore.

Police confirmed later that 167 people were arrested yesterday, but that children and older people had been released.

"They are still be processed and it is not known when they will appear in court," said police spokesman Major Gys Boonzaaier.

The demonstration, organised by several Muslim groups, including the Muslim Judicial Council, the Call of Islam and the Muslim Youth Movement, was called to protest against the American-led Allied forces' attack on Baghdad.

The same groups are organising a rally against the war in City Park Stadium in Athlone tomorrow.

There was a heavy police and Press presence on the pavement outside the embassy before the protesters arrived.

Wearing white robes, scarves or checked keffiyehs, the Muslims had barely gathered outside the embassy before the police, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Trevor Vermeulen, station commander of Caledon Square, told them that the gathering was illegal in terms of the Internal Security Act and gave them a minute to disperse.

When they did not about 20 people were arrested.

### Chanting

The rest of the group then moved across the road from the embassy, began chanting "Allah hoe akbar" (God is great) and "Allah il Allah" (there is no God but God) and produced posters reading: "Middle East — latest US killing fields", "Bush wanted — dead or alive", "Americans go home" and "Resist US and Zionist aggression".

Another warning was issued, and after a minute more people were arrested.

Among those rounded up by police were tearful women and children. An elderly woman

whose son and husband were arrested collapsed and was later taken away by relatives.

There was no violence.

Colonel Vermeulen told journalists that people had been arrested because they had not obtained permission from Cape Town's chief magistrate to hold a demonstration.

Mr Ebrahim Rasool, secretary of the Call of Islam, told Weekend Argus that they had applied for and received permission for a picket from the City Council.

He said they had also applied, through lawyers, for permission from the chief magistrate but it had not been granted by the time the demonstration was scheduled to start.

He said the demonstration was against the American attack on Iraq rather than a gesture of support for President Saddam Hussein.

"What feeling there is in his favour is because he has highlighted the Palestinian issue.

"Israel has been pulled in, but we hope the tension and hostilities in the Gulf do not spread here to South Africa."

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ANC, <sup>C.M.</sup>  
<sup>Temp</sup>  
Inkatha <sup>17/1/91</sup>  
meeting  
welcomed

DURBAN. — The proposed January 29 meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been widely welcomed — but spokesmen for both the ANC and Inkatha have cautioned against unrealistic expectations of stopping the violence.

"It's one thing for leaders to meet and shake hands, but quite another to transfer the reconciliation down to grassroots level," ANC spokesman Mr Saki Mazonoma said.

"And without grassroots support, it would be impossible to stop the violence."

Inkatha spokesman Mr Themba Khoza said the meeting would not necessarily stop the violence or "bring a completely new page in Natal's history".

However, politicians and church and community leaders have all warmly welcomed the proposed meeting, the first since Mr Mandela was arrested in 1962. — Sapa

# ALL SET FOR THE HISTORIC TALKS

By S'BU MNGADI *el from 20/1/91*

THE attention of millions in South Africa and abroad will be focused on Durban when ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet on January 29 in an effort to end the political violence.

The meeting comes after concerted behind-the-scenes efforts by several people.

Jacob Zuma, chief of the ANC's intelligence department and chairman of the ANC in southern Natal, worked hard to arrange the talks.

It is also known that former Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, did his utmost to bring the two parties together.

Mandela will come face to face with Buthelezi for the first time since Mandela went to jail in



**ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.**

1962. *(11A) (11B)*

They have known each other since the 1940s when they were both in the ANC Youth League.

The two exchanged letters during Mandela's 27 years in prison. Although they chose different paths in pursuit of their political objectives, they always remained in contact.

But they have not renewed personal contact since Mandela was released in February last year, allegedly because of point-scoring by their organisations.

Official details of the meeting have not yet been released, but sources told *City Press* it would probably be held at Durban's Royal Hotel.

Although the meeting is currently scheduled to last one day, it is believed Buthelezi will propose another meeting on a person-to-person basis with Mandela. At the January 29 meeting the two leaders will be joined by senior officials from both sides.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that spokesmen for both the ANC and Inkatha have cautioned against unrealistic expectations of the meeting.

"It's one thing for leaders to meet and shake hands, another to transfer the reconciliation down to

grassroots level," ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma told a local radio station. "Without grassroots support, it would be impossible to stop the violence."

Inkatha's Themba Khoza welcomed the meeting, but said: "That does not mean to say that the meeting will stop the violence or that it will bring a completely clean page, but it will be a contribution toward the lessening of violence."

Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the anti-apartheid Institute for Multiparty Democracy, said supporters of the two groups needed to perceive firm agreement between the leaders before the violence would stop.

Both Mandela and Buthelezi have called for an end to the violence, but the chronic fighting among black factions has continued.



**Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.**

# Young Lions tell UDF to pack up

By SEKOLA SELLO <sup>CIPRES</sup> 20/1/91 11A

THE UDF has been told by its major affiliate that it must disband – and the sooner the better.

This call – amounting to an ultimatum – which has been kept secret for some time, was delivered to the UDF by the radical South African Youth Congress, better known as the “Young Lions”. Sayco has now been absorbed into the recently-revived ANC Youth League.

The call indicates the existence of opposing factions within organisations aligned to the ANC.

According to Youth League president Peter Mokaba, “the UDF has outlived its usefulness and is now an impediment to the prosecution of the liberatory struggle”.

Mokaba, who is known to have the full support of his Youth League members – especially those inside the country – has instead called for the launching of a new, and far more representative, United Front.

The decision to dissolve the UDF is

an open challenge to the Front’s leadership, which has recently admitted that the changed political situation in the country has demanded it take on a new direction.

Most of the UDF leadership argues that there is still a need for its existence, even if it is a totally restructured version with a new programme of action.

The UDF is expected to hold a national general council between March 1 and 3, where its restructured future will be discussed. But, given these latest developments, the forces calling for its dissolution seem too powerful to resist.

Mokaba, former president of Sayco, which was the UDF’s strongest affiliate in terms of numbers, has cited several reasons why the seven-year-old Front must be disbanded.

He said the organisation had alienated potential members, engaged in activities without consulting its affiliates and that some UDF leader were trying to build their own power bases.

■ See Page 8

# Has the UDF outlived its use?

By SEKOLA SELLO

20/11/91

FOR the past seven years the United Democratic Front has been the leading legal anti-apartheid formation inside the country.

Now the UDF is fighting a rearguard battle for political survival. And the prognoses on the UDF surviving as an entity are not promising.

The UDF's major affiliate, the South African Youth Congress, is now subsumed under the recently-revived ANC Youth League, which is calling for immediate and complete dissolution of the UDF.

The first cracks in the UDF alliance appeared when leading UDF member Aubrey Mokoena accused some colleagues of belonging to a secretive and manipulative clique within the movement. This clique, which was referred to as a cabal, was accused by many insiders of manipulating the activities of the Front and also trying to influence the ANC on issues like negotia-

tions. Those identified as belonging to the cabal were Murphry Morobe, Archie Gumede, Elijah Barayi, Valli Moosa, Fatima Meer, Cassim Saloojee, Eric Moloji, Azhar Cachalia and Farid Essack. These people held senior positions in various formations of the UDF. Calling on the UDF this week to disband, former Sayco secretary general, and now Youth League president Peter Mokaba, said the Front had not remained true to its original objectives of bringing into its fold all progressive anti-apartheid forces in the country. Mokaba cited the example of the

Congress of South African Trade Unions not being a member of UDF. "Cosatu should rightly have been a member of the UDF, but contrary to popular belief it is not and has never been."

He said the cabal used the Front for their own power bases, did not consult its affiliates and deliberately kept the door closed to potential affiliates.

He further charged that the UDF was engaged in numerous undemocratic practices and reduced the independence or autonomy of its affiliates by ruling over its components.

Mokaba said that as things stand now there are several progressive organisations that would not agree to joining the UDF. He went on to say the ANC does not even contemplate affiliating to the UDF, and the same was true of the SACP and Cosatu.

Mokaba dismissed the UDF's latest pronouncement that it would try to restructure itself into a new body with different programmes. It is envisaged that the restructured UDF would engage in developmental projects.

However, Mokaba shot down all the reasons advanced by UDF leaders for the continued existence of the Front. He said development projects could easily be carried out by the ANC and that the existence of the UDF stands in the way of creating a new, far more representative United Front.

UDF national spokesman Titus Mafolo admits there is no way the Front will continue existing in its present form. However, he takes a different view about its expected demise. Mafolo sees many possibilities for

the Front. These, he says, will be mapped out at their national general council, which was scheduled for February but will now be held from March 1 to 3.

Mafolo says the UDF may be restructured to assume new roles like being engaged in developmental activities ranging from women's activities and educational matters to labour issues. These are issues which Mokaba says the ANC can easily take care of.

Mafolo admitted that some national and regional structures were questioning the wisdom of the Front's continued existence. There were those who argued the UDF was a stand-in organisation for the ANC and now that the latter has been unbanned, there is no longer any need for its existence. Others argued that the most capable UDF cadres should swell the ranks of the ANC to strengthen it.

Mafolo denied claims that the Front was now an impediment to the creation of a new United Front which would bring in even those organisations not affiliated to the UDF.

While Mafolo acknowledges that the UDF made some mistakes during its seven years of existence — like alienating some potential members by adopting the Freedom Charter — overall he concludes that most of the arguments against its continued existence are not substantive.

He denied there was a cabal engaged in undemocratic activities, saying it is true some UDF leaders might have been engaged in acts which could not be considered democratic, but says these things were not done deliberately.

ly.

11K

"During the state of emergency of 1986, our activities were disrupted — even those of Sayco and other UDF formations. The leadership of most of these organisations did not operate in the strictest sense of democracy. Agreements would be reached at a national level with these bodies only to find that the grassroots knew nothing about them. We were all guilty of this."

A lecturer in African Politics at Unisa, Phil Mtimkulu, endorses the sentiment that it is about time the UDF closed shop.

Mtimkulu said although the UDF started well, "it later became an agent of confusion in the black community. Organisations which were supposed to belong to the UDF spoke in different tongues on the same issue. There was just no consistency in their utterances."

He cited the recent example of a planned black Christmas. Most blacks simply did not know whether there was going to be a boycott owing to conflicting reports.

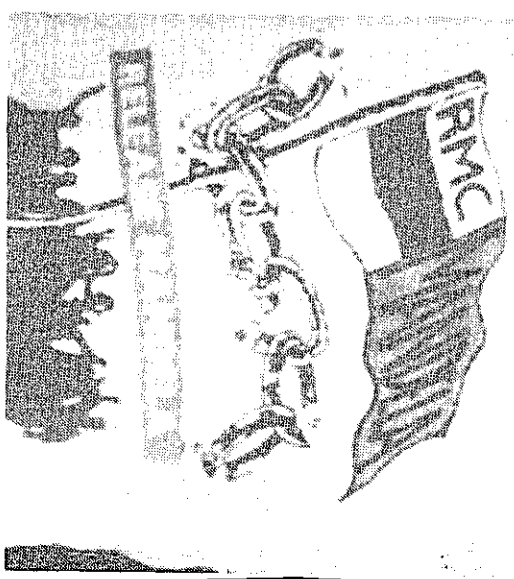
Mtimkulu said a new United Front instigated by the Charterist camp would be seen as just another wing of the ANC.

"Against this background no neutral organisations are likely to be drawn to the new front."

Given the facts that most leaders of the UDF have not been integrated into the ANC and that the Front itself seems to exist in name only, the March congress may well sound its death knell.



ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba... UDF should be dissolved immediately.



Former UDF leading member Aubrey Mokoena... clique runs UDF, he charged.

# ANC appointment shock

THE African National Congress has made a shock appointment to a key new position for spearheading the organisation's programme of mass action.

The ANC leadership decided at a National Executive Committee meeting on Friday to appoint former security chief Mazwai Piliso, to head a new national campaigns committee.

Piliso, now in his sixties and an NEC member, was previously unable to carry his security responsibilities because of ill-health, according to a leading ANC source. Consequently, he was removed from the post in 1987 and given a new portfolio of manpower development.

(11A)  
The ANC's consultative conference in December put mass action on the top of its political agenda so that the ANC would have sufficient muscle in negotiations with the government.

The campaigns committee, said one source, would also be an important adjunct to bolstering recruitment and strengthening the ANC's organisational base.

Consequently, the new position, said ANC sources, would effectively be a "24-hours a day job". They doubted whether Piliso would manage this in the light of his health.

cl/pen 20/1/91

taken by the United States, P.O. Associated Press

# KwaZulu, Bop set to join us - ANC

11A

Sowetan 2/1/91

By IKE MOTSAPI

QUESTIONS were raised yesterday when the African National Congress claimed that the governments of KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana were to join the organisation.

Mr Wilton Mkwayi, a veteran ANC member, told a cheering crowd at a rally held at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, that the two homeland governments were ready to throw in their lot with the organisation.

The rally was held to mark the start of the organisation's defiance campaign.

The ANC has been at loggerheads with the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana governments in the past.

Many lives have been lost in fights between the ANC and supporters of the two governments because of clashes of interests.

By late yesterday neither the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana leaders, Chief Mangosuthu

Buthelezi and Chief Lucas Mangope respectively could be contacted for comment.

The ANC, under the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party are due to meet on January 29.

Mkwayi told the crowd: "The ANC has been working hard to get all forces that are against apartheid to come together.

## Black unity

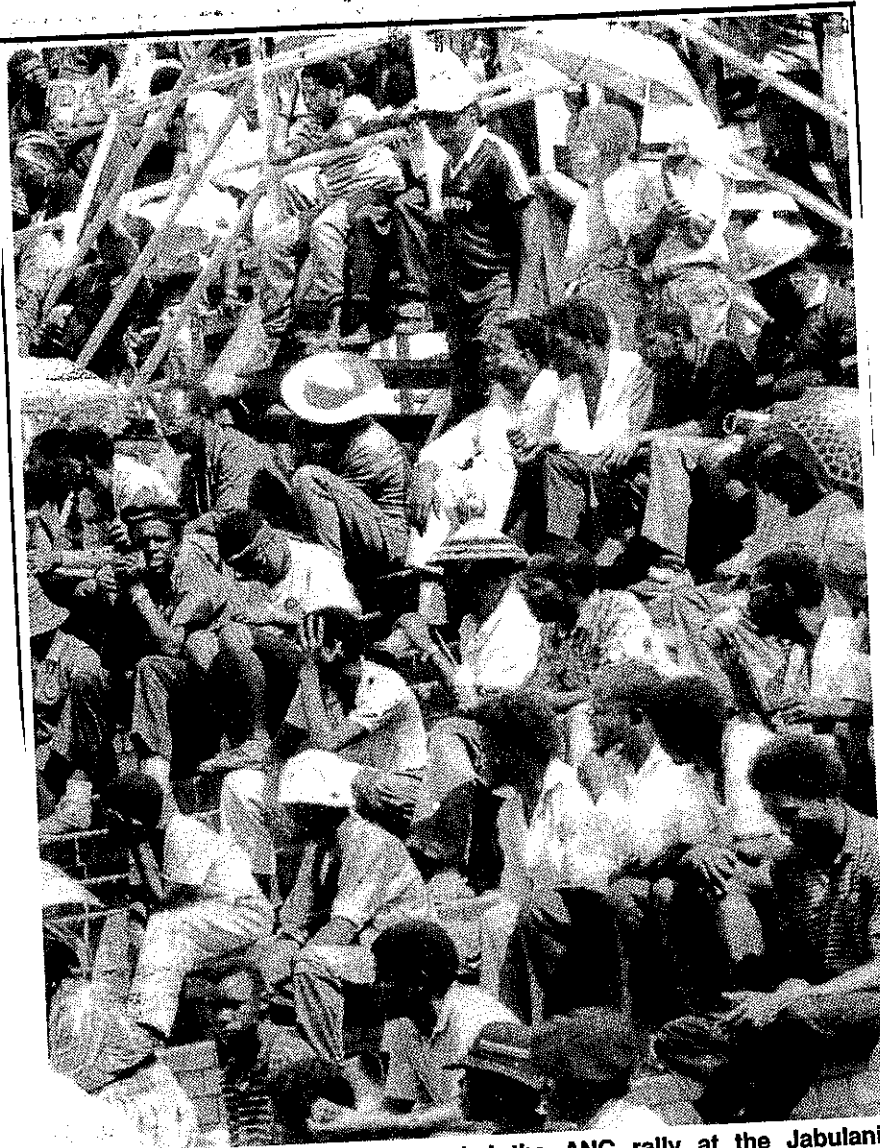
"I am happy to say that the KwaZulu government and that of Bophuthatswana have indicated that they are ready to join us.

"This is good news because black unity would be restored.

"The important thing is that we, as united blacks, would fight our cause without fearing division," he added.

● To Page 2

P.T.O.



Some of the people who attended the ANC rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto yesterday. Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

## ANC on black unity 11A

*Sowetan 2/11/91*  
● From Page 1

Mrs Joan Fubbs, regional deputy chairman of the ANC Women's League, told the rally that the fight against apartheid laws would be carried out in the streets of Johannesburg this year.

She said: "The fight against domination is beginning."

"We the women of South Africa, who number about 53 percent of the population, are going to fight to the bitter end."

"We have waited too long for things to change

but to no avail. The ANC should be supported in its endeavour to end racism and apartheid. The time is ripe now. Away with domination," she added.

Mr Parks Tau, an official of the Soweto ANC Youth League branch,

said the time of waiting "to FW De Klerk's tactical games" has come to an end.

"Enough is enough," he added.

"We cannot wait any longer. The fight to end apartheid has started," he added.



# Deadlock in talks <sup>(11/19)</sup> overcome

HOPES for resolving the negotiation logjam are rising with the news that a joint ANC/Government working group will meet again today.

The so-called "paragraph three" working group suspended meetings on November 22 after running into serious deadlocks.

The group was formed to discuss the suspension of ANC hostilities.

## Campaign

One reason for deadlock is that the ANC resisted Government demands that it call off its mass mobilisation campaign and the recruiting and training of cadres for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Government sources said yesterday that the very fact that the group was meeting again was a positive development.

They believed that progress must have been made in several meetings between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela over the holidays.

"I think we can feel each other out and carry on to finish the job," one source said.

The group's deadlock is holding up the whole negotiation process.

This is especially so as the Government has announced that ANC exiles who have received military training will not be granted indemnity unless the group's problems are resolved.

The ANC has strongly criticised the linkage between the exiles question and the working group.

But Government sources said yesterday that the ANC is now prepared to discuss the linkage.

## Robberies

The Government is also eager to discuss the position of armed ANC cadres in the country, particularly because of the recent proliferation of armed robberies using AK47 automatic rifles.

Today's meeting will probably take place in the Pretoria office of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who leads the Government's delegation.

The ANC delegation is expected to be lead by MK chief of staff Chris Hani. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

## Hopes working group talks will end negotiation logjam

Star 21/1/91  
Political Correspondent

Sizwe. 11A

Hopes for resolving the negotiation logjam are rising with the news that the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the ANC's suspension of hostilities will meet again today.

The "Paragraph 3" working group suspended its meetings on November 22 after deadlocks. The ANC resisted the Government's demands that it end its campaign of mass mobilisation, and the recruiting and training of cadres for its military wing, Umkhonto we

Government sources say the new round of talks is a positive sign. They believe progress had been made in recent discussions between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

The deadlock in the "Paragraph 3" working group is holding up the negotiation process, especially after the Government decided that ANC exiles who had received military training would not be indemnified against arrest unless the problems in the working group were resolved.

# ANC calls for mass action, interim govt

skw 2/1/91  
11A  
By Musa Mapisa

About 5 000 people yesterday attended an ANC rally at the Jabulani amphitheatre in Soweto to celebrate the organisation's 79th birthday and to launch a campaign of mass action.

Speakers included the internal leader of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, the regional deputy president of the ANC's Women's League Joan Fubbs and the ANC's PWV regional chairman Kgalema Motlantihe.

Mr Sisulu said the mass action campaign, to coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 1, entails:

- Wide-spread mass demonstrations.
- Calls for an interim government.
- The mobilisation of black people into a patriotic front.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC also called for an all-party congress.

"This does not mean

that the ANC is abandoning its call for a constituent assembly," he said.

ANC steward Wilton Mkwazi appealed to pupils to go back to school. He also criticised youths who called themselves ANC members and intimidated people by collecting money in the name of the ANC.

"Elderly people are not attending ANC rallies because they are scared of the undisciplined youth", he said.

Joan Fubbs called on the ANC to mobilise women: "The struggle for liberation of the people of this country will be stillborn if women are not emancipated."

She added that this struggle "would not be fought in the kitchen but in the streets".

Mr Motlantihe said that "on February 1, we expect President de Klerk to legislate his Government out of power to give way to an interim government".

# ANC takeover soon 11A

AN ANC official yesterday pledged his organisation would take over the Government in a short space of time.

ANC Free State convener Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota made this remark at a funeral service for Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Gaitsisiwe "Barnard" Molokoane in Tumahole Township near Parys yesterday.

Molokoane (29), an exile, died in

Luanda, Angola on Christmas Eve.

Lekota also said the Government should immediately convene an all-party congress to determine standards for political parties wanting to participate in the drafting of a new constitution.

The congress would also determine how a constituent assembly could be established, he said. - Sapa

# Civics 'too closely identified with ANC'

8/02/91 21/1/91  
THE civic association movement was attempting to shake off its identification with "congress-orientated" organisations including the ANC in a bid to attract more supporters, said Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) assistant general-secretary Cas Coovadia.

Coovadia said in an interview the involvement of civic associations in political issues had led to them being identified with the congress movement, particularly the ANC.

"The civic association movement was formed by concerned groupings, with the logistical assistance from the congress movement, particularly from the UDF. These structures were formed to tackle civic issues, such as housing, education, transport and general living conditions in the townships.

"But as the civics were formed when organisations such as the ANC were still banned, they were then forced to play a political role. After all, civic issues are closely linked with political ones.

"In the process, however, the civic issues took a back seat to political ones and the civic association movement was identified with the congress movement."

WILSON ZWANE

This was a stumbling block to the civics' aim of articulating grassroots problems faced by all township residents as certain sections felt they were not represented, Coovadia said.

"Now that previously banned organisations have been unbanned, the civics can concentrate on civic issues. To do so they will need the participation of all township residents. That is why we are trying to divest ourselves of our congress-orientated background.

"It is not that we are not proud of our congress-orientated background. On the contrary. But the civics cannot claim to be mass-based if they are only open to the ANC," Coovadia said.

The civic association movement emerged in the early 1980's and its formation was mandated by the people, Coovadia said.

He said there were plans in the pipeline to hold a national consultative conference of civic associations in the near future to discuss the possible launching of a national civic body.

115 21/1/81 ARGU 21/1/81  
114

# ANC 'dissent' over Mandela'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — A British newsletter says a fight has begun within the African National Congress for the political life of Mr Nelson Mandela, who is said to have angered some members by negotiating privately with President De Klerk.

Also at stake is the survival of the negotiating strategy pursued by the leaders of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, says Africa Confidential, a fortnightly bulletin published in London.

It says the matter came to a head when Mr Mandela ignored a resolution passed at the ANC consultative conference last month requiring that all talks with the government be "open and public". Although the resolution had overwhelming support and was directed at him, Mr Mandela met privately with Mr De Klerk only two days later.

Already a large and influential

number of township activists are expressing concern about the ANC leadership, the negotiations and Mr Mandela's personal role. There was talk of a clean sweep of the ANC executive at the June congress, says the newsletter.

"Anger is now so widespread that senior ANC members have begun taking steps to avert what they see could be a disaster."

## EMBARRASSING

Africa Confidential says it is no longer certain that Mr Mandela will succeed Mr Oliver Tambo as president of the ANC.

Mr Tambo is said to have been approached about staying on despite his wish to retire because of having had a stroke.

Although he still shows its effects it is thought that keeping him on as president may be the only way to avoid an embarrassing electoral battle.

"So there is anxiety among the leadership for a major breakthrough in the talks before June."

According to the newsletter, this is part of the reason for the ANC's call for an all-party congress to draw up a non-racial constitution. Since such a congress amounts to abandoning the ANC demand for a constituent assembly, it encourages talk among the militants of "dumping Mandela".

Such talk has worried not only Mr Mandela's close confidants, such as SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo, but also Mr De Klerk and senior government ministers, who need Mr Mandela's team as a viable negotiating partner.

"However, some senior government officials see in the brewing squabbles within the ANC a chance of splitting the mostly young militants and much of the SACP away from the more conservative mainstream of the ANC," says Africa Confidential.



Nelson Mandela

# ANC action call at unruly rally

*Capl. Times 24/1/91* *11A*

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would soon launch a massive campaign to persuade government to "transfer power to the people", ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

The launch of the campaign would coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 1.

The campaign would continue until demands for a constituent assembly, an interim government, an end to violence and the adoption of a democratic constitution were met, he added.

The ANC's call for a multi-party conference did not mean it had abandoned the demand for an elected assembly, Mr Sisulu said.

He was addressing more than 10 000 people gathered at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto.

Toy-toting and singing youth disrupted the proceedings on numerous occasions despite calls for discipline from ANC marshals and the speakers on the platform.

Mr Sisulu slated "unruly" elements in the crowd, saying that "high moral standards and discipline" were essential to the ANC.

ANC organiser Mr Wilton Mkwayi also condemned the unruly behaviour, and suggested that names of the ANC branches which had attended the rally should be noted. — Sapa

# PAC <sup>(11A)</sup> blames ~~(S)~~ 'agents' for death

HARARE - The PAC yesterday blamed South African "agents" for the assassination of one of its members, Dumile William Stoolman, 10 days ago. *Stoolman 22/1/91*

In a statement from its external mission headquarters in Dar es Salaam, the PAC vowed to mete out "revolutionary justice" to those responsible for Stoolman's death.

It said his death had been preceded by telephone calls threatening his life. The last such call was made on January 11, the day of his murder outside his Uitenhage, eastern Cape, home.

"As he left his house . . . agents attacked him with hand grenades," said the statement. - *Sapa*.



# ANC to meet on justice in SA's future

11/19  
Dowlatan 22/11/91

A FOUR-DAY conference organised by the ANC will shed further light on the need for an independent judiciary to safeguard constitutional mechanisms such as a Bill of Rights.

The organisation said this yesterday when it announced the meeting scheduled for February 1 to 3 in the Magaliesberg.

"There is an urgent need to address the problems facing a future judicial system and to discuss models of legal justice

which would be appropriate for a democratic non-sexist and non-racial South Africa," the ANC said in a statement.

Top of the agenda will be discussions on how a judicial system would meet the requirements of legitimacy in a new South Africa.

The conference will also deal with appointments to a constitutional court so that it is truly representative of the country's population.

"The interpretation of fundamental rights and liberties, and the exercise

of judicial review, is more than an exercise in literal interpretation. Notwithstanding notable exceptions, the judiciary in South Africa has not shown whether it can meet the challenge of this new role," the ANC said.

Among the participants are Mr Justice Crabbe from Ghana, Mr Justice Dumbutshena from Zimbabwe and Mr Justice Ehgawathi from India.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will open the conference on February 1. - Sapa.

# Govt-ANC group tackles deadlock

<sup>8/Day 22/1/91</sup>  
GOVERNMENT yesterday was confident that last night's meeting of the ANC-government working group on the suspension of the armed struggle would resolve the group's two-month deadlock.

The so-called "paragraph three" working group, set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute to iron out aspects of the ANC's suspension of "armed action and related activities", was meeting for the first time in two months.

The group deadlocked after the ANC resisted government demands that it suspend not only open hostilities but also the recruitment and training of cadres for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Members decided to refer problem

<sup>8/Day 22/1/91</sup>

TIM COHEN

areas to their principals after the group reached deadlock in November.

It is believed President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela discussed the problem areas, particularly the definition of armed action, over the holiday season.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok led the government delegation last night. It was expected the ANC delegation would be led by MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

The working group considers its discussions confidential and neither side issued statements after the meeting.

# Leave Middle East alone, says Azapo

*Sowetan*  
22/1/91

THE Azanian People's Organisation believes that the problems of Gulf can only be resolved when Middle East countries are allowed to determine their own destinies.

In a statement to the *Sowetan* yesterday, Azapo said it appeared that war was acceptable in resolving conflicts as long as it was waged by the Americans and their allies.

11A

By GRACE RAPHOLO

Kuwait, which the allied forces claim to defend against annexation by Iraq, was a country created by the British colonial government after the World War 1.

While Africa accepted colonial boundaries drawn by the imperialists, that was not so in The Middle East and the result

was the semi-permanent state of war in the region.

It was stated that western powers had been able to install and remove governments and leaders in the region throughout the 20th century.

The imperialists policy of divide and rule was successfully introduced in the Middle East to prevent the region from developing into a power block, the statement said.

# Judge orders ANC man's release

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The detention of an ANC official who had been granted temporary immunity while on a visit to South Africa, was declared unlawful in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Justice Bristowe ordered the Minister of Law and Order to release Mr Kumar Singh immediately.

Mr Singh, the ANC's bureau chief in Holland, was arrested and detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act last Wednesday.

In an affidavit Mr Singh's sister, Miss Deomani Singh, said her brother had been arrested outside the Durban

CAT 7/2/81 22/1/91  
offices of the ANC. ~~524~~ ~~520~~ 11A

After living in exile since 1976, Mr Singh returned to South Africa on December 4 to visit friends and relatives.

He had been granted temporary immunity from prosecution or arrest as a result of the agreement between the ANC and the government which made it possible for exiles to visit South Africa.

The judge declared the detention to be unlawful. He ordered the Minister of Law and Order to release Mr Singh immediately — and to pay Mr Singh's costs, excluding the costs of two counsel.

**PAC death: SA  
'agents' blamed**

HARARE. — The PAC yesterday blamed South African "agents" for the assassination of one of its members, Mr Dumile William Stoolman, 10 days ago. *CPA-T, 22/1/81*

In a statement from its external mission headquarters in Dar Es Salaam, the PAC vowed to mete out "revolutionary justice" to those responsible for Mr Stoolman's death.

It said his death had been preceded by threatening telephone calls. — Sapa

# PAC will remain loyal to its following

11A  
Sowetan  
23/1/91

When the ANC and PAC were banned in 1960, the National Party government cut short the growth and expansion as well as the influence of both movements.

While the ANC was a mature 49-year-old, the PAC was a dapper 9-month-old baby that had raised enough hell to see them banned and most of its leadership interned.

Within the decade that followed, the PAC and ANC went into the political wilderness of exile where they were to stay for 30 years.

During the decades in exile, the ANC moved (financially) from strength to strength, ostensibly through largesse from the Soviet Union, presumably because of their close association with the South African Communist Party (SACP).

"They were revolutionary in Moscow and liberals in the West," Mr Barney Desai of the PAC said in an interview this week.

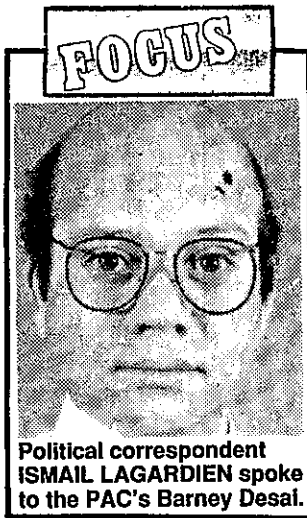
## Generous

Today the ANC is wooing the West, thus the generous bestowal of gifts, favours or money from these quarters in recent months. In the meantime the PAC is not receiving a fraction of the financial support that the ANC has enjoyed.

But he said, the PAC would remain stoic and uphold its principles and remain loyal to "the oppressed and dispossessed". The PAC will not seek an early or swift settlement "just for the sake of it", Desai said.

So, as the first year comes to an end, Desai explained, the PAC is re-establishing itself, and is in no particular hurry and will not make decisions "through secret and unmandated meetings" with Government.

Judging from the response that the ANC received from delegates to its National Consultative Conference, the leadership could be accused of acting in an undemocratic manner with regard to



Political correspondent ISMAIL LAGARDIEN spoke to the PAC's Barney Desai.

negotiations and secret meetings with Government.

"Nelson Mandela himself said (at the ANC's consultative conference last December) that the delegates had 'not a good word to say about the movement's National Executive Committee'," Desai said.

The PAC will do everything in its power to avoid being accused of this by its followers.

"When (Dr Gerrit) Viljoen invited us to negotiate, we put the question to our following on the ground, and we did not make a decision until it came from below," he said.

"Thus," continued Desai, "if you look at our achievements during this first year of our unbanning - and you must remember that we were only nine months old when we were banned - we are (broadly) much better shaped than ever."

"We have grown beyond our own expectations, despite the fact that our main rivals, the ANC, has had maximum media exposure," Desai said.

The ANC's "success" is largely a figleaf for Government and the white populace's need to have a kind of reasonable black that it can deal with.

Desai believes that Government sought a credible black

group to negotiate with and one that would appease its electorate and make them feel that they could "salvage their privilege".

On another level, the unbanning of the ANC and PAC has lent both the opportunity to send its leadership back into the country to establish themselves, familiarise themselves with their constituency and to become public property as it were.

The ANC has scored points in this regard, but only to a degree, Desai warned.

"Seventy-five percent of the ANC's leadership has been involved in talks with Government.

"On the face of it they appear not to have spent as much time with their followers. If they had an election for the NEC as they suggested early last year, none of the NEC members would have been re-elected.

"That is why they cancelled their national congress and replaced it with a national consultative congress last year.

## Congress

"We on the other hand held a congress and a new leadership was elected. And the fact that we could do it and they not is a damning indictment on their leadership. They have ignored their followers," Desai said.

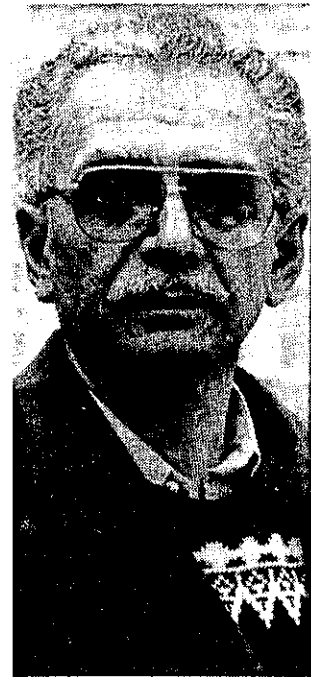
Desai said that he doubted that the ANC had actually reached its target of a million members by the end of last year.

He said that the PAC had never had the resources that its rival enjoyed.

"Therefore, you judge our progress by our resources," he said.

The PAC, he said, would continue seeking the veto of the people when it makes decisions. It will not be cajoled into seeking a speedy settlement to the detriment of democracy.

The PAC agrees that sooner rather than later, the people of South Africa would like to see a democratic government in control, but is cautious and has warned against forsaking the profound



Stoic ... Barney Desai.

principles of true democracy in favour of a speedy settlement.

"There is no getting around the democratic process. We should guard against a mad rush into an ad hoc, patched up democracy.

"This generation is charged with breaking with the past and laying solid foundations for the future.

"Therefore we are in need of a constitution that embodies the aspirations and wishes of our people and that will benefit posterity," Desai said.

Effectively the PAC has had less than two years to organise itself legally. And during the exile years and in the last year it has lost its most influential leadership.

The founder of the PAC, Mr Robert Sobukwe, died in 1977. Nyati Pokela another stalwart of Africanism died in 1989 and last year, the president of the PAC, Zephania Mothopeng, died.

"But we have emerged strong and shall continue to build our movement," Desai said.

# Govt-ANC to reassess armed actions

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

*Star 23/1/91*

The Government and the ANC have formed a new sub-committee in an attempt to resolve their serious differences over the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed actions and related activities".

The sub-committee was constituted in Pretoria at Monday's first meeting this year of the joint working group established under paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute.

The two sides disagree over what constitutes the "related action" which the ANC has

agreed to suspend. *(11A)*

The ANC has so far resisted the Government's insistence that it should not only cease open hostilities but also end its campaign of mass action and recruiting and training for Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Government is also pressing for the disarming of MK forces inside the country.

The disagreements in the working group led to a breakdown in its activities in November when both sides agreed to refer the problems to President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Sources close to the working

group say there was no breakthrough at Monday's meeting.

But there was an apparent determination on both sides to accelerate the business of the group, which was supposed to have reported to its principals by September 15 last year.

MK chief of staff and head of the ANC delegation Chris Han-iwas not at Monday's meeting. The ANC said he was out of the country.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Colonel Steve van Rooyen said the meeting was frank and positive and the working group would meet again on February 5.

# ANC to demand one education department

THE ANC yesterday said it wanted to meet government before Parliament opened on February 1 to demand a single nonracial education department.

And the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) will hold an emergency national executive meeting today to discuss the ANC's proposal.

ANC education head John Samuel confirmed the move and said the ANC would establish a group to meet government with concrete proposals before Parliament opened. The group would include educational and business organisations.

An extra-parliamentary source said the ANC asked the NECC to come up with

EDYTH BULBRING  
and TIM COHEN

proposals on a structure for a single education department. (55) (11A)

The request has put the NECC under enormous pressure, the source said. Although the NECC has made this call for the past few years, it has not yet finalised details for such a department.

"We have been asked to do in eight days what should be done in five months," a source said yesterday.

Samuel said the unification of the education departments would be difficult but the

process would be speeded up if the political decision was made this session.

He said at the very least initial financial arrangements could be made this session.

If the NECC decides to accept the ANC's proposal today, the organisation will have to go to the branches and regions of the NECC for a mandate to participate in talks with the ANC and government.

Samuel said he did not foresee difficulties with the proposal.

He declined to mention other organisations involved.

The government discussed changes to the education system at its Robben Island meeting at the weekend.

13/1/71 23/1/71



# Govt confident of working group's success

CAPE TOWN — Government is confident the joint working group on the suspension of armed action will resolve all its outstanding problems and that the April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles will be met.

A source said the group would have to meet again before reporting back to the principals.

He said it was vital that the working group resolve obstacles or the multiparty conference, the first stage of real negotiations, could

Bj Day 23/1/91  
BILLY PADDOCK

not be convened.

The working group was set up to iron out aspects of the ANC's suspension of "armed action and related activities".

Talks deadlocked when the two sides could not agree on what constituted related activities. Government insisted that the holding of arms caches and the recruiting and training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members was a related activity. The ANC disputed this. It said it had not abandoned

the armed struggle, only areas not touched on be-suspended it.

The working group, led by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and the ANC's Chris Hani, suspended its work and it was left to President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to resolve the question of a definition.

Sources say the principals have made progress on the issue and may decide to agree to differ, after finding an acceptable way of handling the problem.

At the meeting on Monday the group "talked about

fore", one source said.

He was confident the group would resolve the problem and the April 30 deadline for the return of exiles and the release of prisoners would be met.

The ANC had to accept the necessary linkage between the suspension of armed action and the release of prisoners and the return of exiles, the source said.

● Comment: Page 6

## Inkatha spurns Contralesa

DURBAN. — Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday declined an invitation from the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) for talks to discuss the dismantling of Kwazulu.

Chief Buthelezi said it was surprising that while leaders of the ANC and Inkatha were bracing themselves for important peace talks next week, there were people aligned to the ANC still involved with "confrontation." — Sapa

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23/1/91

# ANC mass action campaign launched

South 24/11 - 30/11/91 (11A)

From Mono Badela  
Johannesburg

THE ANC'S "Mass Action Campaign" to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government will go ahead in the PWV region next Friday — with or without official permission.

ANC members will be asked to stayaway from work, march and picket, despite the police campaign to eliminate what they call "the vicious intimidation sweeping South Africa".

Ms Barbara Hogan, general secretary of the ANC's PWV region told SOUTH "the campaign for the transfer of political power to the people" would begin in the region with a mass stayaway from work. The stayaway call had been endorsed by the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party.

However, she called on all political organisations — including the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha — to participate in the mass action because "this is something that affects all the people".

The Hillbrow branch of the ANC will hold a picket on the eve of the reopening of parliament.

In Pretoria, people plan to march to the Union Buildings to present a memorandum to the authorities demanding that the present parliamentary system be dissolved and be replaced by a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

Marches would also take place in Soweto and Tembisa.

Hogan said a door-to-door signature campaign endorsing the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government would begin in all regions after parliament reopened.

The mass action should be free and peaceful. "There must be no coercion and no violence," Hogan said.



**MASS ACTION:** ANC executive member Walter Sisulu addresses more than 10 000 supporters gathered at the Jabulani Amphitheatre last Sunday to celebrate the 79th anniversary of the ANC

# ANC <sup>(11A)</sup> calls for end to war in Gulf

Sowetan 24/11/91

**THE ANC has called for an immediate end to the Gulf war and has opposed the South African Government's offer to the United States that its harbours and air-bases would be made available if required.**

The ANC also called on the Government and police to "stop harassing and persecuting our people who are engaged in peaceful public demonstrations to express their views about what's happening in the Gulf".

On Saturday, ANC representative, Ms Gill Marcus expressed the organisation's concern at the war and called for an end to hostilities.

The ANC called for a resumption of diplomatic initiatives, "in particular from the secretary general of the United Nations", to arrive at a peaceful solution to the conflict.

In order to resolve the conflict, it was critical

that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait and bilateral negotiations take place to resolve the dispute between the countries.

The US was also to withdraw from the Gulf and an international conference should be convened to "elaborate a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question which would restore the rights of the Palestinian people, oblige Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab land and ensure the security of all countries in the region," Marcus said.

## Facilities

"The war must be brought to an end now," she said.

She added the ANC opposed the South African's offer of making available facilities in the country to the US.

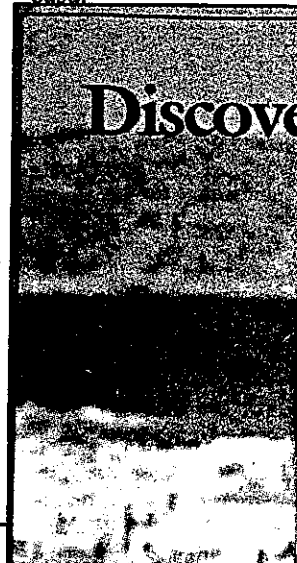
Meanwhile, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yester-

day said the US had no right to be in the Persian Gulf.

\* Speaking at the launch of the ANC Women's League for Ga-Rankuwa in Pretoria, Mandela said it was a "no win war". She said it would result in the continued suffering of the Palestinian people.

She said she was not interested in commenting on the wrongs and rights of Saddam Hussein.

Sapa.



C

# Mandela to open legal indaba

7/19  
~~scribble~~

South 28/11 - 30/1/91

From Mono Badela  
Johannesburg

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will officially open a constitutional conference in Magaliesberg next Friday.

The four-day conference, organised by the ANC legal and constitutional department in collaboration with the Centre for Applied Legal Studies of Witwatersrand University, will shed light on the need for an independent judiciary to safeguard constitutional mechanisms such as a Bill of Rights.

### Democratic

"There is an urgent need to address the problems facing a future judicial system and to discuss models of legal justice appropriate for a democratic, non-sexist and non-racial South Africa," Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's legal and constitutional department, said in an interview.

According to Skweyiya, the conference will discuss how a judicial system would meet the requirements of legitimacy in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The conference will also deal with



Zola Skweyiya

appointments to a constitutional court so that it is truly representative of the country's population.

"The present judiciary is unrepresentative of the racial, ethnic, sexual or class composition of our society. Accordingly, it may lack legitimacy and may lack an understanding of the social reality experienced by South Africans," Skweyiya said.

"The interpretation of fundamental rights and liberties, and the exercise of

judicial review, is more than an exercise in literal interpretation. Notwithstanding notable exceptions, the judiciary in South Africa has not shown whether it can meet the challenge of this new role," he explained.

Top legal experts from other parts of the world will participate in the conference.

Local participants include Advocate Arthur Chaskalson and Advocate Pius Langa.



# ANC to remember its dead

By MONK NKOMO

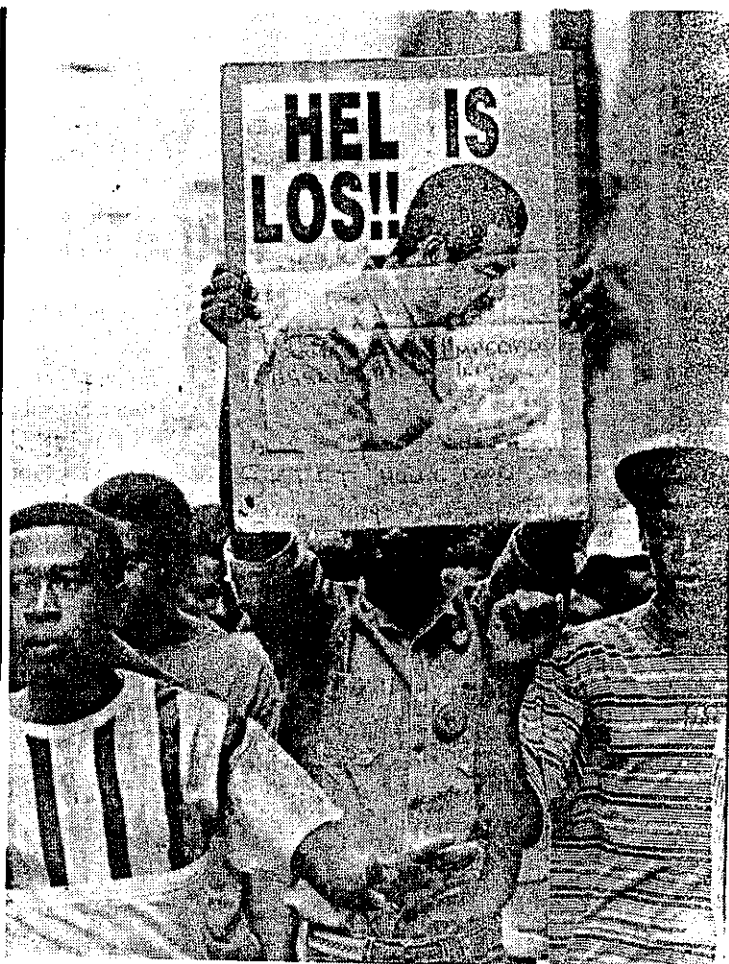
THE Atteridgeville branch of the African National Congress will hold a memorial service in Saulsville on Sunday to commemorate the deaths of local residents killed during unrest and ANC cadres who died in and outside the country since 1976. *Sowetan 26/11/91.*

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday speakers would include Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and Mrs Martha Mahlangu, mother of ANC guerilla, Solomon Mahlangu, who was executed in 1979.

Mamoepa said a cleaning session at

the graves of unrest victims and ANC cadres buried at the Atteridgeville and Saulsville cemeteries would be held at 9am on Saturday. Wreaths would be laid at 11am on Sunday. ~~(S)~~ (IA)

Among cadres to be remembered are Mahlangu, Tope Mogashoa, who died in a skirmish with security forces in the northern Transvaal, Lucky Ndebele, who died in an accident in Lusaka in 1985, and Mthuthuzile Tatane, who also died in Lusaka last year.



Protesters make their feelings known at yesterday's demonstration.

## 150 in Jo'burg anti-war demo

ABOUT 150 people demonstrating against the Gulf war were chased by police yesterday when some of the group tried to enter the building housing the United States Consulate in Johannesburg.

There was a disturbance in the lobby of the Kine Centre building when some of the protestors, after being dispersed by police, tried to clamber over the turnstiles in the lobby and go to the consulate on the 11th floor.

*Sowetan 24/11/91*  
**Bomb**

The consulate was deserted but for a security guard near the lift on the floor. The staff had been evacuated earlier following a bomb threat made to the consulate.

The protesters, holding placards reading: "One Bush, One Bullet" and "Kill Them Saddam Hussein, Kill Them", had gathered at entrances to both sides of the building.

The demonstration

was organised by the Azanian National Youth Unity.

Azanyu vice-president Mr Ntsie Mohloai, who was among the protesters, said the demonstration was in solidarity with the people of Iraq, who were facing a war with the US-led multinational forces.

Asked what Azanyu's impression of the war was, he said: "It is an imperialist war ... we condemn the imperialist war by America against the people of Iraq."

### Protest

He said Azanyu and other organisations had planned a series of anti-war protest actions throughout the country.

Asked whether police were taking any action against the demonstrators, one of the policemen monitoring the demonstration said: "Nobody has been dispersed. The people dispersed themselves." - Sapa.

# PAC and ANC join to stem fighting

*Sowetan 24/1/91*

11A

ANC and PAC leaders in Munsieville on the West Rand have set up a joint violence monitoring committee after a spate of clashes between members of the two organisations in recent weeks.

At a meeting on Tuesday, the two organisations agreed to adhere to the principle of political tolerance and to the unconditional return of PAC members who had fled the area after violent

clashes since December 25.

The PAC's West Rand publicity secretary, Mr Basner Ngceba, yesterday described the meeting as a significant breakthrough, and said a follow-up meeting would be held on Monday.

Tuesday's meeting had been attended by Munsieville leaders and West Rand officials of both organisations, he said.

The joint violence monitoring committee would consult with residents who had been affected by the clashes, would monitor violence and detentions and would report back to the community, he said.

*Sowetan Correspondent.*



From Mono Badela  
Johannesburg

BOTH Inkatha and the ANC are mum on the burning question of keeping what will be discussed between the two organisation's leaders when they meet in Durban on Tuesday.

Although hopes are high that the long-awaited face-to-face meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will signal a breakthrough in the bloody conflict between the two organisations, indications are that it might not succeed.

Although Tuesday's meeting is his-

# ANC, Inkatha mum on talks

South 24/11 - 30/11/91

toric — it is the first personal contact between Mandela and Buthelezi since Mandela was jailed in 1962 - previous discussions between the two parties have not succeeded in dampening the conflict.

Peace accords between the ANC and Inkatha, drafted by top-level officials of both parties have been broken weeks after they were signed and it has not been possible to enforce them.

Tuesday will see the first top-level

meeting between the two organisations since October 1979 when the executive committees of the organisations met in London.

The points of dispute between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF throughout the 1980s have been Buthelezi's acceptance of the homeland system, his opposition to the armed struggle and his opposition to international sanctions against South Africa.

Inkatha also opposes nationalisation

and a socialist economy.

Although the agenda for the meeting was not available at the time of writing, it is expected that the two organisations will focus on how to bury the panga.

The two delegations will have to decide how to stop the killings and the hatred — not how they failed to do so in the past. Inkatha chairperson Mr Frank Mdlalose last week hinted at a possibility of "joint activities" between the two groups, but would not elaborate.

11A

He and the ANC's Natal leader, Mr Jacob Zuma, will help draw up the agenda. This will be endorsed by the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

It is expected that Mandela will be accompanied by Zuma, NEC member Mr John Nkadimeng, International Affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC Women League's chief, Mrs Gertrude Shope and ANC Natal Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala

# Conference to discuss funding

THE ANC is preparing an international donors conference to be held in Arusha, Tanzania, early next month, it was announced this week.

The ANC delegation will be led by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, and ANC treasurer general, Mr Thomas Nkobi.

South 24/11 - 30/11/91

"The objectives of the conference are to discuss a strategic approach to development, present programme and project priorities, obtain funding from donors and establish coordinating mechanisms," an ANC spokesperson said.

Participants will include representatives of governments of Tanzania, the

(11A)

Nordic states, India, Australia and Nigeria, as well as ambassadors based in Tanzania.

There will be about 70 representatives from government agencies, international agencies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from about 15 countries.

# ANC set to review talks team

11A

South 24/11 - 30/11/91

From Jenny Cargill  
Johannesburg

ANC officials are expected to meet this week to look into expanding the team that will handle talks with President FW de Klerk's government.

This comes at a time when the joint ANC-government working group discussing aspects of the Pretoria Minute of August 1990 claims to have succeeded in breaking a two-month deadlock over the interpretation of the "suspension of armed actions and related activities" clause and the ANC's mass action campaign.

Resolution of these problems must occur before talks progress.

Newspaper reports have also speculated on similar government intentions to reshuffle the cabinet to create a pool of ministers responsible for negotiations only.

## Resources

This week's meeting of the ANC "talks team" will consider developing a depth of resources which will include researchers, specialist working groups and legal experts. There is also a demand from the membership for a "fair" representation of women.

Extending the existing negotiations team was mandated by the December 1990 consultative conference. The first talks at Groote Schuur in Cape Town



Cheryl Carolus

earlier last year included two women, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Ms Ruth Mompati, and some limited representation of internally-based anti-apartheid personalities.

However, subsequent talks included only leading exiles. There are no women in the two working groups. At the same time the upcoming meeting of the negotiations team will look at a related conference resolution on the establishment of "a mechanism which ensures that branches are adequately consulted about the negotiation process".

But there has been no movement yet on one of the most insistent demands of the conference: the establishment of a national committee to ensure that defence units are put in place at least in the townships that have been worst affected by violence.

So far, the ANC leadership has endorsed a pamphlet giving guidance to communities on how to set up defence units, but it is still to be formally distributed.—AIA

# ANC calls for new probe into hit squads

11A  
Staw 24/1191  
Political Reporter

The ANC has appealed to the Government to re-open investigations into the activities of alleged hit squads within the security forces in view of the judgment in Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling's court action against two newspapers.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said many officers allegedly involved in hit squad operations remained in high office, a fact that went a long way to explaining the present level of violence in the country.

The ANC said it was extremely disturbing that "these criminals"

were allowed to continue to perform their duties.

"In the public interest, we call on President de Klerk to institute a fresh commission of inquiry into the hit squads that exist both within the police and the defence force."

The ANC also urged Mr de Klerk to order the arrest of top officials who had been implicated in the Harms Commission's investigation.

"The Harms Commission lies in tatters, and the report is not worth the paper it's written on. Any further attempt at a cover-up can only lead to further chaos and disaster," the ANC said.

Ideological violence is a ghastly recipe for disaster, writes Gomolemo Mokae

# BC philosophy could stop these senseless

## Killings

**T**HE recent tragic blood-letting in Sebokeng is a gory reminder that, rhetoric on the senselessness of internecine killings by black leaders notwithstanding, there are still a remarkable number of blacks who find glory in such gory killings.

We need to do more to uproot the culture of anarchy which we nourished by simply countenancing the barbarism of the necklace of the mid-80s. Without wanting to reopen seemingly healed wounds, some of us with clout inflamed this "Celebration of Flames" (apologies to Farouk Asvat) with our utterances then. And now we are flabbergasted as we reap the whirlwind...

"Oh well, they are inviting it upon themselves by collaborating with the oppressor", some of us tried to philosophise the use of the dreadful tyre and petrol against councillors and "sellouts". Soon use of these items graduated to a

settlement of ideological rivalry between liberation movements, and Azania was never to find peace again.

Come February 2, and the nationwide euphoria which followed soon found itself enveloped by anguish at the unprecedented blood-letting on the East Rand.

At the height of the violence, outgoing president of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, suggested "a return to Black Consciousness" as a solution to the violence.

I am a staunch proponent of the Black Consciousness philosophy, and my conviction is strengthened by a perception of it as a solution to black people's problems including black-on-black violence.

The now popular anti-collaborationist stance taken by virtually every strand of the liberation movement was conceived, bred and popularised by the Black Consciousness Movement. Chief Man-

gosuthu Buthelezi can attest to the many intellectual battles he had with the forebears of Azapo and other current BCM structures, Black People's Convention (BPC), South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and Black Community Programmes (BCP).

However, at no stage did the BCM agitate for, let alone initiate, violence against collaborators. At the heart of BCM thinking lay the belief that "every non-white is a potential black person". The organisation was so democratic that it opted to win even "sellouts" to the liberation struggle.

Now, elements of the liberation movement have no qualms about turning collaborators into necklace victims and human dartboards for target practice. The obvious danger is ignored, and soon violence against collaborators transforms into violence against ideological rivals in the struggle.

This recipe for disaster is not

Jan 24/1991  
made any less ghastly by selective application of the anti-collaborationist stance of the BCM.

"All collaborators are equal, but some are more equal than others..." this Orwell-speak captures the selective application.

This application became fertile ground for fanning tribalist sentiment, for how else should a bantustan leader who is reviled react when he realises other collaborators are blue-eyed boys of a section of the liberation movement?

Suffice it to say this selective application became a seed of the unprecedented tribal wars of the East Rand in 1990.

After February 2 1990, some of us who were too quick to shout "Viva Comrade de Klerk" rose against our own kith and kin from different tribal groups and organisations. It appeared all the efforts of the Onkgopotse Tiro, Muntu kaMeyzas and Bantu Bikos to build a strong black solidarity had

come to naught.

No wonder Bishop Mogoba reacted in the manner which he did. A return to Black Consciousness, I agree with him, may be our only salvation. How odd for us to want to execute the quantum leap to relating to white people when we cannot relate to one another as members of different black tribes or political organisations?

One of the principles of the BCM is collective leadership, and the creation of cults around living figures is frowned on.

In the same vein the BCM understands the revolution is not a razzmatazz. T-shirts, badges and other merchandise of BC organisations are available only to members who understand the guiding principles and policies of their structures. This obviously deters elements who may want to drag the movement's name through mud by engaging in hoodigan activities dressed in BC colours.

A short-cut to populism, attained by availing a liberation movement's merchandise to all and sundry with little attention to political education, is a recipe for disaster.

But more than this, the best way to prevent such disasters is a code of conduct, which has been seen with BCM structures since the days of SASO, BPC etc. For instance, Azapo's code of conduct decrees that a member may not indulge in drinking while dressed in the organisation's garments.

There is no short-cut to freedom. All sections of the liberation movement are going to have to cut out the razzmatazz and get alive to the demands of the liberation. A return to the non-populist values of Black Consciousness which hold black life sacred, is the only solution to the violence which is charring our society.

● Dr Mokae is Transvaal vice-president of Azapo. □



# No-show ANC speakers 'bad risks'

Own Correspondent

*ANC Times 24/1/91 (11A)*  
JOHANNESBURG. — ANC speakers are increasingly being regarded as bad risks because they arrive late for appointments or fail to turn up at all, while demand for speakers from the Conservative Party is growing.

This is the view of a leading organiser of local and international speakers, Platform Speakers International (PSI).

Over the past few months, for example, the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki failed to turn up at two major conferences held on the same day and also failed to arrive when

booked as the main speaker at the launch of a black insurance broking company recently, PSI says.

Also in the high-risk category were other major celebrities who were in great demand and could be called away at the last moment.

The managing director of PSI, Ms Denise Bjorkman, said demand for black speakers had risen considerably, particularly for Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, although the latter was hard to sign up.

Also growing was demand for CP speakers, most notably young Schweizer-Reneke

MP Dr Piet Mulder, formerly a top "image packager" for the party.

She said cabinet ministers and DP members were always popular.

PSI has signed up former US president Mr Jimmy Carter and opera star Luciano Pavarotti to visit SA this year. Pavarotti came highly priced — at least R350 000 for a week — but the final price was still being negotiated. Mr Carter had been signed up for a mere R30 000 inclusive.

Popular local speakers included Anglo American's Mr Clem Sunter, Radio 702 personalities Dr Paul and John Robbie, and cricketer Clive Rice.

# SAP 'fans violence in townships'

CAT-TC/45  
24/1/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two international organisations have accused the South African security forces of fanning political violence and siding with Inkatha in its clashes with the ANC.

The human-rights organisation Africa Watch, in a report made public yesterday, has called for a judicial inquiry into alleged abuses and a purge of human-rights violators from the security establishment, Sapa reports.

Sapa also reported that the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) said yesterday that the SAP helped Inkatha by ignoring violence by its members in clashes with ANC supporters in Natal last year.

"The SAP has enhanced the violence by favouring the Inkatha side . . . in its struggle with the ANC and its allies," Africa Watch charged.

## Call for probe

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze dismissed the report, saying it was based on "untested, unverified and self-serving claims".

Africa Watch called on President F W de Klerk to order a thorough probe into allegations of abuse, and for a "wholesale purge of human-rights violators from the security apparatus".

And it urged the US government to maintain the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act until Pretoria had met human-rights conditions.

A report issued in Geneva by a three-man mission of the ICJ, which spent two weeks last August investigating violence in Natal, said police were seen as partisan and police misconduct went unchecked.

# In the interim the ANC starts speaking out

●From PAGE 30

(11A)

WMail 25/11-31/1991

erim government, the present force can automatically become independent of the political set up and a law and order machinery."

Already in the run-up to negotiations people have had a bitter experience of the failure of the ANC/South African Police liaison structures established in the wake of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings to monitor violence. At the December consultative conference of the ANC there was a widespread demand for the ANC to abandon these structures and independently monitor violence, including that perpetrated by the forces.

Not only had the ANC been constrained in many cases to report abuses to the very perpetrators of these abuses, Mayekiso points out, but "I think that they were having their own agenda — that we should rubber stamp their rotten, terrorist-like actions in our own communities".

Suttner points out that the liaison structures functioned while the ANC was powerless in law" while as soon as an interim government existed the parties to it would have formal power "to call these



Unionist and civic leader Moses Mayekiso

people (police and army) to account". He adds the caution: "How we realise that power is another matter."

Perhaps, he suggests, the monitoring of the armed forces is one area in which the generally discounted notion of internation-

al participation in the transition might be reconsidered — especially as time considerations mitigate against the prior creation of a neutral, politically integrated force.

Finally, WHEN do leading ANC members see the interim government coming into being?

Mayibuye is emphatic: after the obstacles to negotiation have been cleared and not before that. The clearance of obstacles amounts to the establishment of free political activity for all. And, argues Mayibuye, this is intrinsic to negotiations — where the parties must engage as equals — as well as to interim government itself.

"You are talking about a structure with basic mandates to supervise the transition. You are talking about a structure that should ensure impartiality and fairness at all levels. Therefore you are talking about a structure that should enable our forces — and anybody else — to exercise their power freely and without repression."

Only an interim government endowed with these qualities might allow the ANC to exercise administration power fairly comfortably even as it continues to organise popular power.



**T**HE public sector is one of the most bitterly contested of South Africa's labour relations fronts — but will hostilities cease under a friendly government?

Controlling lifeline infrastructural and welfare services — hospitals, transport, docks, power, telecommunications — state sector unions are uniquely placed to inflict damage on the economy and discomfort on the public. In the United Kingdom, public sector strikes during the “winter of discontent” sparked a voter backlash which helped bring Margaret Thatcher to power.

In South Africa more than a quarter of the man days lost through strikes last year involved central and local government workers — would the unions strike as readily against an African National Congress administration?

How would they view “commercialisation”, public sector redundancies and calls for wage restraint in a democratic state? Would they push for rapid Africanisation, despite the political implications and even if services to the community were hit?

In a sense, the issue is a broader one: the possibility of a “social contract” — economy-wide trade-offs between unions, the state and capital — is being hotly debated with the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions.

But the snags and complexities are most vexing within the government sector. At present, public sector unions refuse to moderate their pay claims or limit strikes, arguing that they owe nothing to a government that does not represent them. Indeed, they see their activities as part of the wider push for liberation.

The pressure to scale down demands, and the risk of incorporation, would be far greater if they faced the ANC, their historic ally, across the negotiating table.

The question was thrown into sharp relief last week by a sea-change within the leadership of Cosatu's Post and Telecommunications Workers Association (Potwa), coupled with the announcement of a militant programme of action for this year, including demands for the virtual doubling of the minimum wage.

The new leadership has extraordinarily close ties with the ANC. The general secretary, assistant general secretary, treasurer and president have all been detained at some stage for activities linked to Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing. Two are branch officials of the ANC, others are active in ANC-linked civic bodies. Virtually

# Will militant unions become government sweethearts?

Close ties between the newly elected leadership of Cosatu's postal union and the ANC pose an obvious question: will public sector unions become a mere adjunct of a post-apartheid state?

By DREW FORREST

all are thought to belong to the South African Communist Party.

The picture is similar in Cosatu's other public sector unions, notably the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union, which tend to be more nationalist in orientation than the federation's industrial affiliates.

Some suggest these unions will simply roll over and die under majority rule. Others, including *Innes Labour Brief* editor Duncan Innes, insist the culture of independent unionism in Cosatu is too deep-rooted for this.

A key consideration is the different nationalist strains within the labour movement. Some labour nationalists might argue, as happened at Cosatu's last congress, that unions should refrain from striking under an ANC government, while others — particularly those with MK links — are more jealous of union autonomy.

Post-apartheid unions may not reflect quite the same militancy as “under the racist regime”, predicts Mlungisi Hlongwane, Potwa's new general secretary. “But we have learnt from our counterparts in Africa, which have been neutralised and demobilised by too-close ties with their governments.”

He adds: “Each member of the congress alliance must retain its independence. We accept that the ANC will represent various strata in our society — workers' interests will not be automatically respected. But we would expect an ANC government to have a working class bias.”

As providers of vital services to business and the public, state sector unions are uniquely touched by the sharp debate in Cosatu over essential service strike rights.

Nehawu national organiser Monde Mditshwa says his union believes in the full right to strike under the present dispensation but would have to “look



Hospital staff demonstrate ... Will they protest under a majority government?

Picture: WILLIAM MATLALA

at” compulsory arbitration in the health service come majority rule.

Hlongwane takes a different view. “Denial of the right to strike in any sector makes employers insensitive, and workers resentful of their comparative disadvantage,” he comments.

Holding that statutory curbs simply do not work, he argues that restraint can only come through consultation between workers and the wider community.

What of the public sector wage bill, which Innes believes will be high on

the agenda of an incoming ANC government? He believes the unions might buy some form of incomes policy, but only in exchange for other benefits — job security being the most likely demand.

“The unions won't simply accept a call to hold down wages — there'll be horse-trading. And they certainly won't buy a wage policy coupled with redundancies.”

Interestingly, Potwa accepts that the post office should be commercially viable in a post-apartheid state, while

bitterly resisting the current push for “commercialisation”.

“At the moment, it's a move towards privatisation,” Hlongwane argues.

“And any profits would accrue to a minority government.”

But he is adamant that any restructuring which entails job cuts “serves the interests of capital”, insisting that through expansion — particularly into poorly served townships and rural areas — profitability can be squared with job creation.

The reality seems more complex. What of the homeland bureaucracies, where the unions are making giant recruiting strides? Can the railways, for example, realistically move into the black without major tariff hikes or manning cuts?

“Africanisation” of the public sector is another potential flashpoint. Potwa is already kicking against the white monopoly of technical and managerial jobs in the post office, and Innes predicts intense union pressure on the ANC to correct historic imbalances.

But the ANC's task is a tougher one than in other post-colonial African states, where many white bureaucrats were expatriates under contract. The forced “greying” of the civil service, particularly if not seen to be on merit, could be politically explosive.

Both Hlongwane and Mditshwa believe the transition must be a gradual one, to ensure the maintenance of standards. “As long as they are not racists, whites should be able to stay on,” Hlongwane said.

But they also insist that this must be coupled with a massive education and retraining programme to equip blacks for more skilled work.

Sky-high worker expectations of a democratic government hold special dangers for the unions. There is a distinct risk that leaders counselling patience on promotion and restraint on wages could find themselves out of kilter with their base.

One approach to this is an intensive programme of education, aimed at heightening workers' awareness of society's broader needs, including those of the unemployed and the unorganised.

Hlongwane hints that unions might be sympathetic to an ANC push to curb inflation and conserve hard-pressed resources for other social projects. But for this to happen, he stresses, workers will have to be involved at all stages of economic planning.

“It's no good coming to workers when problems arise. If they're approached at the initial stages, they'll be able to understand the state's problems.”

# ANC/PAC battle splits Border township

W/Mail 25/11 - 31/1/91.

11A

**T**HE small Border town of Komga, scene of bloody clashes between African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress supporters, is a community deeply divided and disturbed.

Already this year a PAC member has been killed and an ANC member was admitted to hospital with 14 stab wounds. Service charges haven't been paid for months, a consumer boycott was resumed recently, and water to the township has been cut off since before Christmas.

The two sides are firmly encamped in separate areas: Qumrha, the township near Komga, is firmly controlled by the ANC, while the smaller group of PAC supporters have taken refuge in a tent town near the police station.

The divisions appear clear-cut. But a visit to the community revealed a situation a lot more complex.

It's difficult, for one thing, to decide exactly who's who. The PAC accuse

the Komga Residents' Association (Kora) of being an ANC front. The ANC, on the other hand, claims its adversaries are opportunists using the PAC's name as a convenient cover.

The ANC points to the role of Tutor Ndolose, PAC local chairman and a former community councillor. "To us they don't seem to be PAC people, they are councillors," said Kora chairman Elliot Ziqu.

The ANC and Kora claim that Ndolose is getting support from the police, and claim that in its latest attack the PAC used teargas.

While both organisations strongly criticised Ndolose — "a dictator" — and his followers, they said they were not against the PAC itself. "There are people here who support the PAC," said Ziqu and spoke of one member whom he described as their friend.

"He wears his PAC T-shirt as much as he wants, and he's never been threatened. We even politicise one another about the front of our leaders,

It is difficult to separate fact from fiction in the small Border town of Komga, where warring community factions tell the same highly improbable stories about each other. **LOUISE FLANAGAN** and **CLAIRE KEETON** report

and explain the constituent assembly."

The PAC call their tent town the "Sobukwe Peace Camp", while the ANC refers to it as "Beirut". Local PAC organiser Leon Jaji and Ndolose sat in on our interview with Border regional secretary Mvuyo Mhangwane.

Mhangwane, who lives in King William's Town, dismissed allegations that the group were not genuine PAC members. This was later backed up by national publicity secretary Barney Desai. "These are our people, they don't come from Mars," Desai said.

All three denied allegations that the

PAC had initiated any violence and that PAC members had prevented township residents from fetching water. "It's a joke," said Mhangwane. "People are seeing the ANC as aggressors. They want to save their tarnished image."

He accused the ANC of political intolerance and of trying to disrupt the launch of the PAC branch last October.

The three would not answer any questions which they viewed as involving national policy, including the PAC's attitude towards community councillors. Ndolose contradicted himself on this issue.

"I was forced (to resign)," he said. After a brief exchange in Xhosa between Mhangwane and Ndolose, he changed his tune. "Nobody threatened me. I disagreed (with the community council policy)."

The PAC group said they couldn't return to the township as they still feared for their lives. ANC members

had told us earlier that the PAC group was welcome back and that they wouldn't be attacked.

Township administrator Royden Thompson sees the current conflict "most definitely" as a split between the ANC and PAC. "It's clear Komga is an ANC town and other political affiliations will not be tolerated," he explained.

While it is difficult to separate truth from fiction in Komga, the distrust is palpable. Both sides tell the same highly improbable stories about each other: Both the PAC and the ANC claim the other side had abducted somebody and forced them to eat excrement.

"The ANC says they are bigger than the PAC, hence they will not allow the PAC to operate in the location," said Mhangwane.

Only hours earlier, Ziqu told us: "In Komga, they say 'One Kora, one bullet'." — elnews

## DURBAN SUMMIT

**THE BIG THAW**

their cards close to the chest as they remain cloistered in meetings.

**Deep grudges**

However, it is known that over the past seven months or so, since violence erupted on the Reef and demands for a meeting intensified, each side has been involved in intensive intelligence-gathering about the other.

Each has tried to extend its influence into areas dominated by the other — often a risky operation — and this is why the ANC has still not opened a branch in northern Natal.

Both sides have a reasonable store of knowledge about "enemy" strongholds, whether in remote Natal villages, Transvaal urban townships or hostels around Johannesburg. They also know a fair amount about arms stores and military training, arms routes into the country and to townships. Some of this information has also found its way to government.

Jacob Zuma, chairman of the ANC's southern Natal region, and also chief negotiator with government and Inkatha, tells the *FM*: "The meeting is significant because of what relations between us and Inkatha were in the past, and now. Also because of the violent situation, particularly in Natal where relations between the two organisations have been a major factor.

"This meeting must be the beginning of a movement towards ending violence."

Inkatha West Rand secretary Humphrey Ndlovu says: "We are very happy that such a meeting should take place. We have been wanting this for a very long time." However, he says he does not envisage an early end to conflict. "It will take time, people have very deep grudges towards each other. They have been fighting for too long. If Mandela and Buthelezi go shoulder-to-shoulder to meetings in the major centres where there has been violence, that could help."

The ANC would also no doubt be pleased if Inkatha was prepared to join forces with it and other anti-apartheid groups at the March 21 conference designed to form a "patriotic front." This front would consist of black and nonracial political groupings, including homeland leaders, aiming to strengthen their negotiating hand against government.

However, government has a similar strategy. At this stage it is not likely that Inkatha will throw in its lot with the NP or ANC. It may decide it has enough support to enable it to remain a major independent player.

The real challenge for those who meet in Durban on January 29, however, is not the resolution of party differences. The challenge is to rein in thousands of young people who have lost out on schooling, accept violence as normal, and have lost family members and often their homes. They are not naturally inclined to be peaceful, restrained and patient.

Negotiations and peace will highlight the fact that these are the unemployed and unemployable; they will have no status once conflict ends, and they sense it. Violence has

given power and authority, through fear and intimidation. Looting has given many of them cars and well-equipped homes. The law of the firearm is the only law in many areas of Natal.

January 29 could be an early barometer of how well the country will withstand the shocks of transition. It is not only President F W de Klerk who has to live up to expectations in the next fortnight. ■

**Inkatha** and the ANC are holding their breath as both sides wait for the January 29 meeting in Durban.

If it comes off (one side could still find a reason to pull out) it will be the first meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi since the late Fifties. Violence in Natal and on the Reef has often involved forces that have claimed to be supporters of the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party.

More than 8 000 lives have been lost in politically related violence in the past few years. Strange as it has seemed in recent years, the two men go back a long way.

Buthelezi, formerly an ANC stalwart and a former ANC Youth League member under Mandela, approached the ANC in the early Seventies; government had approached him to head the KwaZulu homeland and lead it to independence.

The ANC, after some deliberation, decided that it could do with a supporter within Pretoria's bantustan system.

Buthelezi also suggested the formation of a cultural movement, Inkatha, which would broadly advance the aims of the ANC. It would also use the ANC colours of black, green and gold; and emulate some of its structures, such as a youth brigade and a women's league.

After some consideration the ANC agreed but it was not long before bickering started. Cracks developed and became gulfs.

It has been evident for some time that Mandela has been prepared to meet Buthelezi. Mandela has not forgotten the risks that Buthelezi took in publicly supporting him when he was in jail and in refusing to take the baubles of "independence." But senior ANC men apparently deemed a meeting to be inappropriate and politically dangerous, such was the bitterness between the two groupings.

Even today, Zulu chiefs in some of the most remote areas of Natal can quote days and dates when the ANC allegedly perpetrated some insult against Buthelezi. When the *FM* visited Reef hostels after the horrific violence last year, and asked what lay behind the killings, it emerged that feuds can go back years.

Resentment also runs deep because the Inkatha membership includes many working-class people who are angry with ANC-inspired stayaways and school boycotts (*FM* January 4).

The area around Durban has long been an ANC stronghold. There is bitterness among ANC supporters because Inkatha allegedly forces people to become members of the Zulu organisation if they want their children admitted to schools, want to get on employment lists at labour bureaus or need a licence to open a shop within KwaZulu.

Neither side is willing to speculate on the meeting at this stage. Both teams are playing

ANC PROPERTIES

**MARKING TIME**

11A  
FM  
25/1/91

The ANC appears to be making slow but steady progress towards acquiring properties for its administrative personnel and returning exiles.

Though rumours were rife that it had bought the Shell Building in Plein Street, near Johannesburg station, for its new administrative head office, this has been denied by both parties.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma says the organisation is still looking for premises and that Shell is one of a number of CBD property owners that have been approached. "I'm not aware of any deal having been concluded and there's no saying when a decision is likely," he adds.

Macozoma says the ANC has its administrative personnel in three buildings in the city but wants them under one roof. "I cannot say exactly how much space we are looking for in square metres, but it is substantial."

Among the ANC's priorities for its new building are security and proximity to transport. "That's why it has to be in the Johannesburg CBD," he says.

The ANC's other property interests, the question of places to accommodate returning exiles, is being handled by the SA Council of Churches (SACC) repatriation committee. However, according to SACC co-ordinator Moss Chikane, progress is being hampered by a lack of resources.

He stresses the problem hasn't become

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critical yet because exiles haven't started returning to SA in large numbers. "We have been relying on churches and church-related buildings to cope with emergencies," he says.

He believes most returning exiles will live with relatives or friends but says accommodation will be provided for those who have nowhere to go.

"Our objective is to try and ensure that no one sleeps in the streets. We will also do our utmost to ensure that they are made as comfortable as possible."

Chikane says the SACC sees the accommodation of returning exiles as a short-term problem of providing temporary emergency housing for the few that will be homeless. Because of this, it will not be buying any residential buildings. "Where we have to acquire accommodation, we will lease buildings for two or three years," he says.

Where possible, people will be accommodated in the area of their choice. There are 11 regional structures dealing with the repatriation of exiles.

Says Chikane: "The number and rate of people returning is hard to predict because it is regulated by government's issuing of indemnities. However, we believe about 40 000 exiles will have returned by the end of next year or mid-1993."

Star 25/1/91 (11A)

## PAC favours forming united front

CAPE TOWN — The Pan Africanist Congress rejected the ideas of an all-party conference or an interim government, publicity secretary Barney Desai announced yesterday.

The PAC nevertheless favoured the formation of a united front and would attend the ANC's meeting of liberation fronts proposed for March 21, should it be invited.

Mr Desai released a statement setting out the PAC's re-

sponse to the ANC call for an all-party conference, which was described as "a reworking of Mr de Klerk's proposals".

The statement said that since the PAC's unbanning, it had maintained a consistent policy towards the question of negotiating.

The only negotiations it would participate in were those related to the setting up of a democratically elected constituent assembly. — Sapa.

STRATEGY PLANNING

FM 25/1/91

# NEW MEN ON THE ISLAND

**President FW de Klerk** and his men plan to keep the moral high ground captured on February 2. To this end, the broad framework of a plan of action was discussed by the Cabinet and senior State and NP officials at a two-day conference on Robben Island off Cape Town last weekend. Details will be announced by De Klerk when he opens parliament next Friday.

Why Robben Island, a famous political prison, was chosen is not clear.

Government planners believe it is now essential for De Klerk to make another massive leap in the reform process — on a similar scale to last year's unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the release of Nelson Mandela. But they caution against expecting too much: for De Klerk to better or even match last year's speech in terms of its effect on SA politics would be almost impossible.

It is not known what he will announce. Scrapping of all remaining apartheid laws, except the Population Registration Act, is already on the next parliamentary session's agenda. The Act is as fundamental to the superstructure of apartheid as the land apportionment laws, which will go.

In fact, De Klerk could ask parliament to suspend the operations of the Act. Though it underpins the tricameral constitution it is not essential to its day-to-day functioning except, arguably, in by-elections. But then these could be held on the basis of existing voters' rolls as an interim measure.

With all apartheid laws either scrapped or suspended, pending abolition, De Klerk would have far more leverage in his efforts to draw the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups into not only a national convention (which most of them support in one form or another) but into a new executive authority, a Super Cabinet.

This could be what lies behind speculation of a major Cabinet reshuffle and the hiving-off of a number of senior ministers to become permanent negotiators.

A Super Cabinet could be more than a talking shop; it could also seek ways to solve problems like endemic violence, alleged partiality of the police, inadequate local government and unequal social spending. It could set policy on these issues to be implemented by the existing State departments headed by more junior ministers. In this way De Klerk could give an equal say — and equal responsibility — to extra-parliamentary leaders to set the scene for constitutional negotiations.

The chances of the ANC accepting such an offer appear slim while the apartheid-based constitution remains in place. But if a plan along these lines is correctly structured, and perceived to be more than mere gim-

mickry, De Klerk would be applauded for his efforts even if few accepted the offer.

This would have two effects. It would undermine the moral defensibility of the ANC's current strategy to smash local au-



De Klerk ... can he match last year's speech?

thorities and intimidate government through mass action and draw the spotlight away from its demands for an elected constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution. It would also weaken arguments for the retention of sanctions and their application in practice.

The focus could then return to efforts to reach consensus on the process of negotiation. The ANC would be compelled to bend particularly if, in any case, attempts at true mass action fail or lead to more violence. The ANC's dwindling audiences at rallies tell one kind of story; and the unthinking support of certain influential members, such as Winnie Mandela for Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, foreshadows a limit to Western tolerance for all-or-nothing politics in SA. ■

## THE NEETHLING JUDGMENT

### BELIEVING COETZEE

The Harms Commission into alleged death squads cost the taxpayer R12m. It said there weren't any such squads. So perhaps having to cough up a further R1m-R2m for the legal costs of a police general who lost a defamation action may seem small beer. However, the general is SA's number two policeman and stands accused of having misled two judges and of having distributed poison to kill opponents of Pretoria — of having con-

nived with death squads, in other words.

At the heart of his now celebrated judgment involving Gen Lothar Neethling, *Vrye Weekblad* and *Weekly Mail*, Judge Johan Kriegler said Neethling — head of the SAP's forensic laboratories — was a lying (*leuenagtige*) witness. He had misled Judge Louis Harms and sought to mislead Kriegler. Moreover, the key damning evidence of former police captain Dirk Coetzee — “an unattractive person,” Kriegler found — was accepted above that of Neethling.

Neethling has given notice of appeal, but there looms the question of who will foot the final bill, estimated by lawyers acting for *Vrye Weekblad* and *Weekly Mail* at somewhere between R1m-R2m.

Law & Order spokesman Leon Mellet referred the *FM* to the office of the State Attorney when he was asked about costs. At that office, the *FM* was told Neethling had his own attorney who instructed counsel and “that the matter rests with Neethling, his attorney and his department.” Neethling's attorney, Ari Kanichowsky, was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

It was initially reported that Neethling's costs would be carried by the State unless it was found he had acted irregularly, as Kriegler's judgment states he does. Neethling would have been enriched in his personal capacity if Kriegler had granted him the R1.5m he claimed for defamation by the newspaper articles linking him to death squads.

The judgment leaves a stain on at least one other career. Prosecuting and cross-examining witnesses before the Harms Commission, Free State Attorney-General Tim McNally failed to reveal the evidence which lawyers for the two newspapers had accumulated — and were able to use to convince Kriegler — that death squads *had* existed and that Neethling's role had not been as innocent as he protested it was.

When Neethling told Harms that Coetzee must have seen a British TV programme, *Dispatches*, in which Neethling's house had been shown, the commission neglected to look at the video to verify or negate details. Attorneys from Bell Dewar & Hall (for the newspapers) did just that and found that Coetzee could not have described Neethling's house merely from looking at the video. Armed with a court order, they visited Neethling's house and corroborated Coetzee's evidence.

While McNally and, it seems, Harms as well, accepted police evidence as gospel, attorneys for the defendants queried and subpoenaed security police dockets and files. Coetzee's evidence was corroborated time

# In the interim the ANC starts speaking out

11A

W/Mand 25/11-31/1/91

The ANC clearly favours a constituent assembly but the organisation is only beginning to define its idea of what an interim government is.

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

**I**N the campaign slogans of the African National Congress, interim government and a constituent assembly are twin concepts — with the latter quite definitely the dominant of the pair, its character as an elected, fully representative structure plain for all to see.

Interim government is the more obscure and complex creature: a product not of the ballot box but of political pressures and bargaining.

Many variations on the composition and role of interim government are possible. Unlike the elected assembly, its composition might not directly reflect the popular support commanded by the various participating parties.

Because interim government is a malleable notion, and because it is less alien to the power-sharing position of the National Party than are democratic elections, it is possible that the government might concede some form of joint transitional administration.

Whether it will attempt to do so by creaming-off senior cabinet ministers and seeking to make them NP representatives to some joint interim structure while retaining the present government intact, or whether it will go the distance to satisfying key ANC stipulations on sovereign interim government remains to be seen.

One of the difficulties in judging this is the fact that the ANC has no definitive version of interim government. A definition is only beginning to be moulded by debate. What follows is the who-what-when-why-how of interim government as it emerges from individuals in the ANC and other democratic structures.

In brief, the demand of the ANC is shaping up as a bid for a multi-party sovereign government, predicated on the dissolution of the existing government, which would rule by decree and would set about the process of dismantling apartheid — not merely ensure free and fair elections.

WHO should take part in interim government is closely tied up with WHAT it has to achieve in terms of the overall objectives of the negotiating process, argues Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's department of political education.

Suttner describes the tasks of the interim government as follows:

- To underpin a central, agreed objective to negotiations which, in terms of the expectations of the majority of South Africans, could be nothing less than "to rid ourselves of apartheid and establish a non-racial South Africa".
- To ensure that any elections held dur-



ing the transition to democracy were free and fair.

- More than that to "dismantle existing apartheid laws" including those providing for the apartheid parliament. "The existing parliament would be dissolved. The interim government would rule by decree. Then through these decrees it would try to perform the objectives of the national democratic struggle — in other words it would rid the country of all vestiges of apartheid, this being one of the agreed objectives of negotiations."

The decision on WHO should enact this role should be guided by the goals of achieving a government that is representative of all South Africans, widely accepted as legitimate and able — despite differences among participating parties — to govern the country effectively, argues Suttner.

"Who is in (the interim government) depends on the effectivity of that government without those people. You see, the main players must be in it for effectivity," insists Suttner. "Who the main players are and how wide you go in terms of groupings with the existing order depends on their strength."

Strength, however, is not just the sum of an organisation's supporters. It may be control of a strategic region. "Not everything in the struggle can be decided by the ballot box," observes Suttner. Parties moving to initiate the interim government need to assess the probable contribution of other participants. "I see it not as an opportunity to squeeze out one or other party but as a way of achieving effective, representative and legitimate government."

The wider the net is cast, the more inevitable tensions and conflicts within the interim government become. "Obviously, if Inkatha were out of it, on one level it would be simpler. But it may be that Inkatha has to be in it to avoid problems on another level, to ensure effectivity."

HOW does the ANC propose to get to the point of sufficiently widespread acceptance of the need for an interim government — and then to the point of putting it all together?

At a certain level, there is incredulity in the ANC that anyone should regard it as unreasonable that supervision of the transition from apartheid should be taken away from the government and handed to a more representative structure. But others have a suspicion that they will have to campaign for it, maybe campaign very hard.

Protest action, if it is sufficiently large and sustained, might do the trick, Peter Mayibuye (also known as Joel Netshitenzhe) of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity suggests. Otherwise campaigns need to be devised "to demonstrate to this government that without the people's consent they cannot govern".

Suttner envisages that, against this background of struggle, the ANC would finalise its proposals on interim government and initiate negotiations on them with the NP and, subsequently, with other parties.

How the interim government would contain the differences among its widely divergent constituents, on the one hand, and between the interim government and institutions inherited from the apartheid state on the other, remains a burning question.

Nobody in the democratic movement pretends that it will be easy for an interim government — sovereign powers and all — to control and monitor the actions of the armed forces.

Trade unionist and civic leader Moses Mayekiso points out: "This force has been trained to protest apartheid, to protest racism. It's going to be difficult to take that out of their minds. So it's not going to come as a miracle that, when there's an in-

● To PAGE 32

## Mandela to lead march on Parliament

11A

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will lead a mass march on Parliament next week while President F W de Klerk delivers the opening address.

The ANC is also planning a stayaway in the PWV area to coincide with the opening of Parliament — as part of a campaign the ANC predicts will be its biggest yet.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Cape Town march would mark the start of a country-wide campaign of mass action to demand free political activity and a constituent assembly.

Marches are planned in townships and suburbs in the PWV area, in Kurgersdorp,

TIM COHEN

Port Elizabeth, Durban and other centres including Pietersburg and Louis Trichardt.

In the western Cape, public meetings will be held in all the ANC's 17 "zones" prior to the opening of parliament.

The ANC decided at its consultative conference last year to embark on the Constituent Assembly Day campaign.

Marcus discounted criticism that the ANC's "mass action" programme was cultivating a culture of violence, stressing that peaceful protest was an internationally accepted right.

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# Large teams of top officials for ANC-Inkatha talks

LARGE and high-powered delegations, led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet in Durban next week, the organisations said yesterday.

The ANC will be represented by a 20-man delegation and Inkatha by a 70-man delegation at Tuesday's long-awaited talks — the first meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi since Mandela's release.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the size and status of the

610cm 25/11/91  
TIM COHEN

delegation was an indication of how seriously the ANC regarded the meeting.

The delegation includes the ANC's Natal Midlands convenor Harry Gwala, SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The Inkatha delegation includes chairman of the party's National Council Frank Mdlalose and chairman of the party's youth league Musa Zondi.

Other ANC leaders at the talks will include internal leader Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, women's section head Getrude Shope, and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki.

Other members of the delegation are Thomas Nkobi, Josiah Jele, Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadi-meng, Ruth Mompoti, Aziz Pahad, Reg September, Willis Mchunu, Jackie Selebi, Steve Tshwete and Joel Netshitenzhe.

The agenda and venue have not been disclosed.

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EXCLUS  
OURS

ARIP

# Saudis kick Muslims off plane

SAUDI ARABIAN officials this week stopped about 117 South African Muslim pilgrims from returning home because of a call by a group of Islamic clerics for volunteers to help Iraq in the Gulf war.

About 320 South African Muslim are stranded in Saudi Arabia.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday stepped in to help them get home. He assured the Saudi government of South Africa's support for the liberation of Kuwait.

Mr Botha said his department had originally made plans for the pilgrims to fly to Egypt, but in Jeddah they were stopped from using the aircraft when the Saudi government heard of a call by a Muslim

religious group in Port Elizabeth, the Mujlisul Ulama, to recruit local Muslims to fight for Iraq.

Mr Botha said the Saudis then gave a group of Muslims from another country priority to leave.

It is not certain if the Saudi government had sanctioned the action against the South Africans.

Mr Botha said other aircraft had now been secured to fly the South Africans out, but other logistical arrangements had to be completed first.

"I can assure the relatives of the pilgrims that at this stage I feel they should be back in South Africa within the coming week," Mr Botha said.

He said he was in contact with the government of Saudi Arabia and had told them the Mujlisul Ulama did not represent the majority of Muslims in South Africa.

Last night one of the stranded pilgrims, Mrs Zainunessa Gool of Walmer Estate, said they were leaving for Jeddah airport today. They had been stranded in Mecca since January 7, she said.

"We have been promised a plane, but are not 100% sure whether we will leave," she said. "We were denied a flight last time."

Mrs Gool said she was not sure why Saudi officials had stopped them leaving.

"But they (the Saudis) have been very helpful. They have even offered to pay for

everything if we are still stuck," she said.

Mr Botha said he had also been in touch with Mr Aziz Desai of the Mujlisul Ulama, under whose name the call to arms was issued, and was encouraged by his reaction. Mr Botha said he had invited the Mujlisul Ulama to meet him, which they would do in the near future.

According to Mr Malcolm Ferguson of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the 117 South Africans "were dumped from the flight" in Jeddah.

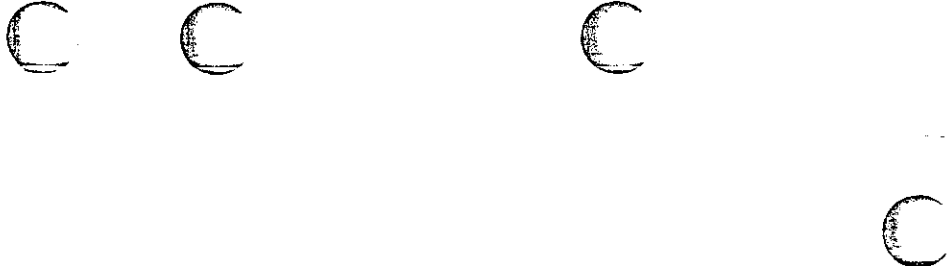
Meanwhile, the Mujlisul Ulama yesterday confirmed its plans to mobilise 10 000 local Muslim "troops" to fight for Iraq, but distanced itself from "futile and un-Islamic

forms of protest like flag-burning" or violence against ordinary people.

The Muslim Judicial Council yesterday distanced itself from the call by Mujlisul Ulama. MJC president Sheikh Nazim Mohamed said: "The MJC is of the view that the true Islamic stand should always be that if two Muslim parties have any dispute, a third Muslim force should get together to resolve it."

The MJC consequently condemned the interference of the US and its Allies in the Gulf. It called for immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

*Cape Times 25/1/91*  
*NA*  
*CS*



# PAC rejects all-party indaba

CAPE TOWN — The PAC has rejected ANC calls for an all-party conference and an interim government.

Information secretary Barney Desai insisted yesterday that the only negotiations the PAC would take part in were those related to the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The idea of a multiparty conference has been advocated by government since early 1990. On January 8 this year the ANC came up with its own proposal.

Yesterday Desai said of the ANC's initiative: "The PAC is of the view that (it is) no more than a reworking of Mr F W de Klerk's proposal.

"It is a proposal to control the process of change and a not very clever attempt to substitute the elected and mandated constituent assembly by an all-party congress cabal.

"Our fears are fully justified by the alacrity with which the regime has embraced this proposal."

Desai added that the PAC was "not

11A  
Political Staff

going to be party to legitimising an illegitimate regime by way of an interim government". The ANC's proposal for an interim government meant power-sharing.

Asked who would govern the country while a constituent assembly was drawing up a constitution, Desai said:

"The government will remain in place. All we are concerned about is that the elections that do occur for the constituent assembly are conducted fairly, freely, without hindrance, without intimidation and are monitored."

Before negotiating on the mechanisms of such a constituent assembly the PAC insisted that all pillars of apartheid be removed; all security legislation "inimical to free speech and human rights" be scrapped; all political prisoners be released unconditionally; and exiles be permitted to return without hindrance.

13/Jan 25/1991

# PAC rejects N/A plan for talks *Sowetan 25/1/91* by all parties

**THE Pan Africanist Congress has rejected the concept of an all-party conference as well as an interim government, its publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday.**

However, the organisation favoured the formation of a united front and would attend the ANC's meeting of liberation groups proposed for March 21, should it be invited.

Desai released a statement setting out the PAC's response to the ANC call for an all-party conference, described as "no more than a rewording of Mr FW de Klerk's proposals".

Asked about the effect of this rejection on the PAC's repeated call for a united front, Desai said he did not anticipate that it would undermine the formation of a united front.

"Nor do we anticipate

the all-party conference will occur tomorrow," he said.

"We believe the ANC will, if it consults the oppressed and its fellow organisations, rethink its position."

The statement, issued after deliberations by the PAC executive, said since its unbanning the organisation had maintained a consistent policy over negotiating with a regime it considered illegitimate.

## Proposals

The only negotiations it would participate in were those related to the setting up of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The ANC's proposals were an attempt to usurp the functions of an elected constituent assembly, to control the process of change and a "not very clever attempt to substitute the elected and mandated constituent assembly by an all-party congress cabal".

The PAC would not be a party to legitimising an illegitimate regime by way of an interim government.

"The ANC's proposal means power-sharing which we emphatically reject. We will not be the co-managers of apartheid," the statement said.

During December, the PAC's second congress gave the executive a mandate to seek a united front with all organisations of the oppressed on the basis of three principles. These are that:

- \* Only the African masses were the vehicle for change;

- \* Apartheid could not be reformed but must be destroyed, and that

- \* All forms of struggle, with the armed struggle being the principal one, be encouraged.

The PAC wanted a forum where organisations of the oppressed would find areas of common interest and strategies. - *Sapa*.

11A  
Cape Town 25/1/91

# PAC rejects all-party summit call

**THE PAC** has flatly rejected calls by the ANC for an all-party summit and an interim government, saying, however, it still favoured the formation of a united front.

Information secretary Mr Barney Desai insisted yesterday that the only negotiations the PAC would participate in were those related to the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The idea of a multi-party conference has been advocated by the government since early 1990. On January 8 this year the ANC came up with its own proposal.

Mr Desai said of the ANC's proposal: "The PAC is of the view that (it is) no more than a reworking of Mr F W de Klerk's proposal."

Mr Desai also announced that the PAC would be seeking a united front with "all organisations of the oppressed" and that it would attend a meeting of all liberation organisations called for March 21

# ANC names Inkatha talks delegates

Own Correspondent

*Copy Times 25/1/91 11A*

**DURBAN.** — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead a 20-man delegation for what are regarded in political circles as vital peace talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party here on Tuesday.

The ANC yesterday released the names of the delegation, including those of secretary-general of the South African Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe Mr Chris Hani.

An ANC source in Durban would not reveal the venue for the talks yesterday but there is speculation that it will be the Royal Hotel.

The IFP has not yet released the names of its delegation to the talks. However, it will be led by Party chief Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Others in the ANC group will be: Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Thomas Nkobi, Ms Getrude Shope, Mr Josiah Jele, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlanya, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr John Nkadameng, Ms Ruth Mompoti, Mr Aziz Fahad, Mr Reg September, Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Willis Mchunu, Mr Jackie Selebi, Mr Steve Tshwete and Mr Joel Netshitenzhe.

Cape Times  
25/1/91

# PAC man to defend Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — The head of social welfare of the ANC, Mrs Winnie Mandela, is to be defended in her Supreme Court trial for kidnapping and assault by the deputy head of the PAC, advocate Mr Dikgang Moseneke.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, confirmed that Mr Moseneke, senior counsel Mr George Bizos, who defended Mr Nelson Mandela at his Rivonia treason trial in 1964, and Mr Pius Langa would be appearing for Mrs Mandela when she and seven others appear in the Rand Supreme Court on February 4 in connection with the kidnapping of four boys taken from a Methodist manse in Soweto on December 29, 1988, to Mrs Mandela's home in Diepkloof.

There, it is alleged, she triggered a brutal assault on the boys.

A few days later, one of the boys, James "Stompie" Moeketsi Seipei, 14, was murdered by her unofficial bodyguard Jerry Richardson, who was sentenced to death for the killing on August 6. — Sapa

# Mandela hold key to peace

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE talks next week between a 20-member African National Congress delegation and a high-powered Inkatha team will bring Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi face to face for the first time since Mr Mandela was released from prison nearly a year ago.

The fate of township folk, and perhaps of the whole of South Africa, depends on the outcome of the talks and on whether Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi are publicly seen to acclaim one another as leaders in the fight for a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

If the talks fail, the internecine strife between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha sympathisers will, in all probability, intensify. It has already reached the proportions of a civil war.

According to Africa Watch, 4 000 people have been killed in Natal since mid-1987 and about 1 000 in townships around Johannesburg since last August.

An accord between the two organisations, and a public commitment to peace by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, may not guarantee peace. But there will be no peace without an accommodation.

Rivalry between the two organisations has been so fierce that many people have forgotten that they once enjoyed cordial relations, as evidenced by the talks between ANC and Inkatha delegations in London in 1979.

## Fraternity

The question facing leaders of the two organisations when they meet in Durban on Tuesday is whether they can bury their festering enmity and restore the fraternity which once characterised their relationship.

A hopeful factor has been the rise to political eminence in Natal of Jacob Zuma, the ANC's chief of intelligence and one of the few Zulus in its uppermost echelons.

Mr Zuma, a softly-spoken and self-effacing man, has worked hard to end the fighting and played a key role in the signing of the Lower Umfolozi Accord last September.



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Admires Nelson Mandela.



NELSON MANDELA: Prime mover in talks.

He and Chief Buthelezi are reported to have met secretly several times before the public announcement of Tuesday's meeting.

Another positive sign is the high regard which Chief Buthelezi has for Mr Mandela and Mr Mandela's critical role in facilitating the pending meeting. Mr Mandela is said to have personally phoned Chief Buthelezi to fix the date for the talks.

A third factor encouraging optimism is the common history of the two organisations: both trace their roots back to the ANC before it was banned and launched armed struggle.

While the ANC and Inkatha diverge on impor-

tant policy issues — the ANC leans towards socialism and Inkatha towards capitalism — there is common ideological ground: both stand for universal adult suffrage and the abolition of race discrimination.

They agree, too, on the need for a redistribution of wealth. Inkatha, however, shies away from talk of nationalisation.

It is not opposed, however, to alternative mechanisms for a fairer distribution of wealth: higher taxation of the rich, affirmative action to give blacks opportunities denied to them in the past, and greater social spending on deprived black communities.

The climate, too, is more favourable for an accord than six months ago. The ANC is moving towards the creation of a "patriot front" of all progressive forces.

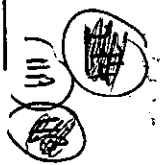
Its rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, has set the pace with its slogan "Peace among the Africans", and its invitation to Inkatha leaders to attend the funeral last November of its leader, Zeph Mothopeng, and its annual conference in December.

Watching events closely is the National Party leadership. Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha figure prominently in its ambition to lead a grand alliance to victory against the ANC in the first post-apartheid election.

# SA's fate hangs on talks

Buthelezi,

8 Dec 26/11/91





# ANC slams 'harassment' of Winnie

CAT 7/1/73 26/1/91  
Political Staff 11A

THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) said yesterday that the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela was part of the pattern of harassment and persecution she had been subjected to for the past 30 years.

It said it was especially shocked by the way the case against Mrs Mandela had been accompanied by an orchestrated campaign through the media to prejudice the facts.

It also called for an end to all political trials, and support for Mrs Mandela and "all political trialists".

The NEC statement, issued by ANC

general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, clearly regards Mrs Mandela's trial, due to start on February 4, as political.

It said the trial was part of the harassment and persecution "to which Comrade Winnie has been subjected for the last 30 years, both as a liberation activist in her own right and as the wife of our deputy president, Comrade Nelson Mandela.

"We have no doubt that elements opposed to the peace process and the agreements already reached are manipulating the issues surrounding this trial for blatant political purposes.

"This conclusion is reinforced by the

history of the whole process against Comrade Winnie Mandela.

"It is no accident that the various steps taken in preparation for the trial coincided with major political events and issues connected with the process of negotiations, and at a time when the ANC's reputation was winning greater and greater acclaim.

"Proceeding with this trial and with the other political trials presently under way constitutes a blatant harassment of the ANC and of the individuals concerned, and is in breach of the spirit of the agreements entered into between the government and the ANC," the statement said.

# Buthelezi, Mandela make peace vow

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed yesterday to seek peace with each other.

At rallies in the Transvaal and Natal, the two leaders told their supporters peace between black organisations was a priority for a future South Africa.

In one of his strongest appeals to date, Mr Mandela told refugees

By MARK STANSFIELD  
and JAPHTA MPHAHLANI

who earlier this month fled their homes in Bophuthatswana:

"We go to our meeting with Chief Buthelezi on Tuesday with the intention that there will be no winners or losers . . .

"We are not going there to hurl accusations against Inkatha. We

are not going to lay blame. We are going with an appeal to forget the past and to concentrate on the future."

Mr Buthelezi told a youth rally at Umzumbe on the Natal South Coast he hoped the meeting would lead to peace between the two organisations.

He warned that unless there was reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC there would

SITimes 27/11/91.  
be no reconciliation for South Africa.

Mr Buthelezi said he was leading Inkatha's delegation "in the hope of holding Dr Mandela's hand and saying, 'Brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africans'."

He said he was "determined and committed" to producing a normalised relationship between his party and the ANC.

Mr Mandela said: "We will never agree on the past, so those who want peace will close the door on past conflicts and concentrate on the future."

Addressing thousands of ANC supporters in a stadium at Ikhagaleng, near Zeerust, Mr Mandela said: "The writing is on the wall for those who do not want to settle their differences in a peaceful manner."

## Fighting

He also told the people of Braklaagte that he and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope had spoken to each other on the phone several times in recent weeks and had reached agreement that the refugees could "go home with dignity and without humiliation".

However, he appealed to them to do so in a disciplined manner.

"I am in constant contact with your leader and he has asked me to give you the explicit instruction: Don't talk of settling this issue in terms of violence.

"We do not want fighting between brothers. Blacks should not spill black blood. It is a reflection on all black leaders."

# Bringing the ANC in on financial matters

THE government has tentatively started to involve the ANC in decision-making on important financial and economic issues.

Because of sensitivities, both sides are reluctant to attach significance to meetings between the two on such issues, but there have been several in the past six months and they are set to increase.

The most significant contact has come in the workings of Vatcom, the committee set up by Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais to oversee the introduction of Value Added Tax in the second half of this year.

Although the ANC was not invited to nominate representatives to serve on the committee, and would have declined to do so if asked, one committee member is an ANC official and at least two others are sympathisers.

Mr Marais said yesterday that "Poti" Moloto, the ANC's internal manpower director, had been nominated by the black businessmen's association, Nafcoc, to serve on Vatcom.

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

By Mike Robertson  
who joins the Sunday  
Times as Political  
Correspondent today



Two other committee members, Marina Maponya, wife of the businessman Richard Maponya, a close friend of Nelson Mandela, and businessman George Negota are believed to be ANC sympathisers.

Mr Marais stressed yesterday that the committee members had not been appointed because of their links with the ANC but because of the contribution they could make.

### Spectrum

He added, however, that every effort had been made to involve black political, business, community and trade union organisations in discussions on VAT.

"The VAT system concerns everybody in South Africa. I therefore felt it

necessary to consult as wide a spectrum as possible."

An ANC spokesman said his organisation had not contributed anything to Vatcom, although some members were serving in an individual capacity.

Mr Marais said that neither the ANC nor the Congress of SA Trade Unions had made submissions to Vatcom. However, a "junior Cosatu economist" had made a contribution in an individual capacity.

ANC sources indicated that both the ANC and Cosatu were reluctant to be linked to Vatcom as the government was proposing that the General Sales Tax exemption on foodstuffs would be scrapped when

□ To Page 2

ks to Sports Editor Edward Griffiths

# Man with a mission

Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo has emerged from the political wilderness to launch the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. The task of the institute, according to Dhlomo, would be to safeguard democracy.

## Special Correspondent

JUST what is Oscar Dhlomo up to? This was the question on the lips of many people when this influential politician and academic resigned as secretary-general of Inkatha last year.

Speculation grew as Dhlomo turned down several offers - including that of South African ambassador to the US.

This question has now been answered. Dhlomo will soon be launching the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

About declining the post of ambassador, Dhlomo said: "My feeling was that there is more work to be done in South Africa than abroad.

"The situation overseas has normalised thanks to the initiatives of De Klerk and Mandela."

Over recent months he has studied the viability of an institute to promote the concept of multi-party democracy.

This study has now been completed and he is working full-steam to establish the institute.

How did he go about it and what does he want to achieve?

"The study consisted of a think-tank involving academics, community leaders, businessmen and politicians.

"They assisted me in drawing up basic guide-

**All voices must be heard -**

**Dhlomo**

lines, and we agreed on a blueprint."

Dhlomo spoke to, among others, Prof Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner-

Volkswag, Dr Andries Treurnicht of the CP, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the ANC,

the PAC, the SACP, Azapo, Inkatha, Cosatu and Nactu.

"They were very recep-



**Former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo ... determined to make SA a safe place for democracy.**

tive and open to my ideas," he said.

"The result was overwhelming support for a multi-party democracy - even from the SACP".

Dhlomo said the initial task of the institute would be to ensure that democracy meant the same thing to everybody.

"We will then draw up a bill and circulate it among the main actors

but we are in the process. We have already advertised positions. The head office will be in Johannesburg, with branches in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

"We have recently constituted a board of trustees which includes the

whole spectrum of South Africans."

ideas, traditions and habits take a long time to grow.

"It is more difficult in this country because we come from a divided past. We have no common heritage or ideals, we have never had anything in common - not even our public holidays."

Sounding every bit the reluctant politician, Dhlomo said he would have preferred to spend his life as an academic.

"I was ambitious in respect of my education. I was inspired by my late father, Isaac.

"I became a politician by accident. In 1977 I was asked to join the KwaZulu government. I turned down the offer without hesitation. However, my uncle persisted."

He discussed it with his wife, who pointed out that Dhlomo agreed with Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rejection of homeland policy.

"Absolutely contrary to our plans we decided I should enter politics."

He won an election in Umtumbulu without assistance and became member of the Legislative Assembly of the KwaZulu government.

On his first day in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly he was appointed Minister of Education and Culture.

Six months later he was appointed secretary-general of Inkatha.

He held these positions for 12 years.

"We must safeguard

the country for democracy. We must ensure that democracy will be maintained for ever.

"Admittedly we have a long way to go, but the challenge is to start walking along that road. We have no illusions that we can complete the

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# 'Defector' joits talks

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C/Pers 27/11/91

## Neutral observers not allowed, the ANC tells Inkatha

By SEKOLA SELLO and S'BU MNGADI

A MEMBER of the ANC who is reported to have now aligned himself with Inkatha was by late yesterday posing a dilemma for the two movements who are due to hold a crucial peace summit in Durban on Tuesday.

The man at the centre of the problem is Dr WZ Chonco who returned from exile six months ago.

Since his arrival, Chonco has been associating himself more and more with Inkatha.

Inkatha wants him to attend the talks as an observer under their auspices.

Unconfirmed reports from inside the ANC claim the movement is not opposed to Chonco attending as an Inkatha delegate, but not as an observer.

The ANC insiders claim they are not aware of there being a provision for observers at the summit in terms of the agreement reached between the two parties.

Political analysts believe the ANC is insisting on Chonco taking part in the talks as a move to get rid of him without kicking him out, thereby stealing his thunder if he defected later.

The problem posed by Chonco is not likely to have any adverse effects on the continuation of the talks, analysts said.

The most likely outcome is that Inkatha will finally agree that Chonco takes part as their 68th delegate.

There was concern in some ANC circles on Friday that Inkatha's huge delegation was a ploy to scupper the talks.

But ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma said the ANC is not bothered about Inkatha's numbers and they could bring as many delegates as they want.

The ANC delegation will consist of its National Executive Committee members only.

While there was scepticism among some ANC members about the good intentions of Inkatha, the organisation's leader, Chief Mangouthu Buthelezi, reassured his members at a youth rally at Umzumbe that he was leading Inkatha's delegation "in the hope of holding Mandela's hand and saying, brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africans".

Buthelezi told the rally he was going to the peace summit determined and committed to producing a normalised relationship between Inkatha and the ANC.

# ANC's culture head quits 11A

By SANDILE MEMELA

BARBARA Masekela has relinquished her position as head of the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and taken a position in the organisation's finance department, the DAC said this week.

Former administrative secretary of the DAC in

Lusaka, Angela Brown, is temporarily at the helm of the restructured department.

Brown - who has been in exile for the past 18 years - told *City Press* the DAC is still adjusting itself and at present its Johannesburg office is staffed by four prominent ANC cultural activists.

These include former

cultural attache at the ANC London office and renowned writer, Wally Mongane Serote; former member of the ANC Women's section, Baleka Kgositsile; and Zane Carrin.

Kgositsile is responsible for media affairs while the others do not yet hold official positions.

The reshuffle is geared to strengthen the cultural direction in the country, which has been increasingly chaotic in the past few months.

Already, sources say it is likely the cultural boycott will be transformed in the next few months.

Carrin said the present DAC was an interim structure.

"We are still waiting for a number of our cultural activists who still have to be cleared before they can return to the country," said Carrin.

However, Brown told *City Press* that Masekela was in effect a figurehead for the DAC because of her cultural inclination.

"However, she has been transferred to the



**Barbara Masekela ... relinquished position.**

finance department and is also involved in a lot of other activities that concern the movement," said Brown.

She denied she has been appointed head of the DAC.

"I am neither the head nor the acting head of the department. I am just responsible while we are still organising ourselves in the country."

She said she had been worried by rumours that she has been appointed new DAC head.

# 'Acid threat' to MK man

By S'BU MNGADI

C.P. 27/11/91  
11A (circled) (circled)

A NATAL security policeman allegedly threatened to douse captured ANC guerrilla Mbuyiselo Mkontwana with acid.

The allegations are contained in Mkontwana's founding affidavit filed during an interdict against Law and Order minister Adriaan Vlok in the Durban Supreme Court this week.

Mkontwana, a self-confessed member of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe, was on November 19 last year granted an interim interdict ordering police to stop harassing, abducting or torturing him. The police did not oppose the order when it was made final this week.

In the affidavit, Mkontwana said he tried to return to South Africa as a civilian, using a Swazi passport under the name Stephen Simelane, on November 14 last year. However, his cover was blown and security police apprehended him at the Lavumisa/Natal border post.

Police took him to a doctor and later to a magistrate, who took down a statement about his MK membership.

On returning to the police station at the border, a white security policeman allegedly told him that both the doctor and magistrate had ascertained that the

police had not assaulted him and that it was now their turn "to practice their skills".

The policeman told Mkontwana he was going to throw acid over him.

He said that during his interrogation the policeman questioned him about weapons and told him about Abdul who, after security policemen had "panel-beaten" him, showed them weapons in Port Elizabeth.

He said he was taken blindfolded to a Durban police station, and later driven for 30 minutes to a farmhouse. The police, he claimed, wanted him to assist them in tracking down a Chief.

A white officer made him sign his name and gave him R100. The policeman counter-signed with the name "Du Plessis".

Security police made him to contact his Umlazi contact, Madoda, and telephone ANC contacts in Swaziland to inform them he had arrived safely.

The police dropped him off in West Street, in central Durban. His handler told him to come back on November 17. He was warned should he not do so they would kill him.

The police did not oppose the interdict, and the judge ordered them to pay Mkontwana's costs.

# ANC youth takes hard line on PAC

By SEKOLA SELLOP *ms 27/1/91* (11A)

THE ANC Youth League has bluntly told the PAC the all-party congress proposed by the ANC will take place with or without the participation of their political rivals.

The Youth League's hardline attitude follows the PAC's negative response to the ANC's invitation to political organisations to attend an all-party congress.

While the Youth League is taking a hardline position, its mother body, the ANC, is adopting a more moderate stance. The ANC says it will "not engage the PAC on such an important issue through the public media. The ANC is in the process of establishing top-level contact with the PAC".

The PAC rejected the invitation, saying such a congress would be a disguised version of President FW de Klerk's proposed all-party meeting with parties "with proven constituencies" to draw up a new constitution. De Klerk has rejected a constituent assembly.

If the ANC persuades the PAC to participate, this would augur well for the Patriotic Front envisaged by the two parties and Azapo. If it fails the much-hoped-for Patriotic Front may be doomed.



# Bringing the ANC in on financial matters

THE government has tentatively started to involve the ANC in decision-making on important financial and economic issues.

Because of sensitivities, both sides are reluctant to attach significance to meetings between the two on such issues, but there have been several in the past six months and they are set to increase.

The most significant contact has come in the workings of Vatcom, the committee set up by Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais to oversee the introduction of Value Added Tax in the second half of this year.

Although the ANC was not invited to nominate representatives to serve on the committee, and would have declined to do so if asked, one committee member is an ANC official and at least two others are sympathisers.

Mr Marais said yesterday that "Poti" Moloto, the ANC's internal manpower director, had been nominated by the black businessmen's association, Nafcoc, to serve on Vatcom.

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

By Mike Robertson  
who joins the Sunday  
Times as Political  
Correspondent today



Two other committee members, Marina Maponya, wife of the businessman Richard Maponya, a close friend of Nelson Mandela, and businessman George Negota are believed to be ANC sympathisers.

Mr Marais stressed yesterday that the committee members had not been appointed because of their links with the ANC but because of the contribution they could make.

### Spectrum

He added, however, that every effort had been made to involve black political, business, community and trade union organisations in discussions on VAT.

"The VAT system concerns everybody in South Africa. I therefore felt it

necessary to consult as wide a spectrum as possible."

An ANC spokesman said his organisation had not contributed anything to Vatcom, although some members were serving in an individual capacity.

Mr Marais said that neither the ANC nor the Congress of SA Trade Unions had made submissions to Vatcom. However, a "junior Cosatu economist" had made a contribution in an individual capacity.

ANC sources indicated that both the ANC and Cosatu were reluctant to be linked to Vatcom as the government was proposing that the General Sales Tax exemption on foodstuffs would be scrapped when

□ To Page 2

# Struggle action this year - ANC

By MONK NKOMO

THE Government should be engaged on all fronts, including disciplined militant action, if black people are not liberated this year, says Mr Steve Tshwete, national organiser of the ANC. Speaking in Atteridgeville yesterday, he said: "The ANC must lead us to power this year. (11A)

*28/1/91  
Soweto*

"And we do not want to share that power because people in democratic countries such as the United States and Germany do not share power."

Tshwete was speaking at the Saulsville Arena at a memorial service to commemorate the deaths of 28 local residents and ANC cadres who died in and outside the country since 1976.

The graves were cleaned and wreaths laid on them yesterday morning.

Tshwete said the cutting edge of the struggle this year was mass action and the ruthless pursuance of a non-racial democratic government.

Police in vans and Casspirs monitored the proceedings, but no incidents were reported.

**A**S WE approach the first anniversary of the presidential speech that signalled the sharp turn in SA's political direction, one thing is most apparent.

This is that the formal aspects of the peace process — where most difficulty was expected — have been, or are being, handled relatively smoothly. The most serious problems — the incipient and actual anarchy in the streets — were hardly foreseen.

The peace process as envisaged consisted of the dismantling of apartheid, the elimination of obstacles to negotiation, and establishing the ground rules — the issues for which President F W de Klerk deliberately set the stage last February 2.

Fourteen days later, at a specially convened national executive meeting in Lusaka, De Klerk's main adversary, the ANC, took up the challenge by agreeing in principle to return for talks.

**F**rom then on — not without hiccoughs — each made regular considered strategic decisions which took the process further. Concessions were made all along the line, but the parties always tried to ensure these did not leave their backs unguarded.

The first top-level meeting between the two parties at Groote Schuur was delayed for a month because of ANC rank-and-file protests at the March 25 Sebokeng shootings. That was a useful lesson for the ANC leadership to deal once and for all with the old kneejerk "boycott" reaction to any problem. Since then, Nelson Mandela in particular has been at pains to convince his followers that any further such delays do not suit the ANC's interests. Similar rumblings from advocates of disengagement during the September/October violence were dismissed.

The Groote Schuur meeting served two other purposes — it began the process of devising rules for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and it started the ANC thinking about formally suspending the armed struggle. When the Pretoria Minute was signed those rules were agreed to and the

# Will the troops break ranks in the march of change?

Bloddy 28/1/91.

ALAN FINE

(Bloddy) (11A)

ANC suspended armed action.

But the minute fudged some questions — like the definition of "related activities" (to armed action) — and the linkage between the release of prisoners and agreement on that definition. That fudging, to facilitate a demonstration of quick progress to the outside world on August 6, later cost the ANC leadership dearly in its relationship with prisoners and exiles.

Disagreements on interpretation led to delays which caused resentment to build up in political prisons and among refugees. That was not the only issue over which the ANC leadership either moved too fast for followers or, perhaps, failed them. It took anger in the ranks at the ANC's December consultative conference to demonstrate to the NP that too much politicking could shift the balance of power in the ANC towards more radical elements.

In its dealings with its own following the NP leadership, with the advantage of foresight, was better prepared almost every step of the way. It had more time to prepare itself, and had already decided it was prepared to jettison into the hands of the CP those supporters who would not be taken along.

While more hiccoughs are inevitable, the stage has now been reached

where, within months, the formal aspects of the peace process can proceed. That does not mean, however, that there will be peace.

The greatest threats to peace come from those who were, before last February 2, the "shock troops" on all sides. They now present as great a danger to their own leaders as to the old enemy.

The troops include those who once held the frontline in protecting apartheid — elements of the security forces — and those who most energetically fought against them, predominantly the young comrades in the townships. Then there are those described variously as vigilantes (often said to be aided by the police) or defenders of the (Zulu) realm, depending on your perspective.

**A** new category of destabiliser is the heavily armed criminal, possibly a member of a gang, operating without any apparent political motive but — as in the recent Sebokeng massacre — coming into conflict with political forces on the ground.

Anyone who pretends to know exactly how these different groups are operating and interacting is being disingenuous. But there are suffi-

cient signs to support worst fears.

In many areas, groups of young people operate purportedly in support of the ANC but answerable to no one. If and when the full story of Sebokeng emerges, it could show that it was a conflict between a purely criminal mafia and a supposedly political one, each trying to assert control. And Sebokeng, sources say, was just the tip of the iceberg. Political tolerance is a meaningless concept to much of this stratum.

This is not to suggest it is a problem applying to the ANC alone. PAC and Azapo supporters — whose leaders are most inclined to indulge in war talk — have become embroiled in it. But because of its larger numbers, it is most apparent where the ANC is concerned.

The one consolation is that the crisis is being recognised as such by some ANC leaders, although it is open to question whether sufficient energy is being devoted to remedying it. The problem was highlighted in the NEC's 79th anniversary message, and the elder statesmen of the ANC — the likes of Mandela and Walter Sisulu — are making increasingly frequent references to it.

The ANC/Inkatha meeting scheduled for tomorrow may be the beginning of a solution to that facet of SA's political violence. But those wounds

run deep, and there are many local and national political sensitivities at stake. Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to reconsider his attendance because of an anti-KwaZulu statement by the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) suggests he, too, has much to learn about the line between political debate and coercion.

The role of a so-called "third force" is the most difficult of all these patterns of violence to discern. The Goldstone report and the Neethling vs Vrye Weekblad case notwithstanding, proof has been difficult to come by. Have the police sought information energetically enough or are conservative elements in the security forces — as in the Soviet Union — trying to block reform while the political leadership lacks the power to stop them?

Either way, large sections of the public have lost faith in the ability of the security forces to police themselves.

Unscrambling this violent mess may prove impossible, and at some stage it could seriously endanger the negotiating process rather than just delay it, as it has done until now.

Increased social spending — government's prescription discussed on this page on Friday — may be part of the answer, but is no more the entire solution than was P W Botha's total strategy. Nor is simplistically equating political protest with intimidation (although the ANC and its allies have an extra obligation to ensure its more spirited supporters do not use protest as a licence for coercion).

**A**nother part of the solution is to ask whether concerted disciplinary efforts by the political parties and government departments involved.

Imposing law and order is also part of the solution. But this includes establishing the legitimacy of the security forces, and that requires broader political control — which is where some form of interim government, or power sharing, comes in. Finally, although neither side yet has any real concept of a non-partisan security force, it is a lesson that will have to be learned. It is an essential pillar of a democracy.

# ANC 'will arm its defence units'

Boy 28/1/91  
ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part but not the defensive. If our members are attacked, I would expect those guns to be used in defence of our people," he said.

He conceded that problems with the

11A  
TIM COHEN

formation of defence units might emerge, "especially when they erupt without the political direction of our organisation".

For example, he said: "We are aware that there are people who have taken up the call in order to conduct their own mischief."

The defence units must be popular structures, "loved by all the people".

The organisation was aware the defence committees were being infiltrated by "agents of apartheid" who wanted to use the league to discredit the ANC. But, he said, the league was "going on a very vigorous and rigorous cleansing spree. Such people will be vigorously exposed and will be vigorously dealt with."

He said it was true that, in anger, members might be forced to act "in any way" and against anyone, but he said the league did not believe in the taking of life.

Criminals would not be handed over to the police, because the police force was "illegitimate".

Instead the community would deal with its own problems. "No matter how big the problems are in our community, we are not going to appeal to apartheid structures," he said.

# ANC names policemen 'orchestrating violence'

Star 28/1/91

By Patrick Laurence

The ANC has given President de Klerk a list of names of police officers who it believes have orchestrated township violence, and has demanded their removal, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told The Star.

"I have said to him these are the officers who are regarded by the community as responsible for the violence. Please remove them ... and put in police officials who can work with the people and put an end to what is going on," Mr Mandela said.

But, he said, Mr de Klerk had "not been able to do so".

These officers, Mr Mandela charged, had raided ANC offices, torn up ANC enrolment forms, connived with "vigilantes on the rampage" and created seri-

ous difficulties for the ANC.

"The people are asking us what is the point of continuing to negotiate with a government that is killing our people? You are talking peace but they are conducting war against us.

"It is quite clear there are influential elements in the establishment that want to cripple the ANC. It is also quite clear the Government ... would like to negotiate with a weak ANC."

Mr Mandela left no doubt, however, about the ANC's commitment to negotiations, saying: "We have taken the correct step in putting pressure on the Government to agree to negotiate... Our position is that we should ensure the success of these negotiations and I think we carry the support of our members."

Mr Mandela was speaking as ANC cadres prepared for a mass action campaign, which starts with a protest march in Cape Town on Friday. The march — to be led by Mr Mandela — has been timed to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

The campaign is one of two major ANC initiatives to strengthen its position. The second is an ANC attempt to end divisive conflicts with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and with Chief Lucas Mangope, president of Bophuthatswana.

A meeting in Durban tomorrow between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi, the first since Mr Mandela's release from prison, marks a critical phase in the bid to end the internecine war between the ANC and Inkatha.

# Crucial ANC peace talks are under way

B10am 28/1/91

TIM COHEN

THE ANC embarks on crucial peace talks with two of its major opponents this week.

Talks with Bophuthatswana government officials continue today, after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela agreed at the weekend to a request by the homeland's President Lucas Mangope not to visit the strife-torn Brakiaagte area.

Sapa reports that Mandela announced he and Mangope had reached an agreement on ways to end violence in Bophuthatswana. He did not elaborate.

Mandela made this announcement while addressing refugees at Zeerust who had fled the Brakiaagte fighting. He said the

more than 300 refugees could now return.

And a group of 20 senior ANC officials will meet 70 Inkatha leaders in Durban, in the long-awaited face-to-face meeting between Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi told a youth rally at Umzumbe on the Natal South Coast at the weekend he hoped the forthcoming meeting would lead to peace between the two organisations.

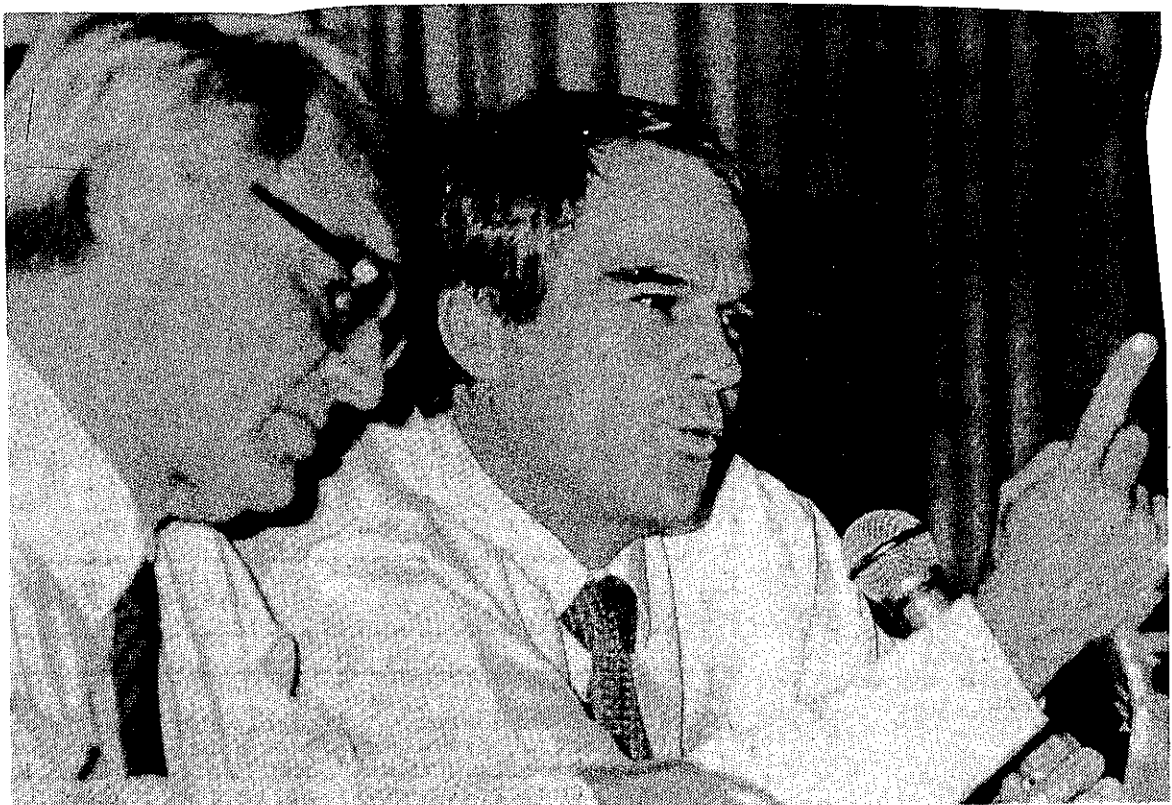
Mandela echoed these sentiments in

Zeerust, saying that he expected no winner or loser to emerge from the deliberations, but rather hoped lasting peace would be brought to Natal.

Former Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday many people would be disappointed if the meeting did not find a formula to stop the killing, which resulted in more deaths last year than in any previous year.

He said the meeting's major task would be to devise a strategy to translate the common ground between senior officials of the organisations to the grassroots.





NP Transvaal director of information Piet Coetzer makes a point at an Idasa conference on a constituent assembly at the weekend. Next to him is the DP's Denis Worrall.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

## Cool reception for ANC's constituent assembly plan

THE ANC's demand for a constituent assembly attracted little support at a weekend multiparty conference.

ANC constitutional committee member Raymond Suttner said the ANC would use its mass action campaign to push for such an assembly.

The conference was convened by Idasa and attracted speakers from the major political parties as well as a number of constitutional experts.

But most characterised the ANC demand as a "Utopian grab for power" and felt it would polarise political stances rather than bring them closer together as negotiation politics was intended to do.

Only PAC national executive member Mark Shinnors endorsed the proposal with any enthusiasm.

Political scientist Andre du Toit said the ANC might be prepared to consider a constituent assembly based not on a test of the popular will but on what he called a "founding pact" — an agreement between the parties' respective leaders.

Suttner said such a pact was not being contemplated by the ANC and its constituent assembly demand was part of the ANC's overall conception of how a new constitution was to be drawn up.

DP MP Denis Worrall said the ANC and government could be faulted for focusing too narrowly on the constitutional aspect of SA's future. While society drifted and services disintegrated, housing, health and education were ignored.

The NP's Transvaal director of information Piet Coetzer said the NP was aiming for an all-inclusive negotiating forum in which all parties with proven support

PATRICK BULGER

would qualify to take part.

It was important that political players handled the transition process in such a way that conflict was not created.

A constituent assembly might be construed in some circles as a one-sided handing over of power.

This could create conflict. (11A)

Coetzer said government was not against sharing administrative functions, something which could be called interim government. However, semantics should not be allowed to dominate and frustrate results that might flow from negotiations.

Government was not ruling out a constituent assembly, but believed it was only one option to be discussed.

Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods said elections for a constituent assembly could polarise positions and create conflict just when political leaders needed to be drawing their followers closer together.

Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert said it was not particularly informative to look at the Namibian experience where a constituent assembly oversaw much of the independence process.

In Namibia's case, he said, the UN had played a monitoring role that freed the constituent assembly from having to play such a role.

In Namibia there was no regime trying to hold onto power and the stability of the armed forces had actually been removed from political contention. It was unlikely that SA's security forces would stand by and allow the handover of power that a constituent assembly was seen to embody.

# Grant individual and group rights

Sowetan 28/1/91

11A

**MESH SUMA (formerly Meshack Mabogoane), a journalist and now establishing the Federal Democratic Movement, argues that nation building is a lost cause without African nationalism.**

**TWO central and connected issues face South Africa's constitution making task: to make the state fully representative and to accommodate the interests and genuine aspirations of the major racial and cultural groups.**

Both are democratic demands. The damning mistake of apartheid was to put everything into the racial, and even, tribal basket; the serious error of wholesale non-racialism is to reject any group factor.

The pendulum moves in extremes; a golden mean is required to balance the individual and group factors, in particular to positively cultivate the latter without making it too dominant or a means of domination.

## Yearning

The yearning for group self consciousness and solidarity, to see themselves as a distinct cultural and historical people has always been strong among Africans.

This provided the inspiration for the formation of the ANC in 1912, the PAC in 1959, and the BCM in the sixties. Unfortunately the original spirit and ideals have evaporated.

Even fate seems to have been hard on Africans. Without state power, indispensable for nation building; faced with repressive divide and rule tactics; with reactions to legislation overshadowing the need for national self determination; with liberals, communists, whites and Indians hijacking the African struggle and organisations from under the nose of an assimilated or amorphous "national" leadership; with the

community and clerics adding to the confusion and manipulation - the aims and process of nation building could not but end up spoilt.

To wish away group identities and interests is nonsense and uncreative. To insist that groups should forget or bury their distinctness is unrealistic and destructive. People will always struggle to preserve and promote their solidarity and identity, more so as they advance.

## Battle grounds

Plural societies have been the foci of, and battle grounds for, group needs and responsibilities, struggles and resolutions. Take for example the partition of India and Pakistan; the creation of Palestine into a Jewish state or what could have been an Arab one; or binational states, such as Belgium or Czechoslovakia; or federalism, as in the Soviet Union, Nigeria or Yugoslavia.

Some form of accommodation had to be made for group autonomy and self-determination.

South Africa is far too diversified a society to neglect the group factor.

## Solidarity

It is Africans, above all, who most need a positive, solid and distinct group solidarity, identity and involvement. Nothing but confusion and conflict, decay and weakness abound in their midst.

These are mainly the fruits of a lack of a national self determination, fertile grounds for manipulation by others as mere objects without a will, victims of inferiority and dependency complexes that make Africans ape and envy others while becoming more



A prostrate lot the Africans are. Cut off from their collective roots and soul, running away shamefully from their heritage, dangling upside down like an uprooted and dried up tree.

Nothing fruitful can really come out of the common efforts of Africans in this cultural desert and emotional jungle.

## Survival

Yet Africans are expected to play a major role in this country, a complex environment where the struggle for survival is most intense due to the presence of many racial and religious groups each wanting to carve a niche for itself.

Only the fittest, those who stick to their roots and regard themselves with pride can survive and succeed.

Instead the Africans are becoming more lost and forlorn, a spiritually defeated, culturally underdeveloped and morally bankrupt people, becoming more assimilated and trapped in the worst aspects of western cultures.

The nightmare of a wholesale "non-racial" South Africa is already with us. "Non-racial" organisations - be they sports, labour, civic, political or professional - are being virtually dominated by leftist whites or diverse

Such "non-racialism" is neo-apartheid, a disguised minority rule.

National autonomy and self determination of the main racial groups - blacks and whites - is a must for a new constitution. Coloureds may belong to one or the other or develop communally.

Two major nations would thus emerge and co-exist; An overall, synthetic African-European culture will flow out of the independently and well developed respective national streams.

Of course the common interests must be catered for. An overarching federal framework should provide for that. And this could include defence, the mainstream economy, foreign affairs as well as the affairs of religious minorities such as the Indians.

## Worlds

The federal framework will thus deal with citizens as individuals within a state; the national system will concern itself with citizens as members of a nation, promoting their respective corporate or collective interests and obligations. In this way we may get the best of both worlds; each on its own and togetherness for the sake of all.

**TOMORROW:** Suma argues the economic case

KZ, DM



# BCM condemns US invasion

*some ten*  
*28/11/91*  
**11A**

ALTHOUGH the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq will not be condoned, the military invasion against the Iraqi people by the United States shall be strongly condemned, an Azanian Students Movement rally was told on Saturday.

Addressing a rally at Raluswielo Hall in Sibesa, Venda, Black Consciousness stalwart Mr Tshihulwane Tshivhase said: "It is a historical fact that Iraq has a claim for Kuwait."

He accused the US of shunning the Palestinian question adding that Washington had always

been the supporter of the "apartheid regime".

"America has a long history of imperialist aggression against other countries," he said, citing Panama and Granada as examples.

The local Azapo Executive member Mr Mulalo Magoda warned that slogans like "One school, One organisation" are as barbaric as "Liberation before Education."

"Azasm has a revolutionary role to play to avoid anarchy which has dominated the educational arena and led to the disastrous matric results," Magoda said. - *Sapa*

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### Post for Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela was yesterday elected regional chairperson of the Transvaal ANC Women League. Former journalist Joan Fubbs was elected deputy chairperson. — Sapa

# Peace hopes rise over Mandela, <sup>AKG</sup> Buthelezi <sup>28/1/79</sup> summit

## The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Hopes are rising for reconciliation between African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi when they meet in Durban tomorrow after 28 years.

Mr Mandela will head a 20-strong delegation, including Communist Party head Mr Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Chief Buthelezi will lead a delegation of 67, including Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and Youth Brigade chairman Mr Musa Zondi.

### WARNINGS

There have been warnings by both sides as well as by political analysts that expectations should not be too high.

At an ANC rally Youth League president Mr Peter Mokoba told about 5 000 supporters at Greytown yesterday that the violence was not merely due to a handful of criminals, but to the whole system of apartheid.

He said the matter could really be sorted out only at top-level talks which included President De Klerk and the government.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, speaking in Natal officially for the first time, said blacks should continue fighting for freedom.

"So many promises have been made that a new South Africa is just around the corner, but the reality is different. Apartheid is alive and well."

Mr Hani praised the presence at the rally of Greytown Democratic Party MP Mr Pierre Cronje and said his example should be emulated by more whites.

At a rally on the South Coast Chief Buthelezi said that if there was no reconciliation between Inkatha and the ANC, there would be no reconciliation in South Africa.

He said he was approaching tomorrow's meeting in the hope of holding Mr Mandela's hand and saying: "Brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward".

Addressing about 8 000 at Umzumbe, Chief Buthelezi said: "I am going there to ring the bells of victory of peace against war and revolution".

He warned that Inkatha would not "be dragged into a situation" in which the ANC sought to establish itself as the only real alternative to the National Party.

"Inkatha rejects negotiations if they are going to be negotiations between only the ANC and the government, with everybody lined up behind one or the other.

"We are going to take our place at the negotiating table or there will be no negotiations.

"We say no to a constituent assembly because that is a formula which the ANC has developed to establish itself as a winner in winner-takes-all politics," Chief Buthelezi said.

### 4 000 DEAD

● The war in Natal has cost more than 4 000 lives, left tens of thousands of people homeless and destitute and has destabilised large areas of the country, particularly since violence spread to the Reef late last year.

The barometer of the success of these talks will be a dramatic decrease in the violence.

The two leaders meet at the Royal Hotel in Durban at 10am tomorrow.

CAH + 11-13 28/1/91

## PAC to join ANC march — Desai

THE Pan Africanist Congress will join the ANC in its march to Parliament on February 1, PAC Information secretary Mr Barney Desai said at a rally in Gugulethu yesterday.

"The PAC will not be slow in coming forward," Mr Desai said to cheers from about 250 PAC supporters on a windswept soccer field.

Marchers plan to submit their demand for a constituent assembly, a key rallying cry of the PAC, to Parliament on its opening.

While the ANC endorses the prospect of a multi-party conference, this option was ruled out by the PAC national executive late last year, said Mr Desai. — Sapa

Can trip 28/1/91

11A

# Mandela: No losers at talks

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, says there will be no winning or losing side after tomorrow's historic talks in Durban between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking to about 3500 ANC supporters at the Ikageleng township near Zeerust in the Western Transvaal, Mr Mandela said he wanted all South Africans to win from the deliberations.

He said his organisation was not attending the talks to hurl accusations but rather to appeal to forget the past and concen-

trate on the future.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a youth rally at Umzumbe on the Natal South Coast on Saturday that he hoped tomorrow's long-awaited talks with Mr Mandela would lead to peace between the two organisations.

He warned that unless there was reconciliation between the IFP and the ANC there would be no reconciliation for South Africa.

He was leading the IFP delegation "in the hope of holding Dr Mandela's hand and saying, Brother, let us stop the killing

and go forward as South Africans".

● Chief Buthelezi has invited a former ANC Natal deputy president and national executive member, Dr W Z Conco, to attend tomorrow's talks as an observer.

Dr Conco — a psychiatrist — was among 156 people acquitted of high treason in March 1961 after a marathon trial.

ANC internal head Mr Walter Sisulu said Dr Conco was no longer an active ANC member, and had appeared to drift towards Inkatha while overseas. — Own Correspondents and Sapa

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Mr Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mr Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out

# Defence units 'to be armed'

CAN 7-45  
28/1/91

INA  
28/1/91

with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mr Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part — but not the defensive. If our

# Intensify the struggle, says Azapo

11A

Sowetan 29/1/91

**THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has rejected proposals by the ANC for an all-party conference and an interim government but called for a constituent assembly to oversee the creation of a democratic constitution.**

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said his organisation would instead press for the consultative conference it proposed last year.

Nefolovhodwe argued that an all-party conference was "nothing but a disguise of a national convention".

The organisation also announced at a Press conference yesterday it would escalate mass protests to speed up the Government's collapse.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo would not meet the Government until issues such as land distribution were put on the agenda.

He said the organisation was prepared to meet other groups to work out a suitable date for the pro-

posed consultative conference.

"Azapo believes that the consultative conference is a prerequisite for all components of the liberation movement before any attempt is made to establish any contact with any party or organisation within the ruling class," he said.

Inkatha and homeland leaders would not be asked to attend, he added.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo's call for a constituent assembly should not be construed as "determining support for the organisation".

## **Peaceful**

"Azapo recognises that there is a possibility of a peaceful resolution of the conflict, (and it) offers the constituent assembly as the only democratic means by which that can be achieved," he said.

The organisation condemned the international community for "rewarding" State President FW de Klerk, saying it had no right to determine when economic pressure could be eased.

It also condemned the United States and its allies "for plunging the world into a major conflagration" in the Persian Gulf.

"The implications of the war can have disastrous effects on the human race as a whole," Nefolovhodwe said.

Renewed mass protests, including strikes, marches and stayaways, would be mounted until "the eventual collapse of the regime".

"Where our programmes coincide with programmes of other organisations, Azapo will be willing and available to work side by side with them in a principled united effort," he added.

# Cosatu calls national stayaway for Friday

Sowetan 29/1/91



By IKE MOTSAPI

A NATIONAL work stayaway has been called for this Friday - the opening of Parliament - to mark the first stage of the ANC's "mass action" campaign against apartheid.

Cosatu, an affiliate of the ANC, appealed to all people who are "dreaming for a just society" to join the stayaway.

Also on Friday, ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela will lead the organisation's members in a march to the Parliament buildings in Cape Town to demand that President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet step down in favour of an interim government.

Mandela will demand that the Government agrees to hold elections for a constituent assembly which will draw up a constitution for a new South Africa.

Cosatu has called for:

- \* An interim government;
- \* A constituent assembly;
- \* The unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles;
- \* The scrapping of all security legislation and an end to all political trials; and

\* An end to violence.

In view of Friday's stayaway, it is no day to celebrate. For this reason *Sowetan* has decided that the special supplement which would have been published on Friday to celebrate our 10th birthday will now be published on Friday February 8. Don't miss it in *Sowetan* on Friday next week.

In a statement released after a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday Cosatu said it had noted with great concern the reluctance of the "South African Government to remove the obstacle towards negotiation".

## Responsibility

The statement said: "The De Klerk regime is a creation of apartheid. It does not enjoy the confidence and support of our people.

"Such a Government cannot be trusted with the responsibility of managing the transition to a new democratic society. What is required is an interim government.

"The latter will create the necessary climate for a constituent assembly elected on a one-person one-vote basis," the statement added.



# US 'cautiously optimistic' on SA deadlock

Political *Jan 29/1/91*  
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The US government is "cautiously optimistic" that the deadlock in Government/ANC talks will be overcome, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said yesterday at a press briefing.

He is in Cape Town for a meeting today of the Joint Commission monitoring the Angola/Namibia peace agreements.

Mr Cohen said that over the last few months he had begun to think the peace process and political reform in South Africa were bogged down.

There had been an over-emphasis in the ANC on the armed struggle and on the need for the SA Government to make more concessions.

On the Government

side there had been an "over-judicial" approach to the preconditions for negotiations.

But after holding discussions in South Africa over the last few days, he felt both the Government and ANC were committed to moving ahead and would overcome the remaining obstacles to negotiations.

He was cautiously optimistic they would succeed.

The Government had a brief "window of opportunity" until October to influence the Congress to lift sanctions, then the US would become engaged in the first rounds of the 1992 presidential campaign.

He said that if President de Klerk repealed the Land Acts and Group Areas Act, and announced a multiparty conference, early this year, as expected, this would help to influence the Congress to lift sanctions.

# ANC outnumbered at talks with Inkatha

Star 29/1/91  
By Patrick Laurence

DURBAN — ANC delegates will be outnumbered more than three to one by Inkatha representatives when the two organisations meet in Durban today in a bid to end their violent enmity.

The 20-member ANC delegation, headed by deputy president Nelson Mandela, will face a 67-member team from Inkatha, led by Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It will be the first face-to-face encounter between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi since Mr Mandela's release from jail nearly a year ago, a year which has seen a marked escalation in the bloody conflict between the two organisations.

The discrepancy in numbers is, in part, a consequence of the formula for the peace talks.

The ANC's national executive committee has about 40 members. Inkatha's central committee has 120 members. Thus each side is represented by about half of its executive members.

The ANC delegation includes the chairmen of its three Natal regions, Jacob Zuma, who is considered to be a "dove", Harry Gwala, who is viewed as a "hawk", and Willus Mchunu. All three

men have an intimate knowledge of the violence which has claimed at least 4 000 lives since mid-1987.

The Inkatha team includes several chiefs, who, like the ANC's regional chairmen in Natal, have seen the violence at ground level all too often.

One of the reasons for the large Inkatha delegation is to ensure that whatever agreement emerges from the meeting seeps down to grassroots level as quickly as possible. In the rural areas of Kwa-Zulu, tribal chiefs are in the best position to convey it to the people.

The meeting will, it is understood, be co-chaired by Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, and Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

No formal agenda has been released but the talks will focus on the violence and ways of ending it. If they go well, the need for black unity or a "patriotic front", may figure prominently.

The success or failure of the talks will, however, be measured by the extent to which Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi are publicly seen to jointly exhort their followers to abandon violence.

# ANC unveils bill of rights

ALL natural resources, including minerals, not owned by any person at the time of the implementation of a new constitution will belong to the state, says the ANC.

Unveiling a proposed bill of rights in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said the document was released to generate informed debate.

The bill emphasises the role of the state in creating economic and social equality.

In an introduction to the 37-page discussion document, chairman of the constitutional committee Zola Skweyiya writes that the committee identified certain needs as being so basic as to constitute the foundation of human rights.

These include the rights to nutrition,

TIM COHEN

education, health, shelter, employment and a minimum income.

"We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom. We want freedom and we want bread," he writes.

Human rights lawyer Fink Haysom said the ANC's proposals include aspects of human rights which are not found in many constitutions, called second and third generation rights.

The proposals were therefore modern, progressive and innovative, he said.

The proposed constitution will be guaranteed by the courts and will be binding on

To Page 2

## Bill of rights

the state and organs of government "at all levels and where appropriate, on all social institutions and persons".

It also proposes a human rights commission and an ombudsman.

On the economy, land and property it says: "Legislation on economic matters shall be guided by the principle 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."

On environmental rights, the constitution proposes that all will have a right to a

healthy and ecologically balanced environment and the duty to defend it.

The law will provide for appropriate penalties and reparation in the case of direct and serious damage caused to the environment. It also allows interested persons to interdict public and private activity which manifestly causes or threatens to cause irreparable damage to the environment, the article says.

On affirmative action, the ANC says nothing in the constitution will prevent the enactment of legislation to procure the advancement of, and opening up of opportunities to, those who have been discriminated against in the past.

From Page 1



**HAND SHAKE:** The deputy leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and head of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, meet before talks in Durban today.

# Tears as Mandela and Buthelezi meet

ARBUS 29/1/91  
VIA

**The Argus Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — In an emotional moment for which they had waited 28 years and which brought tears to their eyes, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shook hands and hugged each other in the corridor of a hotel here earlier today.

"Hello, my brother," Dr Buthelezi said.

The moment was electric and was recorded by a contingent of 150 print and electronic media journalists who had gathered at the Royal Hotel from early this morning.

Minutes before Mr Mandela arrived in a white Mercedes Benz at the back entrance of the hotel in Ulundi street — ironically named because Ulundi is the capital of Kwa-zulu.

He did not answer the barrage of questions which were flung at him from the waiting journalists including teams from Germany, the UK the US, Sweden and Canada.

Outside the hotel a group of about 100 youths toyi-toyed up Smith Street under the watchful eye of a large police contingent. The demonstration ap-

peared to be supportive of the meeting. Banners proclaimed "Inkatha means Freedom for the People" and "Buthelezi/Mandela — we support Black Peace and Unity."

Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi and members of their delegations were dressed in subdued, formal suits with each delegation member identified by a discreet lapel badge.

After their emotional meeting the two leaders moved into the conference room and posed for photographs.

"We are very hopeful otherwise we would not be here," was the only comment Dr

Buthelezi made before the meeting.

Mr Mandela nodded.

The meeting was due to start at 10am but was delayed by about 10 minutes while conference security staff battled to clear the room of journalists.

The meeting is being jointly chaired by Dr Frank Mdlalose, general secretary of Inkatha and Mr Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the ANC.

There are several white members in the delegations including Mr Joe Slovo of the SA Communist Party and Mr Walter Felgate, the first white member of Inkatha.

## 25 homes on fire in Natal

PRETORIA. — Twenty five homes were set on fire and two people were wounded in violence in Natal today.

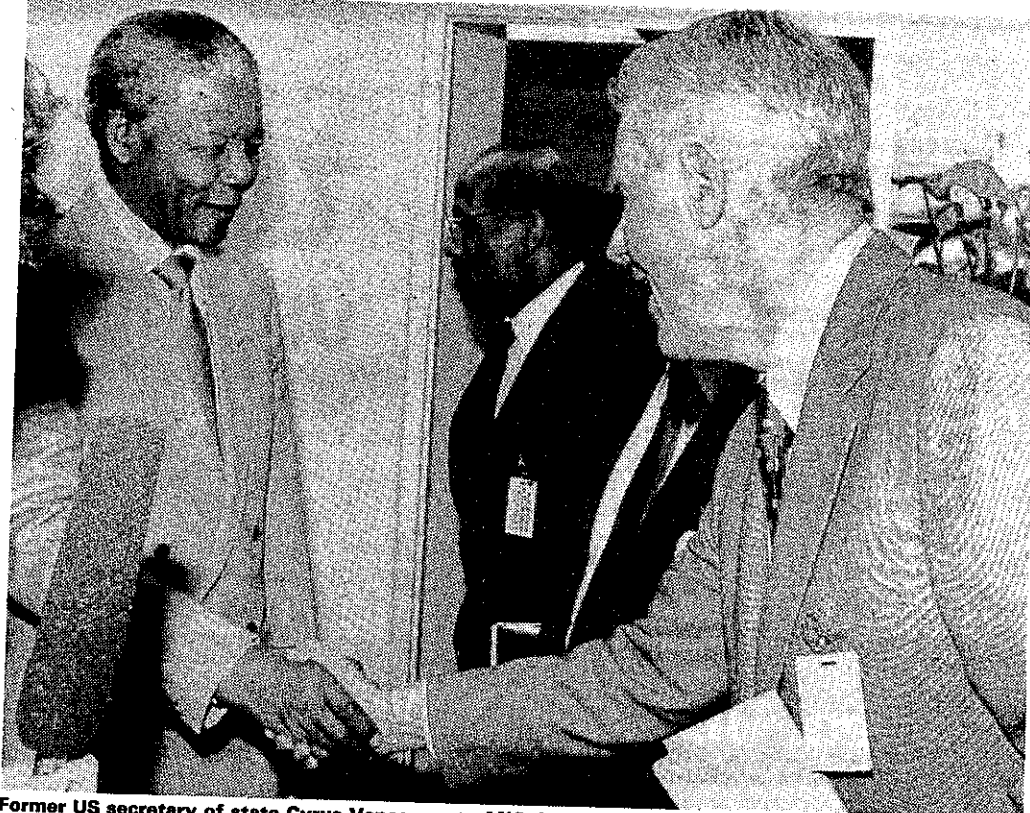
The violence occurred just before the peace talks between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC.

The police said in an unrest report that two groups clashed at Nxamalala. Two people were wounded when one group opened fire on the other and 25 houses were set alight.

Three men were arrested for illegal possession of firearms.

In another incident, police found the body of a man with stab and hack wounds at Tokoza on the East Rand.

A policeman's home was damaged in a petrol bomb attack at Daveyton in Benoni, the report said. — Sapa.



Former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance meets ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday. Vance was a member of the Carter administration.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Apartheid 'is on the way out'

(11A) TIM COHEN

FORMER US secretary of state, Cyrus Vance said yesterday he believed apartheid was irreversibly on its way out. B Day 29/11/91

He made the comment after meeting ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday.

Mandela and ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki met Vance, former US ambassador to the UN Don McHenry and Ford Foundation executive director Franklin Thomas in Johannesburg.

Mandela said in a statement afterwards they had discussed past support for the ANC, the return of exiles and the contribution his guests might be able to make to this process.

When asked whether he thought apartheid was "irreversibly on the way out", Vance — who was a member of the Carter administration — said: "Yes, I do think so."

He said he was looking forward to discussions his group would have with other organisations.

The group was also due to meet PAC members yesterday.

Sapa reports Mbeki also met the parliamentary state secretary of Germany's ministry of economic cooperation, Hans-Peter Replik, in Pretoria.

Replik arrived in SA yesterday to meet government, opposition and extra-parliamentary leaders.

The ministry supplies funds to help black communities disadvantaged by apartheid.

## Azapo dismisses ANC demand for interim govt

WILSON ZWANE

AZAPO yesterday rejected two central ANC demands — the proposed all-party congress on negotiations and an interim government. 11A

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said liberation movements should first establish common ground before attempting to establish any relationship with "any party or organisation within the ruling class". b/p ay 29/11/91

Azapo would continue this year to work towards a consultative conference which it had been planning since last March, Nefolovhodwe said. Such a consultative conference was the best opportunity for liberation movements to work towards a united front and a common understanding of the constituent assembly.

Nefolovhodwe said a consultative conference had been tentatively set for the end of next month, but Azapo would meet individual organisations to work out a suitable date.

Rejecting an interim government, he said "any structure that is set up, which sustains the present power relations — even if it is for a limited period — cannot be accepted by Azapo. We do not support the call for an interim government."

He also said his organisation would mount a stepped-up mass campaign against government.

"We will use tested methods, such as stayaways, rallies and marches, but in mounting our campaign we will consult all community organisations and parties concerned so that they can be able to participate in the decision-making and planning of the campaigns."

**T**HE ANC's Washington-based US mission released a statement on the Gulf war last week. It is presumably the same statement put out by the ANC's information department in Johannesburg. Happily for the movement, hardly anyone in the American government paid much attention. Those few that did shrugged in a manner that conveyed bored contempt.

The statement begins and ends in the sophomoric style of a student protest pamphlet, a form of discourse to which the ANC sadly seems all too prone. "End the war now! ... The war must be brought to an end now!"

It then demands that US and other foreign forces depart the Gulf while Iraq, its military might intact, and Kuwait, its sovereignty theoretically restored, settle their differences at the negotiating table. At the same time an international conference must be convened "to elaborate a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question", including the creation of a Palestinian state and the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories.

**T**his is followed by a paragraph in which it is suggested that Pretoria is attempting to "fan the flames of war" by "encouraging some of the belligerents and offering them facilities in our country". Finally, there is the standard complaint that the SA government is continuing to oppress "our people", on this occasion by "persecuting" those "engaged in peaceful public demonstrations to express their views about the situation in the Gulf".

Some, no doubt, will argue that, in sum, the statement is fairly neutral. It is anything but. The text could quite frankly have been drafted in Baghdad. Quite what the ANC thinks it stands to gain by taking such a line defies ready comprehension. What, exactly, is the sense of spitting in the face of the US and almost every other major power?

It is entirely reasonable to debate whether President George Bush and

# ANC will lose by not backing the winners in the Gulf

B/day 29/1/91  
**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

use force against Saddam Hussein before allowing sanctions more time to work. Historians will no doubt be hashing over that question for generations.

What is unreasonable, odiously so, is the ANC's suggestion that the two sides are morally equivalent.

Nowhere in the statement is there the slightest hint of criticism of Saddam's actions. Indeed, if blame is apportioned at all, it goes to the US-led alliance. By accusing Pretoria of "further" fanning the flames of war by siding with the US, the ANC implies it believes the US was already a warmonger before President F W de Klerk called Bush to wish him luck.

Perhaps the authors did not intend to have their logic too minutely scrutinised. Let us, however, pay them the compliment of reading their text as a considered and honest rendering of their movement's position, and then follow their reasoning to its natural conclusion.

On the basis of such an exegesis, one would have to say that southern Africa will not be a particularly secure place if and when the ANC takes power.

The organisation evidently sees no problem with any powerful state (except Israel) achieving its aims by annexation. The only proviso is that

it must agree at some point to hand back whatever territory it has chosen to seize. In the interim, however, there can be no objection to its pillaging said territory, torturing, raping and murdering its inhabitants, and tossing their premature infants out of incubators to die on hospital floors.

Nor, apparently, are other nations in the region entitled to engage in collective self-defence against such a state, even in terms of the UN charter, nor may they summon outside assistance. To the contrary, they must submit meekly to the demands of the aggressor as he shakes them down to finance the expansion of his military power. To do otherwise is to "fan the flames of war".

**I**t would further seem that the ANC finds nothing especially unconscionable about the indiscriminate rocketing of civilian populations or about a dictator who gasses his own countrymen and who not only executes critics (not to mention journalists) but, in several documented instances, has ordered the home villages of domestic opponents to be

napalmed and then bulldozed into the ground. Talk about forced removals.

Now, of course, the ANC will huffily riposte that it intended to imply nothing of the kind in its statement, and that to say it did is casuistry. Perhaps, then, it should have found another formula of words, one that recognised Saddam for what he is and the justness of the cause of those arrayed against him.

Such a formula, however, would have put it at odds with the PLO, and that, as deputy president Nelson Mandela's performance here last year so amply demonstrated, is something the ANC simply cannot bring itself to do at any price, even the loss of moral stature.

This is sad. By siding with Saddam and embracing his fatuous lie that he invaded Kuwait to force a settlement of the Palestinian issue, the PLO has done itself, its sympathisers, and, most importantly, those it claims to represent, incalculable harm.

Several weeks before the fighting started, Washington Post columnist Stephen Rosenfeld wrote: "It seems not have dawned on the Palestinians that for them the Gulf crisis is a disaster. In cheering on Saddam Hussein's swallowing of Kuwait, they de-

Israeli occupation, accommodators in Israel and strength-ened the no-compromisers, alienated the Arab establishment and indefinitely put off any return to an active mediator's role by an American president, George Bush, who had begun his term scrappily trying to locate 'reasonable middle ground'."

Each passing day serves only to reinforce Rosenfeld's point. As Saddam's Scuds land in Tel Aviv amid Palestinian applause and as the Israeli government continues to forbear from retaliation, Israel is making up the ground it lost in putting down the intifadeh; its case for refusing to negotiate directly with the PLO gains strength and its support in the US, once wavering, stiffens.

For the Arabs coalesced against Saddam, the Palestinians are increasingly viewed as a menace and a security problem first, as a people deprived of their rights second. The financial backing they received from Saudi Arabia and the other rich Arab states has been slashed. The greater the devastation Saddam wreaks on his neighbours in his desperate effort to undermine the alliance's resolve, the more isolated and marginal the PLO will become.

**T**he greatest irony is that Saddam has no interest in the Palestinians other than as fodder for his ambitions. It is now almost certain that the recent assassination in Tunis of Abu Iyad, Yasser Arafat's deputy and a PLO co-founder, was carried out on the instructions of Saddam himself. The victim had apparently questioned the movement's relationship with Iraq.

There is a moral here for the ANC that goes far beyond its thinking on the Gulf. Had the PLO aligned itself with the coalition, the prospect of there being a Palestinian homeland this century would have been immeasurably advanced. Likewise, the ANC does neither itself nor those it presumes to represent any favours with its knee-jerk anti-Americanism and liberationist ethos.

Get with the winning team, or stay an increasingly marginalised underdog.

# ANC unveils bill of rights

29/1/91  
Cape Times, Tuesday,

Own Correspondent

## Natural resources go to state

JOHANNESBURG. — All natural resources, including minerals, not owned by any person at the time of the implementation of a new constitution will belong to the state, says the ANC.

Unveiling a proposed bill of rights here yesterday, ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki said the document was released to generate informed debate.

The bill emphasises the role of the state in creating economic and social equality.

In an introduction to the 37-page document, the chairman of the con-

stitutional committee, Mr Zola Skweyiya, writes that the committee identified certain needs as being so basic as to constitute the foundation of human rights. These include the rights to nutrition, education, health, shelter, employment and a minimum income.

"We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom. We want freedom, and we want bread," he writes.

Human-rights lawyer Mr Fink Haysom said the ANC's proposals

included aspects of human rights which were not found in many constitutions, called second- and third-generation rights.

The proposals were therefore modern, progressive and innovative, he said.

The proposed constitution would be guaranteed by the courts and would be binding on the state and organs of government "at all levels and where appropriate, on all social institutions and persons".

It also proposes a human-rights commission and an ombudsman.

On the economy, land and property it says: "Legislation on economic matters shall be guided by the principle 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."

On environmental rights, the constitution proposes that all will

have a right to a healthy and ecologically balanced environment and the duty to defend it.

The law will provide for appropriate penalties and reparation in the case of direct and serious damage caused to the environment. It also allows interested persons to interdict public and private activity which manifestly causes or threatens to cause irreparable damage to the environment.

On affirmative action, the ANC says nothing in the constitution will prevent the enactment of legislation to procure the advancement of, and opening up of opportunities to, those who have been discriminated against in the past.



**Azapo rejects  
all-party talks**

*Chap  
T.M.A  
29/1/87*

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Azapo has rejected the ANC's proposals for an all-party conference and an interim government, but called for a constituent assembly.

The movement announced at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that it would escalate mass protests against the government to speed its collapse. — Sapa

1187 (circled) (circled)

# Inkatha-ANC talks today

DURBAN. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party President Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose followers have been fighting for almost six years in a war that had claimed more than 5 000 lives, go into their first face-to-face peace talks today in a mood of reconciliation.

But both leaders have warned against expectations that their meeting will immediately end the factional strife.

"Simply shaking hands will not solve the problems . . . we have to be constructive and work for lasting solutions," Mr Mandela said yesterday on his arrival here.

"We enter this meeting aware of the reality that the fighting and the animosity are very intense . . . quick results are not highly likely.

"Those who want peace will close the past and concentrate on the present and future," he told a rally of ANC supporters last week. "There will be no winning or losing side," he said of the

scheduled one-day talks.

Chief Buthelezi on Saturday expressed "hope of holding . . . Mandela's hand and saying, brother, let us stop the killing and let us go forward as South Africans".

"I am going to ring the bells of victory, of peace, against war and revolution," he told an Inkatha youth rally, and also cautioned against expecting "fast fixes".

The National Party last night urged both Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to be aware of their "grave responsibility", saying that a successful outcome could expedite the negotiation process.

## Expedite negotiations

The NP would like to meet the ANC, Inkatha and other organisations around the negotiating table as soon as possible. "The NP therefore . . . urges them to be aware of their grave responsibility towards all the people of South Africa.

"A positive outcome of this meeting will greatly contribute to expediting the process of negotiation," the NP said.

In other statements released on the eve of the talks:

● The SA Council of Churches said the feud could probably come to an end if today's meeting could be coupled with police impartiality in the crisis.

● The Pan Africanist Congress welcomed the talks and said the coming together, after much procrastination, "deserved our highest expectation for peace amongst Africans".

The first possible stumbling block in the tense political protocol between the two organisations is the size of the two delegations.

The Inkatha Freedom Party originally intended 67 delegates to accompany Chief Buthelezi, while the ANC settled for 20.

Yesterday Mr Mandela said "as far as we understand, the delegations will be equal in number".

Although no agenda has been released, it is expected that the talks will focus exclusively on ways to end the conflict, and possible co-operation between the two organisations. — Sapa, Own Correspondents and UPI

Police warn ANC  
'defence units'  
CM-1618  
29/1/91  
11A  
SAB  
K20

Political Staff

THE Law and Order ministry has warned that armed ANC defence units will not be tolerated if they break the law in any way.

"There are laws which say the police do the policing," said spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

SA Youth Congress chairman Mr Peter Mokaba said at the weekend that the units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed.

Captain Kotze said that if the ANC planned to arm the units with AK 47 rifles "you can be sure they will be removed".

● Captain Kotze also warned that police would act against protesting farmers who planned to jam the streets of Pretoria with hundreds of vehicles early today, "if they break the law".

He said the same laws would apply to the farmers as to any organisation.

"The necessary permission has to be granted. If it is illegal we will have to apply the law," he said.

CAM-Trip 29/1/91

11A



Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela, in an interview published in the Guardian here yesterday, defended the ANC's right to stage a mass protest in Cape Town on Friday to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

He was also quoted as saying he had given President F W de Klerk a list of police officers the ANC believes orchestrated violence in the townships, and demanded their removal.

Mr Mandela rejected the government's contention that mass action precipitated violence and was in contravention of the ANC commitment to suspend its armed struggle and "related activities".

Mr Mandela said the

## Mandela to lead ANC city protest?

ANC made its position clear to the government when it agreed last year to suspend its guerilla war. He said: "Until there are effective mechanisms which allow people to express their grievances and put forward their demands, we cannot accept their demand that there should be no mass action.

"We have no vote. The only way in which we can focus attention on our

grievances, after we have failed to convince the government through persuasion and argument, is to go into the streets and demonstrate. We are going to do that."

Mr Mandela is expected to lead the march.

He said the government had failed to act against the policemen whose names the ANC gave to Mr De Klerk.

He said the listed officers had connived with "vigilantes".

"The people are asking us: 'What is the point of continuing to negotiate with a government which is killing our people? You are talking peace but they are conducting war against us'."

But he stressed that the ANC remained committed to negotiations.

# PAC and ANC join forces

*Sowetan 30/1/91*  
THE Pan Africanist Congress and ANC in the PWV region have joined forces to launch a mass action campaign to demand a constituent assembly and protest the opening of a still "racist" Parliament.

The campaign, named Constituent Assembly Day, begins with a stayaway on Friday following talks between the national leadership of both organisations, ANC regional executive member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said yes-

terday.

11A  
ANC regional executive member Dr AB Nkomo said this was the first time the two organisations had openly worked together since the formation of the all-in committee under Mr Nelson Mandela on the eve of South Africa becoming a republic in 1961.

The campaign has the support of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the

● To Page 2

## Campaign over 'racist' Parliament

● From Page 1

*Sowetan 30/1/91*  
National Council of Trade Unions.

Students and pupils are expected to participate in the campaign only on Friday so as not to disrupt their schooling.

Major trade union federations have been asked to inform employers of the planned stayaway so workers would not be victimised.

"It is the wish of both the national and regional leadership that the action be a disciplined one based on the principle of freedom of participation," said Moosa.

11A  
The national conferences of both the PAC and the ANC in December agreed on mass action to back their demand for a constituent assembly.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for Cosatu said yesterday the stayaway call was meant only for the PWV area and not for the whole country as reported yesterday. However, similar actions could be

taken in the eastern Cape and Border regions.

The mass action campaign is to include marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng; mass meetings or rallies in four East Rand townships; and a signature campaign in Garankuwa.

Homeland residents are expected to participate in the campaign. - Sapa.

ay January 30, 1991

# Azapo rejects stayaway call

Sowetan 30/1/91

(11A)

**THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday distanced itself from the call by the Congress of South African Trade Unions for a stayaway on Friday.**

Azapo's central Transvaal regional secretary Mr Dibetso Taukobong said the organisation had not called for a stayaway nor was it consulted by

**By MONK NKOMO**

Cosatu on the matter.

"Azapo is of the view that work stoppages, boycotts and stayaways are only to be employed after a thorough assessment of the short and long-term goals," he said.

## Liberation

Quoting Azapo's position paper adopted in

February 1985, he said: "As a liberation movement, Azapo has a duty to analyse all mass actions of the oppressed and exploited and use the lessons which may be gleaned from there to advance the revolutionary effort to greater heights."

Cosatu, an ally of the ANC, has called for a national work stayaway on Friday to coincide with

the opening of Parliament in Cape Town.

Taukobong said he did not oppose the call to stay away from work. "But those who decide to go to work must not be intimidated or assaulted by certain elements who have been programmed to be disruptive," he said.

People have a democratic right to either go to work or not, he said.

# alleges assault prisoner

30/1/91  
ATHA TSEDU

the Pietersburg police cells until Friday afternoon. He said the policeman involved was a Sergeant Van Straten of John Vorster Square in Johannesburg.

He referred *Sowetan* to Van Straten. Van Straten could not be reached for comment.

Piliso said from glimpses he stole of the contents of the letter, the author was asking Pilane to indicate the prison where he was being kept as the author and other people had amassed weapons, including AK-47 rifles, to stage an escape.

He said the policemen later took him to Pietersburg Police Station where he was kept in custody until 1pm.

# PAC leader to join in march

PAN Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu is expected to join ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela in a march on Parliament in Cape Town on Friday.

The march was called by the ANC to highlight the "the people's" demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

It has been planned to coincide with the opening of Parliament by State President FW de Klerk. A memorandum will be handed to the Government.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai yesterday confirmed his organisation's participation in the march.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

"It was a national decision. It has been agreed that Mr Makwetu will join Mr Mandela in the march on Friday. We are at this very moment trying to get in touch with the ANC to finalise things," Desai said.

Desai first announced the PAC's intention to join in the procession at a rally in Cape Town's Guguletu township on Sunday.

This is the first time that such a high-level display of unity will take place between the PAC and ANC.

Meanwhile, Mr Trevor Manuel, the ANC's regional publicity secretary, said in Cape Town

yesterday that plans for Friday's march were well underway.

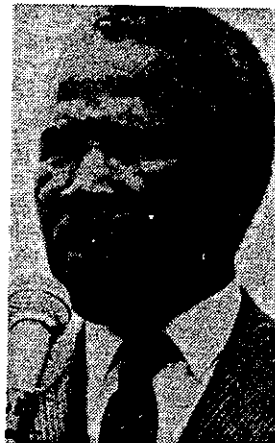
He said the ANC would provide participants with free transport on the day.

Manuel said more than 500 marshals would be deployed across the Peninsula. He said while mass stayaways had been organised for the PWV, the Western Cape had agreed not to do so.

"Instead workers would, wherever possible, negotiate time off to participate in the march."

An appeal had been made to employers to allow people to participate.

The Cape Town City Council said it would al-



CLARENCE MAKWETU

low its employees who wished to take part to do so.

Council employees would, however, have to either apply for a day's leave, forfeit a day's pay or work an extra day to make up for the loss.

# Top white school limits black pupils - claim

A SOWETO parent claimed yesterday that formerly all-white schools now open to all races were turning down applications from black pupils without good reasons.

The woman, Mrs Nana Mgojwa, of Dobsonville, said she had applied for her 12-year-old daughter to enrol at Parktown Girls

By  
GRACE RAPHOLO

High School and the girl was called in for an interview and aptitude test.

Mgojwa claimed that out of about 100 black pupils who had reported for the interview and test during the time she was there, only four had been

*Sowetan 30/1/91*  
accepted.

However, the principal of Parktown Girls High School, Mrs Pamela Queen, yesterday denied the allegations.

Asked what criteria was used to select black applicants, she said it was the same as that for white applicants.

She said to be admitted into standards six,

seven and eight the child had to be of the appropriate age and educational standard. Competence in English was also an important factor in their admission policy.

Queen said about 34 black pupils had been admitted to the school.

Explaining why such a small number of black

pupils were admitted, she said black pupils applying for admission into Standard Six were limited to two classes because of subject changes.

There were only a few places for pupils who would not be taking three languages. Only French and Latin were offered as a third language at the school.

# 'Let peace prevail'

Sogelen 30/1/91

11A 115

VIOLENCE must end and peace prevail, Nelson Mandela said when he addressed delegates to the Durban peace talks with Inkatha yesterday.

In his opening remarks he stressed the need for an atmosphere of free political activity in which "all people can freely canvas their positions within the rest of society".

"The efforts of our people have brought about a situation in which apartheid can be eradicated by peaceful means."

It was ironic that a meeting between "organisations of the oppressed" should require such an effort to accomplish.

The ANC did not believe it would benefit the cause of peace if it spent its time at the meeting pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the carnage which had left many thousands dead.

"If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors and no losers between ANC and Inkatha."

The meeting started late.

Mandela thanked Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for their contribution in helping to secure his release and that of other leaders of the ANC.

## Comfort

Messages of support and comfort in their long years of incarceration did not go unnoticed.

"For us this meeting represents the culmination of our persistent efforts to bring an end to the confrontation which has plagued our two organisations and our people," Mandela said.

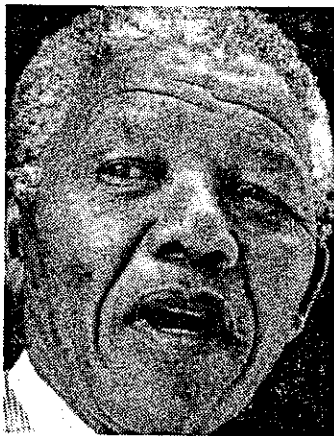
"Our ultimate praise is reserved for the masses in the province of Natal and other parts of the country whose yearnings for peace is the driving force of our deliberations today."

"The eyes of the world are on us. The majority of the people in this ravaged province and other parts of the country certainly wish us success.

"The angel of death and destruction, the defenders of white minority rule, will (want) the opposite."

Whatever the outcome of the meeting, Mandela asked that "contact among us must continue to nurture agreement and seek

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, addressed assembled delegates shortly after the 10am start of talks at the Royal Hotel in Durban yesterday.



NELSON MANDELA

lasting solutions to areas of conflict".

Every South African, including the security forces, should help build a nation all could be proud of.

"The attempts to divide our people along ethnic lines, to turn their rich variety into a dagger with which to pierce their hearts, must be made to fail."

The grim and infamous era of apartheid was coming to an end.

"In the final analysis we are justified to lay the blame (for inter-communal violence) at the door of the apartheid regime which has created conditions of squalor and degradation among our people.

"We are certainly right to assert that the removal of this system is a basic precondition to an end to violence in our country," he said.

Mandela referred only briefly to the ANC's call for an all-party conference. He said the movement's view was that the new South Africa was the business of all South Africans.

"Our proposal for an all-party congress derives from this belief.

"So do our calls for an impartial supervisory mechanism as well as an elected body to draft a new constitution.

"Otherwise the final product and the process itself will lack popular support.

"Violence must end. Let peace prevail," he said. - Sapa



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

constitution we are heading towards before we even begin moving in its direction."

Of the ANC's mass action campaign, he said: "The ANC's attempt to claim political goals and then to mobilise mass action to support them, is using anarchistic approaches because the threat is being made that all South Africa must bow to the demands or else."

Referring to another aspect which he considered had hampered and would continue to hamper peace, the fiery Inkatha leader detailed a series of aggressive ANC statements since the fateful October 1979 meeting.

"Mr John Nkadimeng is present here today.

"I ask that he quietly tells the world that he was wrong... In an ANC broadcast on the 21 November 1986 on Radio Freedom from Addis Ababa, Mr John Nkadimeng, speaking for the ANC said: 'The onus is on the people of South Africa to neutralise Gatsha, the snake which is poisoning the people of South Africa. It needs to be hit on the head'."

Noting his opposition to such statements, Buthelezi returned in summary to what it was so widely hoped the two delegations had come to Durban to agree on:

"However we define our difficulties and however we define our positions, we must end up today saying violence must stop.

"We must end up today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence. We must end up today banishing forever the politics of intimidation which leads to violence."

Although the prospects of the IFP and the ANC of ever coming together had been destroyed, possibly forever, the two organisations were now morally bound to undo this damage. - Sapa

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi has issued a strong call for peace and an end to political intimidation, but has warned against "impossible objectives" from the ANC.

These included the demand for a constituent assembly and the ANC's programme of mass action.

Buthelezi said he hoped that yesterday's meeting would lead to "strong, sustained action against violence in every form".

"Let the people be free in their sovereignty to decide the who's who of South Africa's political leadership ... The separate existence of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party is a product of the people's will.

"We each exist legitimately.

"We each have a right to exist.

Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out at each other as we move forward.

## Violence

"I repeat, violence must cease and when Dr Nelson Mandela called on the people to throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea, I endorsed his call. I endorse it again today."

However, referring to mass action and the demand for a constituent assembly, Buthelezi said: "The more the ANC pursues objectives which just cannot be achieved, and the more it then turns to blame Inkatha and others for its inability to achieve them, the more bedevilled the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC will become".

The Inkatha president said a constituent assembly followed by an interim government was not achievable because this was simply "a commitment to fight South African realities and it can only lead to disaster for us all".

To demand a constituent assembly now was to push South Africa "out on to a great ocean which is charterless and filled with unknowns.

"We must know what kind of



# War fears erode tourism

THE number of foreign tourists visiting SA had dropped off significantly since the outbreak of the Gulf war, tourism experts said yesterday.

Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association (Fedhasa) executive director Fred Thermann said fears of being stranded at holiday destinations, and gold price fluctuations since the outbreak of hostilities, had increased the number of empty hotel beds.

Southern Sun MD Peter Smith said foreigners and South Africans were reluctant to travel because they feared "problems at airports and on aircraft".

Satour executive director Spencer Thomas said foreigners — particularly Dutch, Swiss, Italian and Japanese tourists — had cancelled a substantial number of holidays.

Tourists from the UK, Germany and France had not made as many cancellations.

The total impact of the war would

POLLY JONES

depend on its duration, he said.

Thys Steyn of the National Parks Board said in a statement few overseas tourists had cancelled reservations at the board's parks.

SAA was unable to comment on changes in foreign tourist numbers.

PETER GALLI reports that an Association of SA Travel Agents (Asata) spokesman said recently tours and cruises to Turkey and Greece had shown "quite heavy" cancellations because of fears the Gulf war would spread.

A TFC Tours spokesman said the company had received numerous cancellations for its five cruises starting in June, and reservations were more than 50% down on last year.

Other tour operators said people had cancelled bookings for flights and tours to the Mediterranean areas.

# Pilgrims expected back from Jeddah

PATRICK BULGER

A GROUP of 330 SA Muslim pilgrims, left stranded in Saudi Arabia after the outbreak of the Gulf War, is expected back late tonight.

A chartered Boeing 707 flew from London to ferry them from Jeddah, in Saudi Arabia, to Nairobi. From there they will fly on an SAA flight to SA.

It is believed a Muslim Foreign Affairs official has been in London since last week, negotiating with Saudi officials. The Saudi government gave permission earlier this week for the pilgrims to leave.

An initial attempt to get them out of Jeddah failed when SA Muslim leaders angered the Saudi government by saying they would recruit local Muslims to fight against allied forces in the Gulf.

# Plans for mass action outlined

CAPE TOWN — The Cape Town City Council, which has given permission for an ANC-organised march to Parliament on Friday, has recommended that the widest roads be used to limit inconvenience to visitors and shoppers.

But deputy city administrator Allan Dolby said the organisers of the march, which is to demand a constituent assembly and to oppose the opening of a racially segregated Parliament, were still awaiting magisterial approval.

In Johannesburg the PAC and ANC have joined forces to organise a stayaway in the PWV region on Friday and to launch a mass action campaign to back up these demands.

ANC regional executive member Mohammed Valli Moosa told a joint ANC-PAC media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday that Friday has been named Constituent Assembly Day.

He said the campaign also had the support of Cosatu, Nactu and Azapo.

Trade union federations had been asked to inform employers of the stayaway so workers would not be victimised.

Mass action would include marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng, mass meetings or rallies in four East Rand townships, and a signature campaign in GaRankuwa.

In Cape Town, Dolby said about 20 000 people were expected to march.

The Grand Parade would be closed for parking from 6am on Friday and the marchers would start gathering from about 8am. Special trains have been organised for marchers from outlying areas. The organisers will supply 400 trained marshals.

A memorandum will be handed over to representatives of Parliament.

The marchers will return to the Parade and will be addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from the upper balcony at City Hall. — Sapa.

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# Contrasts at peace talks

Sowetan 30/1/91

More  
about  
the  
talks  
- P6

11A



ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands before their meeting in Durban yesterday.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi delivered contrasting speeches to the nearly 70 delegates at yesterday's historic peace talks.

Mandela's address was short and conciliatory. Buthelezi's longer statement warned of the dangers of "killing talk" and cited examples where ANC leaders had indulged in "killing talk" against him.

Mandela, fulfilling the role of the elder statesman of the black community, struck a constructive note at the outset.

"We have not come here to apportion blame,"

Sowetan Correspondent

he said.

"If we are to fulfil the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors or losers as between the ANC and Inkatha."

He noted that the majority of black people, particularly those in war-torn townships, yearned for peace, while the defenders of white minority rule, "the angels of death and destruction", wanted the strife to continue.

"We must satisfy and disappoint in equal measure," he exhorted the delegates. "We must deliver."

He thanked Buthelezi and Inkatha for its representations, made over the years, for the release of

● To Page 2

## Contrasts at peace indaba

● From Page 1

imprisoned ANC leaders.

He ended with a ringing call for peace: "We cannot afford to fail. Violence must end. Let peace prevail."

Buthelezi called for an end to the "vilification", which, he said, ANC leaders had directed against Inkatha and himself, declaring that peace would be impossible if it did not stop.

He cited several exam-

ples of "killing talk" and "vilification" which went beyond democratic criticism, mentioning several of the ANC leaders at the talks by name.

Although Inkatha had once flown the ANC's colours and identified with the ANC, the possibility of Inkatha and the ANC fusing into a single force was gone, Buthelezi said.

But, he added, it was not too late for Inkatha and the ANC to enter into

a "complementary relationship", in which they would support each other where their policies converged and agree to disagree where policies diverged.

Buthelezi also ended his speech with a strong appeal for the two organisations to end the violence.

"We must end up today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence."



David Braun reports from Washington on an important development

## This will give the ANC more leverage

11A

Jan 30/1991

**T**HE Congressional Black Caucus has taken control of the key Africa Subcommittee of the US House of Representatives in a move which could have an important impact on American policy towards South Africa.

Africa Subcommittee chairman Howard Wolpe vacated his post yesterday to take up the politically more important chairmanship of the House Science, Space and Technology Committee.

More significantly to many Africanists in Washington, however, is that the staff director of the Subcommittee on Africa, Steve Weissman, and other key members of the staff appointed by Mr Wolpe, will also be moving on.

The new chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, Mervyn Dymally, will appoint his own staff.

Mr Weissman, like Mr Wolpe, is a respected Africa expert. Both played key roles in setting the Congressional and the overall US agendas on the subject of South Africa.

Mr Weissman confirmed this week he would be leaving the Africa Subcommittee. He said he was considering taking up a position with a university.

Mr Wolpe and Mr Weissman were instrumental in persuading the US Congress to impose sanctions on South Africa in 1986.

More recently, they welcomed the reforms of President de Klerk, but remained skeptical that the political process in South Africa was truly irreversible.

Mr Wolpe is to remain an ordinary member of the Subcommittee on Africa, as the ranking Dem-

ocratic member.

According to Democratic Party sources, the outgoing Africa Subcommittee chairman has taken the chairmanship of the Science, Space and Technology Committee because it gives him much more status within Congress and because of the prestige it gives him within his own Congressional District in Michigan.

Mr Dymally's succession as chairman of the Africa Subcommittee is a major coup for the Congressional Black Caucus, which has long believed it should control the important panel.

The 64-year-old California representative (he was a Lieutenant-Governor of California) is a senior member of the Black Caucus.

Washington Africanists believe the Black Caucus control of the

House Subcommittee on Africa gives the African National Congress a huge new advantage.

Although there are some prominent Black Caucus members who have demonstrated flexibility, the body is firmly behind the ANC.

Some analysts are concerned that Mr Dymally's close links with President Mobutu of Zaire will put him at odds with other members of the Black Caucus, and that this could have an impact on his approach to South Africa (in the sense that he would not resist a hard line towards Pretoria).

There is also some concern that the new Africa Subcommittee professional staff will take a long time to settle in, and that they may therefore be somewhat less effective than Mr Weissman and his colleagues. □

Patrick Laurence looks at a fascinating new theory on the October 1977 crackdown

# No, the Nats did not 'live with' black

**JULIE** Frederickse, radio journalist and author, puts forward an interesting thesis in her new book, "The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa".

She says the October 1977 crackdown on the black consciousness movement was prompted by its decline rather than its strength.

Her argument is that the "conservative black consciousness tradition" had begun to ebb when the Minister of Police and Justice, Jimmy Kruger, struck against 18 pro-black-consciousness organisations.

She claims that what worried the apartheid state was that the black consciousness movement and its young leaders had begun to re-discover the earlier tradition of the African National Congress.

"Pretoria had tolerated the black consciousness era: what it could not abide was the reconnection with the history of what had

gone before it," she writes. "But the bans came too late ... the revival of the Congress tradition had already begun to eclipse black consciousness."

Frederickse's interpretation is fascinating. But it is posited on an uneasy premise: that black consciousness was "conservative" and that Prime Minister B J Vorster and Police Minister Kruger feared an ANC revival but could live with black consciousness.

Why then did the Vorster regime ban and detain a succession of black consciousness leaders from 1972 onwards? Why did the State try key black consciousness leaders for terrorism in the black consciousness trial of 1975-76?

Two events are central to the 1977 crackdown:

● The black student revolt of 1976-77 which was started in Soweto by pro-black consciousness students in the Soweto Students' Representative Council

(SSRC) and then spread throughout most of South Africa.

● The death in detention of Steve Biko, the leader of the black consciousness movement, and the angry, anguished reaction to it in the black community.

These events point, prima facie, to the strength of black consciousness in 1977 rather than its weakness. One need only think of the student demonstrations at the time. They were conducted under the banner of black consciousness, not of the Freedom Charter or of the ANC.

It is significant that the 18 proscribed organisations included the avowedly pro-black-consciousness SSRC and the Southern African Students Movement (SASM). Both played a central role in organising the 1976-77 rebellion and several of their leaders were tried and convicted for sedition.

But Frederickse does show that by the time of the 1977 crackdown

there was ideological interaction between the black consciousness movement and the ANC.

She conducted more than 200 interviews with key political actors including Nkosazana Dlamini and Diliza Mji. Mr Dlamini was a black consciousness supporter who was "recruited to the ANC" in 1975 and then elected as vice-president of the pro-black-consciousness South African Students Organisation (Saso). Mr Mji was the last Saso president to serve out a full term before Saso was banned in 1977.

These interviews — like the book as a whole — make compelling reading. They show that a process of osmosis was taking place and that black consciousness was being influenced by the older ANC tradition.

They do not throw much light on the reverse process: the influence of black consciousness on the ANC, as evidenced by — for ex-

ample — the adoption by the ANC of the black power salute and the black consciousness slogan "Amandla Awethu!"

What may have worried the authorities more than the pending eclipse of the "conservative black consciousness tradition" by the ANC's blend of Marxism and nationalism were signs of coalescence between the still decidedly potent black consciousness ideology and the older, more deep-rooted ANC tradition.

What they may well have feared was that the merging of the two streams of resistance would lead to a renewed wave of black rebellion.

And significantly, to quote a Rand Daily Mail report of September 1977, Mr Kruger told a National Party congress shortly before the death of Mr Biko that there was evidence that the black consciousness movement "planned to co-operate" with the ANC

consciousness

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Spur 30/1/91

against the whites.

The outlawing of the black consciousness movement may have tipped the balance against it as the black consciousness and ANC traditions started to fuse.

By intervening, Mr Kruger may have unwittingly ensured the dominance of the ANC over the black consciousness movement. The ANC, which had built up underground structures since it was outlawed in 1960, was in a better position than the younger black consciousness movement to survive underground.

These alternative views are offered in a spirit of constructive debate, not negative criticism of Frederickse. Her book is the product of prodigious energy and illuminating insights. It is essential reading for political scholars.

● The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa by Julie Frederickse (Ravan Press R29,95). □

More top-level meetings to be held

# Inkatha and ANC agree to stop fighting

B/day 30/1/91

DURBAN — Inkatha and the ANC last night agreed to cease all hostilities with immediate effect and agreed to work together to eradicate apartheid.

The agreement followed a historic meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — their first in 28 years.

Delegations from the two parties held talks lasting more than eight hours in Durban's Royal Hotel.

A joint declaration issued afterwards called on ANC and Inkatha supporters to desist from vilification of the organisations or their leaders.

The declaration also called on members and supporters not to "coerce or intimidate anyone in the pursuit of their strategies and programmes".

The parties also agreed to use the existing joint mechanisms to monitor all violations of the agreement.

Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to go on a joint tour of all the areas that have been hit by violence which has claimed more than 4 000 lives in five years.

"Further top-level meetings will be held from time to time as the need arises to address, among other issues, joint activities to eradicate the system of apartheid within the shortest possible time."

TIM COHEN

Mandela and Buthelezi embraced each other warmly when they met in the hotel yesterday morning.

After introductory speeches by the two leaders, a 20-man ANC delegation joined the 67-man Inkatha team for the talks behind closed doors.

Placard-bearing Inkatha supporters gathered outside to shout slogans under the watchful eye of soldiers and police. During the first tea break at 11am Buthelezi left the hotel to greet the crowd, bringing traffic in Durban's Smith Street to a halt.

The crowd then dispersed peacefully.

A large part of Buthelezi's opening address was devoted to answering derogatory remarks made about himself and Inkatha by ANC members in the past. The speech was also peppered with criticism of ANC policy.

Mandela made a markedly more conciliatory speech. He thanked Buthelezi and the Inkatha leadership for helping to secure his release from prison.

Mandela said many thousands had died in inter-communal violence, the blame for which could be laid at the door of the "apartheid regime".

□ To Page 5

P. T. O

# ANC, Inkatha

From Page 1

He said whatever the concrete outcome of the meeting, contact between the organisations should continue "to nurture the areas of agreement and seek lasting solutions to areas of conflict".

In his speech, Buthelezi said ANC national executive member John Nkadi-meng should "quietly tell the world that he was wrong in calling me a snake that must be hit on the head."

"That is killing talk. Killing talk must cease. This I believe is the very crux of what we as leaders of the two organisation are gathered here for," Buthelezi said.

He criticised the ANC's armed struggle strategy, saying it had not and would not win the day.

Buthelezi also criticised the ANC for pursuing objectives which he said could not be achieved. He cited the ANC's de-

mand for a constituent assembly as falling into this category.

Buthelezi also criticised the ANC's mass action campaign, which he said was taking constitution-making "to the street corners" and was "locating the process of constitutional development in the politics of violent confrontation".

He said he did not know how ANC leaders were going to deal with their Natal Midlands regional leadership and members, whom he said had slammed ANC and Inkatha peace moves.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that 25 homes were set on fire and two people wounded in violence in Natal yesterday.

The police unrest report said two groups clashed at Nxamalala. Two people were wounded when one group opened fire on the other and 25 homes were set alight.



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands at the start of yesterday's meeting in Durban aimed at ending factional violence.

Picture: REUTERS

30/11/91  
13 12 1991

Mandela, Buthelezi agree to immediate end to violence

# Historic call for peace

The Argus Correspondent reports from Durban

THE African National Congress and Inkatha ended their historic peace talks yesterday with a call to their followers to "cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect".

The call, contained in a unanimously endorsed declaration, would be reinforced by a joint tour of all troubled areas by the ANC and Inkatha leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The five-point declaration committed both organisations to exhort their followers to "desist from vilification" of one another, a reference to complaints by Chief Buthelezi that ANC leaders had directing "killing talk" against him.

The declaration, which was read out by Mr Mandela to a crowded press conference, stipulated that existing joint mechanisms, set up earlier in a bid to curb the violence, would monitor violations of the new agreement and recommend "appropriate action" against those who contravened of the accord.

The mood of the ANC and Inkatha delegates was friendly, with delegates cheering Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi when they replied pertinently to a series of questions from journalists.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi joked and laughed together. The two men admitted frankly that there were still differences in policy between their organisations and that the task ahead of ending the violence — described by Chief Buthelezi as "endemic" — would be long and hard.

But, judging from the rapport between the two leaders and the goodwill shown by delegates towards one another, there is a definite determination to bring the violence to an end.

Unlike previous accords, the present one has the support of the ANC. The agreement by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to conduct joint tours of violence-torn areas is another new and important dimension.

A joint statement — as distinct from the joint declaration — was read out to journalists by Chief Buthelezi.

It contained a broad agreement, in which the signatories committed themselves to "political tolerance and freedom of political activity" and acknowledged the need for "an effective peace-keeping force".

Further points in their



agreement included:

- An exhortation to pupils in black areas to return to school and to education authorities not to exclude pupils because of their political affiliation.

- A call for reconstructive and development programmes in deprived areas to reduce the underlying socio-economic causes of violence. The programmes will be implemented in concert by the ANC and Inkatha.

The talks ended as they started — with a symbolic handshake between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, their second public clasping of hands yesterday after 28 years of no contact.

The scene for the talks was set by opening speeches by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to the nearly 90 delegates.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi delivered contrasting speeches to the nearly 70 delegates who participated in

yesterday's historic peace talks.

Mr Mandela's address was short and conciliatory. Chief Buthelezi's longer statement warned of the dangers of "killing talk" and cited examples where ANC leaders had indulged in "killing talk" against him.

Mr Mandela, fulfilling the role of the elder statesman of the black community, struck a constructive note at the outset.

"We have not come here to apportion blame," he said, adding: "If we are to fulfil the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors or losers as between the ANC and Inkatha."

He noted that the majority of black people, particularly those in war-torn townships, yearned for peace, while the defenders of white minority rule, "the angels of death and destruction", wanted the strife to continue.

"We must satisfy and disappoint in equal measure," he exhorted the delegates. "We must deliver."

He paid tribute to the long line of Zulu leaders who had contributed to the struggle against white rule and to the birth and growth of the ANC. Recalling that the ANC and Inkatha had once enjoyed a



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela share a joke at the press conference after their meeting in Durban yesterday.

close relationship, he said: "The motivation was our common declared opposition to apartheid. Surely that motivation still remains."

He ended with a ringing call for peace: "We cannot afford to fail. Violence must end. Let peace prevail."

Chief Buthelezi called for an end to the "vilification" which, he said, ANC leaders had directed against Inkatha and himself, declaring that peace would be impossible if it did not stop.

He cited several examples of "killing talk" and "vilification" which went beyond democratic criticism, mentioning several of the ANC

leaders at the talks by name. He accused Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC and co-chairman of the talks, of calling for the "necklacing of collaborators", a term of abuse which, he charged, ANC leaders had often directed against Inkatha and its leaders.

Speaking directly to John Nkadameng, a senior ANC leader present at the talks, Chief Buthelezi said: "I ask that he quietly tell the world that he was wrong in calling me a (poisonous) snake that must be hit on the head... that is killing talk."

Although Inkatha had once

flown the ANC's colours and identified with the ANC, the possibility of Inkatha and the ANC fusing into a single force was gone, Chief Buthelezi said.

He cautioned, however, that there was no question of Inkatha becoming a component in an ANC-led alliance, of it taking its seat at the negotiating table as part of an ANC delegation.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party exists in its own right. It will be at the negotiating table in its own right. Inkatha has a political mind of its own and it will choose allies on the basis of the issues being fought."

Chief Buthelezi also ended his speech with a strong appeal for the two organisations to end the violence.

"We must end up today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence. We must end up today banishing forever the politics of intimidation which lead to violence."

Spreading  
message  
first

Priority

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

ANC and Inkatha officials began today to disseminate the message from yesterday's peace talks between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to give effect to the historic accord.

Both sides recognise that the value of the accord lies in its acceptance by the broader constituencies.

There is also a recognition that yesterday's meeting is a "first step" and that much force still to be done to spread the peace process.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a further statement would be made during the day.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said: "As we speak, our people have been ordered to go back to the constituencies and spread the message."

"It is also now a question of working out codes of conduct and creating mechanisms to get the message out."

**MOMENTOUS STEP**

She said Inkatha viewed the meeting as a "momentous step" in a process.

"It was important as a means of clearing the air."

● Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, said he had taken note "of this historic meeting, which I welcome," between the African National Congress and Inkatha.

"The message of these two leaders to their followers to stop fighting is of cardinal importance to the peace process."

● The accord was of the greatest importance to peace and a political settlement, Mr Mike Eltis, the Democratic Party's Natal coastal chairman said today.

"The fact that the two leaders have met is a major factor in achieving peace in the trouble spots of Natal, Kwazulu and the Transvaal.

"We sincerely wish them every success in actively bringing about conciliation between their followers and people."

● Historic call for peace, page 17.





# ANC plans mass march

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A MASS protest march — expected to be the biggest in the city since Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, led 30 000 people in September 1989 — is planned by the ANC for Friday.

The march is to demand a constituent assembly as a means of “transferring power to the people” and has the backing of all major trade unions, the SA Communist Party and most of the mainstream religious movements.

It is timed to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

While ANC regional publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel declined to speculate on the expected attendance yesterday, it was reliably learnt that an estimate of 20 000 was given by the ANC to Cape Town City Council.

The council yesterday granted permission for a march from the Grand Parade along a pre-determined route via Parliament where a memorandum will be handed over. The march will end at the Parade where Mr Nelson Mandela is scheduled to address the crowd as President De Klerk gives his opening speech.

Cape Town's chief magistrate, Mr W P Theron, said he had received an application for permission from the ANC at 3pm yesterday but said he would make a

decision “by the earliest” today.

Asked how the ANC reconciled its January call for the “minimum disruption of education” and a return to school, with the march on a school day, Mr Manuel said lost learning time would be “made up”.

## Peaceful

“We consulted teachers, students and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and asked for feedback — in many instances students simply wanted to take part,” he said.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr expressed confidence in a peaceful march, saying an extensive analysis was made of the violence following Mr Mandela's release and “all necessary precautions” had been taken. Some 500 marshals would be used in the city and on incoming trains.

A Cape Town traffic department spokesman appealed to people not to park on the Parade overnight on Thursday or on Friday, when it and neighbouring Darling Street would be closed to traffic.

Police said they would be “monitoring the situation” but keeping a low profile.

Spoornet confirmed that they were negotiating with the ANC about pre-payment for three extra trains from Khayelitsha, Wellington and Simon's Town.

Investigations revealed that the ANC is offering Spoornet

about half of what it will cost to run the three extra trains after widely advertising “free special trains”.

A Spoornet spokesman declined comment on this.

● Sapa reports that the PAC and ANC in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region have joined forces to organise a stayaway and launch a mass action campaign on Friday to demand a constituent assembly and oppose the opening of the “racist” parliament.

Friday has been named Constituent Assembly Day following consultations between the ANC and PAC national leadership, ANC regional executive member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa told a joint ANC-PAC media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said there would be marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng, mass meetings or rallies in four East Rand townships, and a signature campaign in GaRankuwa.

● Pupils should abstain from senseless marches like the ones aimed at protesting against the opening of Parliament, an Azanian Students' Convention spokesman warned in Thohoyandou yesterday.

Addressing hundreds of students at the opening session of the University of Venda, Mr Rudzani Nemetudi said: “Although the DET is responsible for the education crisis, senseless protest marches have added flavour to the high failure rate.”

# ANC-Inkatha peace accord

Cap Times 11A  
30/1/91



**DURBAN.** — The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday reached a watershed agreement effectively outlawing violence, intimidation and political intolerance among their followers.

The historic agreement was reached at a meeting between the organisations' long-separated leaders, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The tone and content of their joint declaration and statement left no doubt that a considerable measure of reconciliation and diplomacy had been the victor in nearly seven hours of deliberations. They met at Durban's Royal Hotel at 10am with the full glare of national and international expectation focused on them. Inkatha fielded a veritable impi of 67 delegates to the 20-member ANC delegation which backed Mr Mandela. Opening statements by both leaders focused on the intolerable violence ravaging their communities and the need to address it.

## Relaxed

Despite some acrimonious lines in Chief Buthelezi's address, and Mr Mandela restating the ANC's commitment to strategies Inkatha has steadfastly rejected, determination to succeed established a clearly relaxed mood by lunchtime. The two leaders walked smiling shoulder to shoulder from the negotiating room for lunch. They drafted and agreed to their joint positions by 7pm and faced the media shortly before 8pm. "Prince Buthelezi has agreed that I shall read to you our joint declaration," Mr Mandela announced. The title of prince was immediately interpreted as a substantial shift in ANC attitude towards the Zulu leader. Later, defending parts of his opening speech where he strongly criticised the ANC for alleged misconduct, Chief Buthelezi said it was not his or Mr Mandela's manner to skirt issues. Mr Mandela agreed: "There was no acrimony whatsoever."

**HAPPY BUTHELEZI** ... Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shows his delight at meeting Mr Nelson Mandela at yesterday's summit. ● Historic hand-shake and a hug — Page 2.

Picture: NATAL MERCURY

## Genetically altered cells used to treat cancer

WASHINGTON. — Scientists have for the first time treated cancer patients with transfusions of genetically altered cancer-killing cells removed from their own tumours, the National Institute of Health (NIH) announced yesterday. A team of NIH scientists will try this gene therapy treatment for a year on up to

50 patients with advanced melanoma, a potentially deadly skin cancer. It is hoped that ultimately it may be applied to a wide range of diseases, including cancers other than melanoma. "This trial will be the first to apply gene therapy to cancer," said Dr Steven Rosenberg, who leads the team of scientists from

the NIH's National Cancer Institute. "It's a treatment very much in the infancy of its development." Before being returned to the body their tumour-fighting abilities were improved by combining them in the laboratory with a gene capable of producing a potent toxin to the tumour, it said. — Sapa-Reuter

To Page 2



**HISTORIC HAND-SHAKE** . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands at their meeting in Durban's Royal Hotel yesterday. *Picture: NATAL MERCURY*

## Buthelezi in call for peace and end to violence

DURBAN. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has issued a strong call for peace and an end to political intimidation, but has warned against "impossible objectives" from the ANC.

These included the demand for a constituent assembly and the ANC's mass-action programme.

Speaking before a conference yesterday at a plush hotel here with Mr Nelson Mandela and their respective delegations, Chief Buthelezi said he hoped it would lead to "strong, sustained action against violence in every form".

"Let the people be free in their sovereignty to decide the who's who of South Africa's political leadership . . . the separate existence of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party is a product for the people's will.

### 'Into the sea'

"We each exist legitimately. We each have a right to exist. Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out at each other as we move forward.

"I repeat, violence must cease and when Nelson Mandela called on the people to throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea, I endorsed his call. I endorse it again today."

However, referring to mass action and the demand for a constituent assembly, Chief Buthelezi said: "The more the ANC pursues objectives which just cannot be achieved, and the more it then turns to blame Inkatha and others for its inability to achieve them, the more bedevilled the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC will become." — Sapa



**PEACE HUG . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela hugs Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday. *Picture: NATAL MERCURY*

From page 1

They also resolved to organise a joint tour of all violence-affected areas by the two leaders.

Chief Buthelezi then read the three-page text of a joint agreement spelling out in detail implications of the joint declaration.

The call for an end to violence included steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction amongst the organisations' members.

Both parties were committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity and each having the right to exist as political parties with their own policies and programmes.

"The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment and vilification," Chief Buthelezi's statement said.

The parties would ensure the free use of public facilities by all, and urged the return to school and normal learning and teaching while ensuring that no pupil was excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

The attainment of peace required an effective peace-keeping role by the security forces and the government had to accept its responsibility in this regard.

The parties would take steps to ensure that all security force members would:

- Act without political bias;
- Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force; and
- Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that existed.

The parties agreed on the need for a programme of reconstruction and development to reduce the potential for violence.

Joint structures would be used and the programme would concentrate on the Transvaal hotels, giving priority to refugees and the displaced victims of violence.

The agreement addressed virtually every complaint the two organisations have levelled at each other since the violence which trailed the ANC's unbanning last February.

Their agreement has gone further than a mere handshake which Mr Mandela, at his arrival in Durban on Monday, said was not enough to bring peace. — Sapa

## 'Let's not point fingers' — Mandela

DURBAN. — Violence must end and peace prevail, Mr Nelson Mandela told delegates to the peace talks here with Inkatha yesterday.

In his opening remarks he stressed the need for an atmosphere of free political activity in which "all people can freely canvass their positions within the rest of society".

"The efforts of our people have brought about a situation in which apartheid can be eradicated by peaceful means."

It was ironic that a meeting between "organisations of the oppressed" should require such an effort to accomplish.

The ANC did not believe it would benefit the cause of peace if it spent its time at the meeting pointing fingers at those responsible for the carnage which had left many thousands dead.

"If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors and no losers between ANC and Inkatha."

Mr Mandela and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, both addressed the delegates at the 10am start of talks at the Royal Hotel.

Belated as it was, Mr Mandela said, he wanted to thank Chief Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for their contribution in helping to secure his release and that of other leaders of the ANC. Messages of support and comfort in their long years of incarceration had not gone unnoticed. — Sapa

# Now the hard work begins

Political observers say there is bound to be disagreement between Inkatha and ANC over the interpretation of the agreement signed — just as there is fierce disagreement between the ANC and the government in the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute, reports Farouk Chotia *South 31/1-6/2/91*

THE ANC and Inkatha reached an historic peace indaba in Durban on Tuesday.

But the meeting is not expected to bring an end to the five-year-old violence which has claimed more than 5 000 lives because the third player in the conflict, the state, was not part of the meeting.

This was the view of the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) political scientist, Mr Siphoshezi, in an analysis on the peace indaba.

He said the state security forces — the SAP, SADF, International Intelligence Service and the state death squad — were central players in the violence.

In this context Shezi said it would have been "more productive" if state president FW de Klerk had been part of the Tuesday talks and a "tripartite agreement" between himself, Mandela and Buthelezi had been reached.

### Euphoria

As the euphoria over Tuesday's talks settle down, there are doubts as to how successfully the agreement reached will be implemented.

Political observers say there is bound to be disagreement between Inkatha and ANC over the interpretation of the agreement signed — just as there is fierce disagreement between the ANC and government in the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute.

The two parties agreed "to cease attacks against each other with immediate effect" and to draw up a code of conduct which would be binding on both parties.

This code of conduct is expected to stress the need for freedom of political association, expression and tolerance.

Political observers ask: "Will this mean that Inkatha will accept the ANC's right, for example, to launch mass action in protest against the bantustan system — which is the power base of Inkatha? Or will Inkatha see the action as political intolerance on the part of the ANC, aimed at denying Inkatha the opportunity to participate in the country's politics as it wishes to do?"



ALL SMILES: A positive mood reflected on the faces of Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi who this week met for the first time in 28 years

The ANC and Inkatha also committed themselves "to use the existing joint mechanism to monitor all violations of the agreement and recommend appropriate action."

Political observers doubt this will bear much results as joint monitoring of the

violence to date has had little success.

The ANC and government also agreed in the Pretoria Minute to jointly monitor the violence.

This strategy proved to be a failure with no reduction in the level of violence. Nor has it led to impartial and

effective policing.

In peace talks between the Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha, the two parties agreed to set up a conciliation board under an independent judge to monitor the violation of peace agreements by the respective members.

This conciliation board, however, collapsed after Inkatha refused to take disciplinary action against all of its members whom the conciliatory board found to be responsible for violence.

The ANC and Inkatha agreed on the need for the government to ensure that security forces acted without political bias, received professional and appropriate training and acted with respect towards the community. However, the agreement made no reference to KwaZulu police, which the ANC sees as the 'private army' of Inkatha.

The ANC and Inkatha also committed themselves to development and reconstruction of violence-torn areas. In this regard they would establish crisis committees, non-partisan reconstruction programmes and the pooling of all available resources — including a jointly-administered trust fund.

The underlining reason behind this position seems to be the realisation that a peace pact on paper, without providing homes for refugees of the violence and uplifting socio-economic conditions, will be meaningless. Despite the obstacles that might lay ahead, the talks were a starting point to end carnage and violence.

As a beaming Mr Nelson Mandela told the international press conference after the meeting at the Royal Hotel: "We've reached a breakthrough. All views were expressed and several issues were thrashed out. Naturally, you cannot expect that you can reach immediate agreement on the issues that has kept us divided. But the important point to bear in mind is that in the course of this discussion we have reached a breakthrough."



LET PEACE PREVAIL! Inkatha and ANC members line the street in front of the Durban hotel where Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi met in a bid to stop bloodshed in Natal and Transvaal

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# Govt move

# to let MK fighters return

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

re: AP

The Government is believed to have agreed to allow military-trained exiles to return to South Africa in an important concession which may be announced by President FW de Klerk when he opens Parliament tomorrow.

Informed sources said the decision by the Government this week was aimed at providing impetus for the stalled negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

They said, as a result, large groups of exiles were expected to start returning next week.

Negotiations between the Government and the ANC have been bogged down for six months largely because the Government has refused to allow military-trained exiles to return until the ANC has given up the military capability of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The Government's move will mean that exiles who have received military training but have not committed any offences will qualify for indemnity from arrest and prosecution.

So far the Government has only been prepared to indemnify exiles who have left the country without passports or through illegal exit points.

The new concession will remove a large obstacle to negotiations which the Government apparently hopes will provide the impetus to move onto the next stage of talks — a multiparty conference to decide on the nature of the forum for negotiating a new constitution.

It is not clear whether President de Klerk will make the announcement tomorrow, or whether it will be the surprise many senior National Party members are expecting him to produce.

● Avoiding anticlimax trap  
— Page 20

Reuter

## Three Labour

### MPs barred

### from caucus

CAPE TOWN — Three Labour Party MPs have been suspended from the party caucus, SABC radio news reports.

Peter Mopp (Border), Don Mateman (Eldorado Park) and President's Council member Craven Collis were ordered to appear before the party's head committee yesterday but failed to do so.

Their suspension was announced by LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse, who said the ruling would hold until they made themselves available to the head committee.

The head committee has also called on two MPs, Willie Dietrich (Bethelsdorp) and Charlie Green (Haarlem), who resigned from the LP last week, "to fulfil their moral and ethical obligations" and resign from Parliament.

The two resigned after they were summoned to appear before the head committee. It is believed that several other public representatives have also been requested to appear before the head committee. — Sapa.

# Breakthrough for ANC, PAC

South 31/11 - 6/2/91 (11A)

From Mono Badela  
Johannesburg

FEBRUARY 1 has been declared Constituent Assembly Day following historic consultations between the former rival liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

Leaders of the two movements convened a joint press conference here on Tuesday to announce they would join forces to observe a stayaway in protest against the opening of parliament in Cape Town.

The third major formation in the broad liberation movement, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), has indicated it will support the stayaway in principle.

Students would not be expected to participate in the campaign on Friday so that schools would not be disrupted.

Both PAC spokesperson Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya and ANC PWV regional executive member Mohammed Valli Moosa called the press conference "significant."

## Tolerance

ANC PWV regional secretary Ms Barbara Hogan described the joint conference as a "major breakthrough" in relations between the PAC and ANC in the PWV region and as a major advance in creating "a culture of political tolerance".

In Soweto, ANC leaders Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Elias Motsoaledi and PAC leaders Mr Carter Seleka and Mr Benny Alexander will lead a march on the Moroko police station after a joint rally at the Jabavu Amphitheatre on Friday.

Similar marches to protest against the "racist parliament" will be held in townships on the East Rand and the West Rand.



Vallie Moosa

# Step towards patriotic front

South 31/11 - 6/2/91

(IA) (S)

By Waghied Misbach

THE joint action of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) to march on parliament on Friday is being regarded as a major step towards forming a patriotic front of rival liberation movements.

More than 20 000 ANC and PAC supporters are expected to march side-by-side on the streets of Cape Town in what has been described by both organisations as "Constituent Assembly Day".

"This initiative will make a profound contribution to the building of a patriotic front," ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel and PAC regional secretary Mr Madoda Mvambo said in a joint statement.

The statement, released after a meeting of the regional executives of the two organisations, agreed to:

- A joint commitment to a climate of political tolerance and an appeal to their members to respect the views of others;
- A joint responsibility for overall discipline—including joint marshalling; and
- A shared platform at the conclusion of the march.

Meanwhile ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela will no longer speak at the end of the march on Friday, the ANC regional executive committee announced on Wednesday night.

"He is currently in Namibia and will open an important conference in Johannesburg on Friday evening."

Chairperson of the ANC Internal Leadership Core, Walter Sisulu will replace him.



# Worldwide protests planned

(11A)

ANTI-APARTHEID organisations worldwide are planning demonstrations outside South African embassies in support of local marches and stayaways to coincide with the opening of parliament this week.

The coordinated international protest action was in solidarity with the ANC's campaign of mass action, the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has confirmed.

In London, a "Yes to Negotiations — No to Repression" protest is planned for outside South Africa House. AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and the Trades

South 3111 - 6/2/91  
Union Council general secretary Mr Norman Willis will deliver a letter to the Foreign Secretary.

In the letter, the AAM calls on the South African government to ensure that President FW de Klerk removes the obstacles to negotiations and agrees to the ANC's call for "a fair and democratic negotiating process".

"We are taking this action in Britain as part of a worldwide initiative by anti-apartheid movements," said Mr Mike Terry, AAM's executive secretary.

# Debate on the 'last white Parliament'

Soweto 31/1/91

11A

REPRESENTATIVES of Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC, PAC and Cosatu will take part in a debate organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa tomorrow - the day Parliament opens.

The discussion on what observers believe would be the opening of the 'last white Parliament' comes two days after a 'peace' meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy presi-

## SA Press Association

dent of the ANC, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha.

Idasa said the opening of Parliament was an opportunity for State President F W de Klerk to outline the Government's direction for the parliamentary session. The organisation said De Klerk last year used the opportunity to unban

organisations and agree to engage in talks with the ANC.

"A year later, with levels of violence high, little movement on the fate of the majority of exiles and political prisoners, and heightened expectations that the remainder of apartheid legislation will be removed, this year is again...seen as a key opportunity for President de Klerk.

"One thing has not

changed. Some groups cannot reply in Parliament," Idasa said.

Inkatha will be represented by Mr S J Mhlungu, Cosatu by Mr Thami Mhlomi while Dr Sulvy Saman will speak on behalf of the PAC. The ANC had not announced its representative at the time of going to Press.

The discussion will start after a direct broadcast of Mr de Klerk's speech as he opens Parliament.

From Mono Badela  
Johannesburg

THE repeal of the Land Act in itself is not only "insufficient", but "endangers" the land blacks presently occupy, Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's Legal and Constitutional Department, said this week.

"It endangers the land we have at present because, if no steps are taken to ensure that the 13 percent remains directly in the hands of Africans, the big corporations can buy the land," he said.

### Negotiation

Land and resources to buy should be made available to blacks. Mechanisms to do this could be part of the negotiation process.

Skweyiya said he anticipated that the property rights section of the ANC Bill of Rights would be "most contentious" to the government. "We hope to call a conference on the proposed Bill of Rights by April."

He said the ANC and the government agreed on the need for a Bill of Rights, an independent judiciary and the concept of one person, one vote.

On federalism, Skweyiya said: "We have rejected federalism completely. We

foresee the reincorporation of the bantustans.

"But that does not mean we will not allow the devolution of power. While we believe people at local level should be involved in second-tier government, a central government should play a coordinating role as South Africa is unevenly developed.

Skweyiya said the ANC insisted on an interim government "because the government cannot arbitrate and participate.

"Their performance at Groote Schuur and Pretoria has not been reassuring. The exiles are not back,

political prisoners are still in jail, the security forces are still acting in the same way."

The ANC demanded an all-party conference, but remained committed to a constituent assembly, he said.

"The ANC cannot say at present that it represents 80 percent of the people of South Africa. Only elections will fairly reflect the different grouping's real support. That is the only democratic way."

Skweyiya said a constituent assembly a way to make everyone part of the constitution-making process —

including the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The language question was "politically sensitive", he said.

Under the ANC, the development of all languages would be ensured.

"But we also see a need for a business (common) language. We feel English would play a prominent role."

There had been "quite a resistance" to Afrikaans, specially from the youth. But Afrikaans would be made equal to all other languages, he said.

# Repeal of Land Act is not enough

~~South~~  
IIA  
South  
31/11 - 4/2/91

# Let kids study

Parents in  
plea over  
tomorrow's  
'mass action'



GORDON SIBIYA

Sowetan 3/1/91

11A  
11B

**POLITICAL** organisations last night joined concerned parents in calls to keep schoolchildren out of protest marches and other "mass action" campaigns.

In a joint statement yesterday, the Azanian Peoples Organisation, the National Council of Trade Unions and the PAC said the participation of schoolchildren should be limited to tomorrow - the day when Parliament reopens.

"We call upon the participation of schoolchildren to be limited. In this regard, if children intend staying away from school it must only be for February 1 and not go beyond that day," the organisations said.

However, the ANC justified its call for children to take part in protest actions tomorrow by

By **IKE MOTSAPI**

saying that the demand for a constituent assembly affected everybody, including schoolchildren.

"The call for a constituent assembly is a very serious one in that the drawing of a new constitution is going to affect everybody.

"Secondly, we do not want to divide students by saying that some can join the marches while others cannot," said Miss Barbara Hogan, an official of the ANC's regional office.

But angry parents and some political groups yesterday criticised black political organisations who involved pupils in the action.

Dr Gordon Sibiya, of the Science and Engineering Academy of South Africa, said he was disappointed by the call for the protest

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

# FW, ANC voice our views — South 31/11 - 6/2/91 Hendrickse

The Labour Party is confident that, despite years of being ostracised for participating in the tricameral parliament, it will play a key role in formulating a new constitution for South Africa. After all, Labour Party spokesperson Mr Peter Hendrickse told **Rehana Rossouw**, it has been his party's policies which have guided the ANC and the government in drafting their policy statements:

LABOUR Party MPs occupy swank offices off the polished corridors of parliament — offices they are confident they will keep in a new South Africa.

They claim they have hammered out the solutions to the problems of the country in these offices — solutions which have since been adopted by other political organisations and parties.

Labour's "Young Turk" Mr Peter Hendrickse, national public relations officer, is confident that his party will continue to play a pivotal role in hammering out a new constitution for South Africa.

And if they are not invited to the table with their ideas, they could use their veto rights in parliament to block the passing of a new constitution.

"There was a slump in support after the unbanning of the ANC where people felt that, because the ANC could speak for itself, there was no longer a role for Labour," Hendrickse said.

Hendrickse claimed that this has been the role of the Labour Party for years — speaking on behalf of the ANC when it was silenced.

He also claimed the idea of an all-party congress was first mooted by Labour, then accepted by the ANC.

The ANC's policy statements on economics, housing and education also contained Labour Party policies.

"Even President FW de Klerk's speech on February 2 last year contained things I had said two years ago," Hendrickse said.

## Stand back

He said the Labour Party would not stand back and allow the ANC and the government to dictate the terms of the process of constitutional change in South Africa.

"This must not be a two-party process; we want to help set the table, not just come to dinner," he said.

"It is not clear yet whether we will form an alliance with the National Party or the ANC. We might agree with one of them on one issue and disagree on others," Hendrickse said.

"All we can say at this point is that we are prepared to talk to anyone who is prepared to talk to us.

"We have the solutions to the problems in this country — all we have to do now is convince others."

The Labour Party's veto right in parliament over constitutional change would guarantee its participation at an all-party congress.

The party was confident that the tricameral parliament would not be dissolved while a constituent assembly was drafting a new constitution for South Africa.

The party would maintain its racial identity, representing coloured voters.

**Mandela** *11A*

*Spur 2/11/91*  
**pulls out of  
protest rally**

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has pulled out of the planned protest march in Cape Town tomorrow on the advice of his doctors.

ANC spokesmen said there was nothing wrong with Mr Mandela's health, but that his hectic schedule was taking its toll on him.

Mr Mandela, who returns from Namibia tonight and will open a conference on constitutional matters at Magaliesburg tomorrow, would have led the main march on Parliament for a constituent assembly and delivered an address at Cape Town City Hall. The march will be led by Walter Sisulu.

ANC spokesman Thery Matlala said last night Mr Mandela had cancelled his Cape Town trip when his doctors warned they could not accept responsibility for his health if he went.

"All the travelling is killing him," Ms Matlala said.

Ms Matlala said the doctors had instructed Mr Mandela not to grant more than two press interviews a week.

● Stayaway call criticised

**F**OR a document that promises rights in a future SA to children, workers, women, cripples and sportsmen, the ANC's bill of rights released this week is curiously careless of the rights of the individual.

Admittedly it is only a working paper prepared by the ANC constitutional committee for further discussion. It is likely, however, to form the basis of ANC input into the debate on a bill of rights.

For an organisation battered and driven into the wilderness by an oppressive state machinery, the ANC is surprisingly well disposed towards the state. It has produced an optimistic document which envisages a happy and mutually rewarding relationship between state and individual. In practice such a relationship remains an historical rarity.

The state at work — whether it's front-end-loading windbitten migrants on the Cape Flats or summarily executing students on Tiananmen Square — ranks among the more brutish and inefficient of institutions. In practice, individual rights have almost always been gained at the expense of the state and seldom because of it.

**P**ossibly because it envisages itself as part of a future SA state — if not the future state — the ANC paints a picture of a benign state. Such a state will ensure all children have a name, the draft bill proposes, for example.

In sentiment, the document echoes the movement's Freedom Charter of more than three decades ago. Romantic as it was, the charter nonetheless spelt out the role of the state in no uncertain terms. It would own mines and factories, for example. As recently as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's release from jail last year, the charter was still regarded as ANC gospel.

It is equally worth recalling that, until quite recently, the ANC had little stomach for a bill of rights. Wasn't freedom of speech merely licence to make racist propaganda, the right to private property a byword for economic inequality? A bill of rights was simply the status quo

# Individual rights come second in the ANC's new deal

**PATRICK BULGER**

B/Dam 31/1/91

(11A)

dressed up as a new deal.

Rather it was government — and the SA Law Commission in particular — that touted such a bill. Indeed a report by the commission on this very subject is due soon which makes the ANC document a timely addition to the public debate.

Few can take exception to much of what the ANC proposal contains. That "all South Africans are born free and equal in dignity and rights", that "every person has the right to life", that "SA shall be a multiparty democracy", "there shall be no detention without trial", and so forth are sentiments that are likely to be opposed only in the farther reaches of the western Transvaal.

But can a bill of rights really guarantee, as the ANC's proposal suggests, a job or a minimum nutrition level? While such lofty gestures are being paraded as the bill's unique strengths, they may suggest a serious flaw. Could the bill compel an employer to make a job available? If that were the case, where does that leave the employer's rights?

Unsurprisingly, therefore, it is in its references to the state's role in wealth accumulation and distribution that the document becomes vague — and the individual's rights less than certain.

So, for example, "all men and



**ANC constitutional committee chairman Zola Skweyiya.**

women and lawfully constituted bodies are entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions, including the right to acquire, own, or dispose of property in any part of the country without distinction based on race, colour, language, gender or creed". But "no persons or legal entities shall be deprived of their posses-

sions except on grounds of public interest or public utility, including the achievement of the objectives of the constitution".

A citizen unhappy with the compensation paid for his (or her) erstwhile property can appeal to the courts but this concession "shall not be interpreted as in any way impeding the right of the state to adopt such measures as might be deemed necessary in any democratic society for the control, use or acquisition of property in accordance with the general interest".

On affirmative action the document states "nothing in the constitution shall prevent the enactment of legislation, or the adoption by any public or private body of special measures of a positive kind designed to procure the advancement and the opening up of opportunities, including access to education, skills, employment and land". It adds: "No provision of the bill of rights shall be construed as derogating from or limiting in any way the general provisions of this article."

Taken literally, the document at a single sweep renders all the rights it previously set out subservient to the imperatives of affirmative action — for that, read state action. Presumably then, if one's acquired wealth and property stand in the way of

affirmative action they risk being taken away. If one's right to employment stands in the way of such an imperative one may find oneself at the back of an unemployment queue.

So individual rights are supreme — providing they don't interfere with the Grand Design that is the embodiment of the entrenched rights of the state.

In fact, as one progresses through the document, the rights of the individual gain barely a mention. The bill of rights, for example, imposes limitations on the constitution. One of these is: "Nothing in the constitution should be interpreted as impeding the right of the state to enact legislation regulating the manner in which fundamental rights and freedoms shall be exercised."

It says the rights contained in the bill shall be guaranteed by the courts — but a court would presumably battle long and hard to find in favour of the individual against the rights of the state explicitly entrenched in the bill.

Much of the confusion relates to the uneven nature of SA society. A provision guaranteeing the right to wealth creation may well have a quite different consequence in Sebokeng to what it has in Sandton.

The ANC obviously sees the need to give concrete form to the freedoms it guarantees. Lacking faith in the ability or willingness of business to contribute to the upliftment it deems so necessary, the ANC sees little option but to make the contribution compulsory in law.

As constitutional committee chairman Zola Skweyiya says: "In SA conditions, a bill of rights becomes the fundamental anti-apartheid document."

**B**ut a bill of rights has to be for the whole country, not just a section, and certainly not just for the state. This does not mean there is not a clear case for reversing the ills of apartheid. Equally the ANC's idea of a "minimum floor of enforceable statutory rights" has merit.

Apartheid undoubtedly played havoc with civil and individual liberties. It would be a strange quirk of history if post-apartheid were to have the same effect.

# Can Mandela and Buthelezi sell their accord?

DELEGATES at Tuesday's historic meeting between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela repeatedly warned against "magic wand" solutions to Natal's now endemic violence, but even so the omens do not look good.

Giant strides were made at the talks: Buthelezi and Mandela met face to face for the first time in 28 years, the parties jointly agreed to cease hostilities, they agreed to stop calling each other names, they agreed to cease coercion and intimidation, and they even agreed they would work together on certain political campaigns. The organisations also recognised each other's right to exist — and to differ.

The leaders of the two groups clearly indicated that the talks marked a turning point in relations between the organisations. But behind the facade, cracks were evident. Buthelezi thought it appropriate to spend a major part of his speech cas-

tigating ANC members for remarks they had made about him and Inkatha.

The tone of the speech astounded the large Press contingent and sparked questions during the Press conference. Both leaders responded tactfully, saying their differences needed to be raised and the talks were not, in fact, acrimonious.

But perhaps the most remarkable thing about Buthelezi's speech was the very few references to the Natal violence. The "inter-communal" violence (Mandela's characterisation) was mentioned in only a few paragraphs of the 16-page speech, which focused on relations between the two organisations.

The assumption was that if relations between the two organisations could be normalised, a reduction in violence would follow. However, most commentators agree the Natal violence is a much more complex issue, involving at least three other important aspects: socio-economic

 **TIM COHEN** 

factors, correct policing and the need for democratic government.

The groups called for development programmes in deprived areas, for an effective and impartial peace-keeping force, a joint tour of affected areas, and they agreed that persons with authority over public facilities should allow themselves to be used by all people irrespective of their political affiliation.

But they failed to produce a complete formula for eliminating violence — for example, clearly defining the role of members of joint committees, bringing in third parties to help, and setting out a timetable for achieving specific goals.

This failure renders more difficult communication of the agreement to grassroot level. For Buthelezi and Mandela to embrace each other in an exclusive hotel in Durban is an

achievement, but it is not a solution.

To achieve peace, thousands of people who have seen their relatives die gruesome deaths and their houses burnt in remote areas of Natal will have to be convinced that it is in their own best interests to lay down their arms.

Mandela's first call on followers to throw guns, knives and pangas into the sea fell on deaf ears. To avoid a recurrence will require perseverance and dedication, neither of which have been evident so far.

Inkatha members claim their well-developed pyramid structure will make it easier for them to spread the word to do so (although this raises the question as to why it failed to discourage violence before now).

Buthelezi, in his opening speech, questioned the ANC's ability to do so: "I do not know how the ANC is going to deal with their Midlands region leadership and membership which slammed the ANC/IFP (Inkatha

Freedom Party) peace moves and the joint tour into stricken areas. I do not know how Dr Mandela is going to deal with the youth."

The first comment refers to the fiery ANC Midlands branch head Harry Gwala and some of his associates, who may join the Inkatha/ANC peace committee.

Inkatha members also privately fear that because some senior ANC committee members have little first-hand experience of these areas, they will have difficulty selling the ceasefire to their members. However, Inkatha members say they are happy to be working with someone of the stature of Jacob Zuma, who heads the ANC delegation on the peace committee.

For their part, senior ANC members are happy with the outcome of the meeting. Commenting on Buthelezi's combative opening speech, one ANC member said: "All's well that ends well." The problem is that in many ways the process has only just begun.

—LETTERS—



# Cape Times

Inside



A-TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

## Mandela out of city march

Cape Times 31/1/91 NA

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday withdrew from tomorrow's mass march on Parliament.

An ANC spokesperson cited health reasons and said the 72-year-old Mr Mandela was under instructions from his doctor to "cool it" on his hectic schedule.

The Western Cape ANC executive was yesterday forced to retract major publicity billing him as the main speaker since he is already tied to shuttle flights between conferences in Windhoek and the Magaliesberg.

A surprised regional ANC president, Mr Christmas Tinto, was told by Mr Mandela's office at 1pm yesterday that the whistle-stop visit was "all off".

Instead, internal ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu would represent the deputy president and take part in the march.

The turnabout came just over 24 hours after the local ANC office called a press conference to herald Mr Mandela's arrival

and announce the protest march.

They told reporters they had circulated tens of thousands of pamphlets and thousands of posters advertising Mr Mandela's participation.

ANC head office spokesperson Ms Thery Matlala said Mr Mandela had expressed a desire to attend the Cape Town march, but "with the strain on him now, he just can't".

Ms Matlala said his doctor had instructed him not to grant more than two press interviews a week and never for more than an hour at a time.

### 20 000 expected

Mr Mandela is due to address the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference in Windhoek today and an international jurists' conference in the Magaliesberg early tomorrow evening.

Mr Mandela was due to speak at the Grand Parade minutes after Mr F W de Klerk's speech at

the official opening of Parliament.

The ANC expects some 20 000 people to attend the march, part of the national campaign to demand a constituent assembly.

According an ANC spokesman, 500 marshals will be in attendance on trains and on motorbikes and in radio contact with one another.

The ANC had prepaid Spoornet for laying on three extra trains from Khayelitsha, Kraaifontein and Mitchells Plain.

The PAC will take part in tomorrow's march after earlier differences with the ANC were settled at a top-level local meeting yesterday.

Meanwhile, the leader of Inkatha in the Transvaal, Mr Themba Khoza, condemned the ANC's mass action campaign. He demanded that no one be "intimidated" into protesting.

● March plan for the city — Page 2

Cape Times 31.1.91

C

# Mandela opts out of march as ANC's call for stayaway

EMPLOYER organisations yesterday condemned the ANC's call for a work stayaway today in the PWV, eastern Cape and Border.

The PAC, Azapo and the PAC-aligned labour federation Nactu yesterday came out in support of the stayaway as well as mass marches on Parliament and in other centres around the country.

However an Inkatha spokesman opposed the stayaway — just a day after high-level peace talks between Inkatha and the ANC.

Cosatu and the SA Communist Party are also urging members to support the stayaway.

*B(Day 3/1/91)*  
ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would not be leading the march on Parliament as previously announced, an ANC spokesman said. He said Mandela would not be able to deliver the keynote address. It would be inadvisable for a 73-year-old to maintain the "hectic" schedule Mandela had followed this week.

The march is designed to press demands for a constituent assembly and to coincide with the official parliamentary opening by President F W de Klerk.

The ANC also announced that stayaways would be called in the eastern Cape and Border, while marches would take place in

*11A*  
**THEO RAWANA,  
WILSON ZWANE and TIM COHEN**

20 centres around the country.

Business organisations warned the stayaway would have serious consequences for the country's economy.

A Sacob spokesman said the chamber had advised members to adopt a no-work, no-pay policy as the country could ill afford the stayaway.

Seifsa said its members should seriously consider taking disciplinary action against workers who observed the stayaway call.

The PAC and Azapo said in a joint state-

ment that although they would support the march, they would not submit any memoranda as they were convinced the "white parliament cannot liberate us".

Inkatha Youth Brigade Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said his party condemned the ANC's strategy of mass action as "provocative, serving only to fan the flames of violence and intimidation".

"The IFP... demands that the ANC and PAC leadership issue a public statement nationwide guaranteeing that no intimidation in the form of threats, physical violence, harassment or street barricades, will be directed at those members of the

community who refuse to take part in protest action and want to go to work."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said nobody would be intimidated into honouring the stayaway and participating in the marches.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu will lead the Cape Town march in place of Mandela.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu will replace Sisulu at the head of a mass march in Pretoria.

- Picture: Page 2
- Comment: Page 6

*intensifies*

CA 7/12/91 31/1/91

11A

## UK hails 'hopeful' talks of Mandela, Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was welcomed by the Foreign Office yesterday and hailed by the British media as a ray of hope in a world of gloom.

In a statement, the British Foreign Office said: "We have consistently urged that a solution to the tragic violence in South Africa can come about only when all involved agree to respect each others' political views."

Today newspaper said that "with all the gloom in the Gulf and the Soviet Union, there was one ray of hope for the world" — when the leaders of "rival black factions in South Africa met in peace".

Mr Mandela started "regaining the statesmanlike role which had begun to seem tarnished", said The Guardian. Chief Buthelezi had complained of "killing words", but "it is his movement which has caused most of the violence, and as a result of this meeting he is now bound politically to deliver results".

Under the headline "An embrace to end bloodshed", the Independent said Chief Buthelezi's Zulus were too powerful to be ignored during negotiations.

"Chief Buthelezi can seem paranoid. But he has good reason to fear that the ANC wants to marginalise him and the constituency of mainly rural Natal Zulus that Inkatha represents."

# Tutu lauds Natal peace agreement

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday warned against "euphoria" over the ANC-Inkatha peace accord, as it was not the leaders who had been "fighting and killing each other" but their supporters.

But it was important that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had signed a peace accord, and this should filter down to "the masses", Archbishop Tutu said.

The archbishop expressed concern that peace efforts might be subverted by a "sinister third force", such as the "hit squads" which had not been disbanded.

"But we must be positive and say that now the black community must demonstrate that it is ready for a multi-party democratic process, where there will be tolerance for different viewpoints, and that people will not be intimidated to change their viewpoint," he said.

Meanwhile, government sources yesterday revealed that President F W de Klerk and his ministers were "delighted" and "relieved" at the outcome of the meeting.

Natal Administrator Mr Con Botha said he hoped the meeting would lay the foundations for further discussions and actions in the future.

## All-party congress

"Any effort to restore peace and stability to the Natal region obviously has the full support of my administration," he said.

The Democratic Party MP for Berea, Dr Denis Worrall, said there was no reason why an all-party constitutional congress should not be held soon, now that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had come out in support of such a move.

Apart from ending the ongoing conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, it was essential that the two political "heavyweights" started seeking common ground in the constitutional negotiation process.

● The peace pact was tested after less than 24 hours yesterday, when an Inkatha official sharply condemned the ANC's "mass action" campaign which will begin tomorrow to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

"We condemn the ANC's plans for protests, boycotts and strikes," said Inkatha's Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza.

The "mass action" call "was a unilateral, undemocratic decision taken by the ANC and imposed on the masses without prior consultation and discussion", Mr Khoza said. He demanded a guarantee from the ANC no one would be "intimidated" into protesting. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and UPI

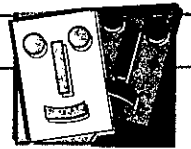
BLACK POLITICS

1991

FEBRUARY -

# PARTLY A VIRGIN

11A



FIM 1/2/91

The ANC's Cultural Desk, wherever and whatever it is, has decided in its wisdom to suspend the cultural boycott in order that someone or something called Kaoma may perform in SA. I am unsure whether the sports boycott is also administered (not the right word, but I can't think of a better one) by the cultural desk, but there, too, an exception has been made in favour of a boxer.

When I saw these announcements in the newspaper the first thing that sprang to mind was a weary and familiar classification: Third World. But what does Third World mean, apart from being a vague short-hand for incompetence, poverty and a lack of punctuality?

Before gaining its connotation of rich and efficient, First World referred generally and neutrally to western Europe, North America, Japan and other industrialised nations.

Second World never seems to have caught on but I have an idea it was intended to refer to the Eastern Bloc.

Third World, presumably, is almost everyone else but specifically the underdeveloped and poor countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, countries which had been colonised and pillaged.

I may have got some of this wrong but it is interesting to see what has become of these terms. (Second World has almost fallen away.)

First World now means rich, clever, efficient, educated and productive. But it also means white, materialistic, greedy, selfish and arrogant. It all depends where you're looking from.

Third World, if you're in it, means vir-

tuous, poor, noble, bullied and helpless. From outside, Third World looks more like black, lazy, unproductive, inefficient and surly.

Perhaps these loose perceptions are justified, perhaps not. But none of them fits my reaction to the ANC's inconsistency on cultural and sporting matters.

## A better definition

The First-World mentality is distinguished by its instinct that things must work, allied with a deep belief in the importance of the individual. It prizes effort and efficiency, and understands the importance of reward. But it has also spent hundreds of years devising political methods aimed at protecting individual citizens from the tyranny of collective will. No democracy is perfect, of course — as Churchill pointed out, it's the worst political system apart from all the others — but the First-World outlook acknowledges this and keeps working at it. Hence, paraphrasing Irish Judge John Curran: "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

The Third-World outlook takes little account of the individual and much more of the tribe, sect, movement or "people." Because the individual is of no importance in the Third World, life is cheap. Values tend to be expressed in absolutes: right and wrong, hunter and hunted, oppressor and oppressed. Third-Worlders often take refuge in visceral reactions because they are essentially neurotic and unable to take responsibility for themselves.

Whereas the First World believes in the

Rule of Law, the Third World cannot really understand the concept (because it does not value the individual) and prefers to believe in the rule of particular laws.

Traditionally, First World indicates white, Third World means other races. But this is not fair. Some famous white Third-Worlders include Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Senator Joe McCarthy, the Ku Klux Klan, a few Nat prime ministers and thousands of communists. Among the black First-Worlders: the chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen Colin Powell; US civil rights leader Martin Luther King; Enoch Dumbutshena, the former Chief Justice of Zimbabwe; and thousands of SA taxi-drivers.

Apartheid was always a Third-World ideology, of course. The latest idea to improve things, affirmative action, will only confirm our Third-World status. Businessmen will be forced to hire according to race or gender, not individuality. I wonder if it has dawned on the ANC that in order to make affirmative action by skin colour legally enforceable, they would need race classification laws.

It is this kind of intellectual slackness that reinforces my reaction of Third World when I hear of exceptions being made to the sports and cultural boycotts. The boycotts were once based upon a principle: to make exceptions is to destroy that principle. It is like being partially a virgin.

Evil or weak men betray their principles all the time. But what is even more disturbing is when there is no understanding of what a principle is. And here we have hit on the essence of the Third-World mentality.

David Williams

MASS ACTION F M 11/2/91

## CROSSING THE LINE



**On Friday**, President F W de Klerk will open parliament. At the same time the ANC will inaugurate its programme of mass action with a stayaway on the Reef and a march on parliament to demand that the House resigns and is replaced by a constituent assembly. There will also be marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng.

Workers, homeland residents and schoolchildren — just for the day, “so as not to disrupt schooling” — are expected to participate. Both the ANC and the PAC have termed Friday, Constituent Assembly Day.

Mass action would be comprehensible if there were no other route to the alleviation of injustice. In the Fifties, the Defiance Campaign occurred only after a long history of ineffectual pleas and petitions had sown hopelessness among the disenfranchised. Today the situation has changed: parliament is likely to be asked to ratify the abolition of almost all the remaining struts of apartheid; the issue of a constituent assembly will form part of the negotiations on a new constitution.

It is therefore difficult to see what can be gained by a widespread arousal of popular passions which have long had their most extreme manifestation in murder. There are so many elements in SA society which have become volatile and unpredictable — and that includes sections of the police and Defence Force — that street confrontations readily become violent. White farmers this week succeeded in getting Pretoria city centre declared an unrest area.

Perhaps the ANC needs such mass mobilisation — assuming it can be achieved — to assist its faltering membership drive. It certainly needs a lever with which to appear to have prised further concessions from government. Abroad, its anti-sanctions drive has become a joke — and it will yet pay a price for its equivocation on Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. However commendable this week’s meeting with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, many within the ANC will regard the summit as a sell-out and continue to be unamenable to discipline on the ground.

What concerns us particularly is the effect all this mass action will have on young minds. Perhaps a million black schoolchildren have had their life prospects damaged by events in the schools since 1976; as they are apparently seeing all too well, the best option is to become a gangster. Further disruptions this year will add to their numbers and seriously weaken any attempt to build that “culture of learning” to which the ANC paid lip-service when last year’s matric results came out.

The biggest issue facing SA is what to do about this “lost” million. Any solution — from adult education to labour brigades — cannot be imposed by the whites. There has to be a national solution, agreed on in rational consultation.

Government has indicated a framework for negotiations which could lead to just this. It seems merely destructive and unimaginative to proceed with mass action which could endanger the process. ■

# Committee to implement peace accord

W/maul 1/2-7/2/91

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

THE "engine" of the agreement between Inkatha and the African National Congress is a joint committee which already exists but which has not yet met.

The national executive committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party sub-committee on violence consists of 12 delegates from each side, including some Cosatu representatives on the ANC team.

One of the members of the committee, southern Natal ANC executive member Jeff Radebe, said it would be responsible for seeing the agreement's various provisions were implemented.

Headed by the ANC's John Nkandimeng and Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha, the joint committee was originally a smaller body. However, concern was expressed in some ANC circles that it was not representative enough. With the agreement of both sides the number of delegates was increased but preparations for this week's ANC/IFP summit intervened and the committee has not yet met in its new form. (11A) (11B)

Radebe said the joint committee would have ultimate responsibility for getting across the message about the required change in political behaviour.

It will have to decide on how to draw up a code of conduct as agreed by the two sides on Tuesday. Once the code is finalised and approved by both sides it will also be the task of the joint committee to ensure it is widely publicised, discussed and acted on. (11C)

The agreement released after the talks also provides for joint monitoring of all violations of the agreement.

Musa Zondi, who serves on the Inkatha team, said it would not be difficult for the two sides to work together as most members had already been involved in joint discussions.

"This week's meeting has, however, revived the commitment of the joint committee and enhanced our capacity to do our work," he said. "We hope the people on the ground will support us and give us a chance to succeed."

The date of the first meeting will be set after liaison between Nkandimeng and Mdlalose but Zondi said it was important that the group meet soon, "to capture the mood of the talks" — possibly in the next fortnight.

Its most difficult responsibility will be re-education. Supporters of both sides must be encouraged to unlearn bitter feelings previously encouraged by their organisations.

FOREIGN POLICY

(11A) FIM 112/91

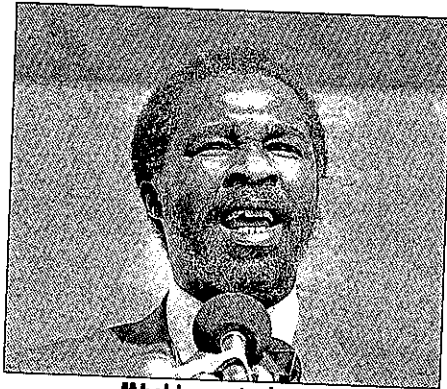
# IN SEARCH OF LOGIC

The war in the Gulf has exposed serious weaknesses in the ANC. Firstly, in its foreign policy, in so far as it exists. Secondly, in the mechanisms it has for making and promoting that policy.

At the weekend, a joint ANC-SACP-Cosatu conference supported the UN resolution on Iraq; condemned the resort to war; called on Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and for a comprehensive Middle East conference.

There have been several other ANC announcements along the same lines, reflecting a desperate desire to be even-handed. Saddam Hussein is condemned for invading Kuwait and George Bush is condemned for waging war.

But this is illogical. If words mean any-



Mbeki ... is he in charge?

thing at all, to reject something on principle implies that something should be done about it. And who was going to eject the Iraqis from Kuwait? Not tiny Kuwait itself and not the other nervous Arab countries. Even in alliance, they would be far too weak. Saddam Hussein built Iraq into the superpower of the Middle East and only another superpower could take him on.

And there is only one other superpower. The Soviets are miserably preoccupied with their own collapsing economy and rebellious ethnic republics. Britain could never have taken on Saddam Hussein on her own; nor could a European alliance, even it had been possible to forge a united purpose.

Only the US can do the job. Luckily for Europe and the Middle East, the Americans perceived that their vital strategic interests were threatened by Saddam Hussein. They could not tolerate the possibility of being held to ransom in this way and only someone who knows nothing of the history of the Thirties could imagine that Saddam would have stopped at Kuwait.

But the ANC pretends that it was possible for the US not to have embarked on this war. The ANC's patent lack of logic and its

undergraduate tone of concern are deeply disturbing in an organisation which is widely regarded as an alternative government.

We suspect that most ANC leaders are not really interested in the Gulf War. But they are alive to the Muslims among their members — and to Jewish supporters. They are grateful for the pressure put on Pretoria by tough US sanctions legislation — yet they defer to knee-jerk leftist ranting against American capitalist imperialism.

So their vagueness is understandable, but it is not excusable. It means that the ANC cannot yet be taken seriously beyond the rhetoric of liberation. Even an unequivocal defence of Saddam Hussein would be better than nothing.

Does the ANC have a formal machinery for formulating foreign policy? We know it has given responsibility for international relations to Thabo Mbeki, but he never seems to talk about his portfolio. That job is left to various spokespersons and any ANC member who is prepared to be quoted.

Of course, the "imperialist" US is held in contempt by many local politicians. Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder sent a warm message of support to Saddam Hussein. Black Consciousness elements of the black community — such as the PAC and Azapo — have professed considerable sympathy for Iraq's position. The US is seen to have double standards: according to one Cosatu activist, its interventions in Chile, Nicaragua, Grenada and Panama are seen as little different from the actions of Saddam in Kuwait. Less subtly, it is also a case of "my enemy's enemy is my friend."

What is disturbing is that the ANC seems incapable of coming up with anything clearer.

This was a time when the ANC needed to bite the bullet and take a stand, knowing that it might lose support as a result. Apart from anything else, it would have been good practice for the tough local debates that lie ahead.



FIM 1/2/91

(11A) (11B)

— though the shift has been overshadowed by the outbreak of war in the Gulf.

When the two men entered the discussion room at Durban's Royal Hotel, Buthelezi perfunctorily greeted the smaller ANC team. Mandela, however, warmly clasped hands and chatted animatedly with the Inkatha delegates.

Buthelezi had a lot to get off his chest. In his opening address, he referred bitterly to insults that had been levelled at him by senior ANC members. One example: he called on ANC NEC member John Nkadi-meng, who leads the ANC Natal sub-committee, to "quietly tell the world that he was wrong in calling me a snake that must be hit on the head."

Said Buthelezi: "I and Inkatha have criticised ANC policies, tactics and strategies constructively. I have not bred hatred for the ANC into Inkatha's rank and file."

He quoted at length from his 1979 meeting in London with ANC president Oliver Tambo — four years after the founding of Inkatha — that caused the 12-year split between the ANC and Inkatha. Buthelezi said that, had his statements in London been favourably received, "many, many thousands of black South Africans who have died in black-on-black violence would today have been alive."

Buthelezi said the ANC had to recognise the right of the Inkatha Freedom Party to survive and to differ from the ANC. He alleged that the ANC's mass action programme "is taking constitution-making to street corners," locating constitutional development in "the politics of violent confrontation."

Mandela's tone was more conciliatory. He said his delegation had not come to "apportion blame for the fact that it has taken so long before we managed to sit around a table of peace and reconciliation. Nor do we think that it would benefit the cause of peace if we spent our time pointing fingers to identify those responsible for the terrible carnage which has left so many thousands of our people dead and wounded. There must be no victors or losers between the ANC and Inkatha.

"The only losers should be those whose racist policies are served by carnage among blacks."

Mandela thanked Buthelezi and Inkatha for their role in securing his release. He also made it clear that the ANC did not demand conformity: "We must let the culture of debate flower."

A senior ANC member told the *FM* that, as late as Monday night, there had been severe pressure from senior Natal ANC members to cancel Tuesday's meeting.

FIM 1/2/91  
DURBAN SUMMIT

(11A) (11B)

## CRUMBS OF COMFORT

**Will the meeting last Tuesday between Inkatha and the ANC make any difference?**

Early signs were not encouraging but then tension was only to be expected. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi had, for various reasons, spent the year since Mandela's release not talking to each other. The fact that the meeting took place at all is highly significant. It means some progress has been made

FIM 1/2/91

(11A) (11B)

He said the ANC was firm that violence should be the only issue of the talks and other issues, such as constitutional debate and negotiations with government, would not form part of the Durban talks. He criticised the "intolerance of Inkatha" and the continuous violence despite the talks.

Simon Nthimkulu, a close friend of Buthelezi and a founder member of Inkatha, doubted that Tuesday's meeting would stop violence. He hoped that Buthelezi and Mandela would jointly address peace rallies.

A good sign is that both Inkatha and the ANC are in favour of a new working group to promote the peace process. ■

# FW told: Don't open parliament close it!

Staff Reporter

IN an open letter handed to a legal adviser from the office of the State President, the ANC appealed to President De Klerk not to open Parliament today but to close it.

It asked him to shut down Parliament for "with it will go years of apartheid misery, inequality, injustice and poverty".

The letter, signed "all freedom-loving South Africans", said today had been dubbed "Constituent Assembly Day".

It said "the rising of the millions" today should be a clear reminder that the "route to democracy takes us through the gateway of a constituent assembly".

It warned that the demand for a constituent assembly would "gather momentum" in the months ahead.

"You may pretend today that you are blissfully unaware of the people's choice — soon, not even such pretence will be possible."

The letter said President De Klerk could not be both player and referee. "Mr De Klerk, you cannot have your cake and eat it."

"In place of the apartheid government you must accept the inevitability of an interim government to oversee the pro-

cess towards a constituent assembly.

It reminded President De Klerk of "debts incurred" when he signed the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes — "debts which relate to the lives of thousands of patriots incarcerated in your jails for acts against apartheid, or in exile".

## APRIL 30 DEADLINE

The letter warned that President De Klerk's "creditworthiness" ended on April 30, the deadline for meeting preconditions for negotiation.

It accused President De Klerk, as commander-in-chief of the security forces, of turning a blind eye to the "countless instances of instigation of violence" by the security forces.

"You cannot expect us to engage in negotiations about the constitutional future of our country while our people are being slaughtered."

It said the ANC would continue to engage in the struggle to secure its rights: "We do not want much. We do want a country governed by all its people. We do want a share in the country's wealth. We do want access to the land. We do want equality before the law. We want jobs. We want a single education department. We want houses, security and comfort. We wish to enjoy peace and friendship."

a family for several married

# D-day for national marches stay-aways

CM-  
File  
4/2/91  
11/11

TODAY is D-Day for countrywide mass marches and a stay-away campaign in support of an ANC-PAC demand for a constituent assembly.

Last night the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, warned that illegal marches could lead to confrontation with police and urged the ANC and PAC to call off scheduled illegal marches.

The campaign's focal point will be the joint PAC-ANC sanctioned march on Parliament in Cape Town, which Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will join.

Archbishop Tutu said he had decided to march because the march had drawn support from the major liberation movements and the demands of the march were very much in line with the church's position.

ANC regional publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said the city march of an expected 20 000 people would be "tightly controlled" by some 500 marshals, many of them armed with batons to counter possible criminal elements.

● Officially sanctioned marches will go ahead in Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg.

● The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) will hold a series of parallel UK demonstrations to support the mass marches. — Sapa

and UPI lived with the Koeima family for  
said.

# Jobs, wealth vital for peace — Mandela

CAPT TINS 1/2/91

11A

WINDHOEK. — Any political settlement in South Africa would not survive unless the economy was turned around to generate jobs and wealth which would make a rapid and visible impact on black living standards, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

The process of political change in South Africa was taking place in a recession with a high level of inflation which had a dire impact on the most disadvantaged sections of the population.

"Mass poverty becomes ever more endemic. This is the engine which feeds growing social instability, crime and despair," Mr Mandela said.

"The process of political transformation cannot inspire hope among the people unless something is done now to improve their quality of life."

Mr Mandela said "this must entail a redirection of both public and private sector resources for the benefit of this section of our population".

Beyond the short term, SA's economy would require incisive restructuring to ensure the growth of a modern manufacturing sector to replace precious minerals, raw materials and agricultural products as the principal foreign exchange earners.

● An important meeting of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress would be held within the next few days, Mr Mandela said in Windhoek yesterday. He did not name the venue.

● Namibian President Mr Sam Nujoma presented Mr Mandela with a cheque for R1 million from the government of Namibia at the close of Mr Mandela's visit yesterday. — Sapa

CAPT TINS 1/2/91

## Nujoma seeks talks on Walvis

WINDHOEK. — Namibian President Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday called for negotiations on the integration of the South African-owned port of Walvis Bay into Namibia.

In his opening address to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), Mr Nujoma said he supported the peace process in South Africa and urged President F W de Klerk to remove the remaining pillars of apartheid.

"Without the integration of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands, our independence remains incomplete," he said.

Namibia, as the 10th and newest member of the regional co-operation body, is hosting the meeting for the first time.

On South Africa, Mr Nujoma said Namibia welcomed settlement negotiations but noted that apartheid still remained. — Sapa

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# FW criticised on assembly refusal

CML Times 2/2/91 (11A)

THE government's intention to scrap remaining apartheid laws drew praise yesterday, but the President F W de Klerk's outright rejection of a constituent assembly drew sharp criticism.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Mr De Klerk's opening of Parliament speech was "like the curate's egg — good in parts".

"There are parts of it for which he (Mr De Klerk) must be commended (such as the decision to repeal the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act) ... but he said nothing about a general amnesty for political prisoners. He didn't say anything about exiles, he's not said anything about the hit squads or the whole security situation in the country."

The Anglican prelate continued: "But more importantly is his rejection of the constituent assembly and interim government, which are the proposals that the people want."

The speech also drew approval and disapproval from the SA Council of Churches.

While the SACC welcomed the assurance that all laws to enforce racial discrimination will be scrapped in the next few months, Mr De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly was "a disappointment".

It was also disturbing to Cosatu that Mr De Klerk "rejected out-of-hand the overwhelming demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government".

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the latest reforms "all amount to a significant move forward".

"There can be no turning back now; the government itself is lending its weight to breaking the back of apartheid. The final eradication of it is now certain," he said.

Chief Buthelezi endorsed Mr De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly, saying negotiating parties must accept their role would be to negotiate a new constitution.

KaNgwane chief minister Mr Enos Mabuza said Mr De Klerk needed to be applauded for scrapping the Land, Group Areas and the Population Registration Acts.

The reforms were also praised in the two other chambers of Parliament, by Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse and the leaders of the two major parties in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy of Solidarity and Mr Amichand Rajbansi of the National Peoples Party.

But Mr De Klerk got the full support of his party. — Sapa and UPI

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# NO MORE WAITING

11A (11A) 9/11  
FIM 112/91



**Cas Coovadia is a key figure in the controversial Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast). He defends the organisation's legitimacy and its stand on mass action.**

Cast was launched on September 15 1990. There were 39 civic associations at its first congress, from the southern and western Transvaal. A process of consultation and planning for over a year preceded the launch. The executive committee of the organisation was elected at the launch and elections were conducted by three independent people. The membership of Cast presently includes 55 civic associations.

Cast aims to play a central role in ridding our country of the vestiges of apartheid, because we are convinced that the maintenance of apartheid militates against improvement in the lives of the majority of our people. We see our role as involving ordinary people in determining their lives, from their day-to-day lives to participating in the development and building of a new SA.

Some agencies have questioned whether Cast is representative and whether its formation was democratic. We must explain how local civic associations are formed. The process usually begins when concerned people in a community identify problems and moot the idea of a "civic". Such people get together and consult with existing structures. A meeting of residents is then called to which every resident is invited. Such a meeting then decides whether a civic should be launched. If the decision is positive, a date is identified and all residents informed.

The civic is then launched and its executive elected by residents at that meeting. A constitution would also be presented for discussion at such a meeting and adopted by residents if there are no major problems.

The executive is then mandated to work by streets to form street committees in which

residents participate and other democratic structures are formed, depending on the size of the township and other conditions. Regular meetings of street committees, other structures and the executive are held for reporting back and securing mandates.

Cast was formed by civics that came about as a result of such democratic processes. We are also willing to test whether we are representative in front of residents of townships that have civics affiliated to Cast.

We have come under severe criticism from some quarters for having initiated a programme for the intensification of mass action. These quarters are of the opinion that such action is unnecessary because the government and the ANC are talking about change and also because F W de Klerk has initiated substantial changes.

We concede that significant change has occurred. But we must point out that apartheid is still on the statute books and various levels of government continue to attempt to enforce the "legitimacy" of undemocratic, unrepresentative and racially based structures. We must also point out that very little, if anything, has changed to affect the daily lives of the majority of our people and that is of major concern to us, as a civic body.

Mass action is a tried and tested tactic of struggle and is regarded as part of any democracy worldwide. This tactic has been probably the single most effective pressure that has brought the apartheid government to the table. We consider this tactic as a way in which to involve ordinary people in our communities in the process of change. We thus reserve the right to continue such action as long as our people demand such action — certainly so long as the lives of our people on the ground do not change for the better.

Another accusation has been that Cast's campaign for the resignation of racially based local government structures has led to intimidation and violence. A lot of capital has been made of statistics published by the SA Institute of Race Relations about deaths of councillors and so on.

Firstly, these statistics refer to a period

before the formation of Cast. Secondly, we do not know of a single case of proven intimidation or violence as a result of the campaign. Also, we must emphasise that any potential for violence is as a result of the State forcing unwanted structures on to people and of the corruption and oppression that such structures have caused. We do not consider the use of peaceful mass pressure — particularly in the absence of democratic and representative nonracial government — to be intimidation. We consider instead the enforcement by the State of such structures on to our people to be intimidation.

The Cast campaign to rid our people of black councillors and coloured and Indian management committee members has been very successful. We will continue the campaign until government sees sense and removes these racially based structures totally.

However, we also have to look at a replacement for these structures in order to ensure the administration of townships. We believe that interim structures are needed until final constitutional models for local government are agreed upon.

We have put forward two possible models. One is the appointment of an impartial administrator, after discussion between the local civic and the regional or local white authority. Another could be a committee of capable people from the community and the white authorities.

Other models could be looked at during the process of negotiations at local level. We are confident that the replacement of councillors and management committee members by such interim structures will go a long way towards resolving many of the crises in townships.

We must also clarify that we do not see civics playing the role of administering townships or governing. We believe civics must remain independent of government and political organisations, since we represent residents, irrespective of political affiliation. We also believe civics can play the role of "watchdog" over local government to ensure democracy.



# ANC's constituent assembly is not the solution

THE Inkatha Freedom Party believes the formulation of SA's future constitution by a proportionately elected constituent assembly would be neither democratic nor helpful to peaceful negotiation.

Our objections fall into four categories. Firstly, those proposing the constituent assembly mechanism appear to ignore the concept of negotiations as compromise, give and take, and bargaining. Successful negotiations suggest a win-win scenario rather than one characterised by a win-lose result.

A constituent assembly could limit such vital multiparty negotiation because a party dominating it numerically could dominate the writing of the constitution. Furthermore, constituent assembly elections would be fought on rhetoric, thus locking parties into confrontational positions.

Inkatha is also convinced that constitutional debates should be premised upon free participation by all.

It would be unhealthy for small parties to be intimidated and inhibited in expressing their views; unproductive for parties to compromise their principles by forming expedi-

ent alliances merely to block a dominant party.

Secondly, the constituent assembly mechanism ignores critical realities of existing power relations. The current balance of power is not based solely on numbers. Without President F W de Klerk's influence, the white right-wing/military has the potential to destabilise SA and to undermine any settlement. Just as the ANC must be strong enough to sell a settlement to its followers, so too must De Klerk. A constituent assembly, however, undermines this.

Thirdly, the constituent assembly route increases potential for conflict. The assembly victor can be expected to entrench its initial advantage through writing into a constitution provisions suitable to it alone on issues such as electoral systems, devolution of power, and restrictions on free political activities. And an assembly victor would further cement itself as the government-in-waiting by claiming victories throughout the constitutional development process at the expense of all other parties.

Heightened political tensions would therefore characterise con-

stituent assembly elections and swing the negotiation process away from reconciliation towards conflict.

Fourthly, a constituent assembly would render the process undemocratic. There is a suspicion that some of those promoting the constituent assembly mechanism are concerned more with expediency than with democracy. For instance insisting that, as the ANC has often done, negotiations be conducted in stark bilateral terms — "the people versus the regime" — is a denial of democracy.

Why can traditionalists not vote for a more conservative representative without being denounced as traitors? Why must every homeland leader support one party? Is federalism really a crime? Given the history of internecine intolerance, it seems unlikely this "us-them" approach will be replaced by democratic tolerance and the encouragement of a pluralist political culture.

6/Jan 11/91  
**GAVIN WOODS**

Does the ANC really believe that representation via a constituent assembly is the only democratic option? What about a post-negotiation referendum to ratify a proposed constitution? How about options being put directly to the electorate?

In any event, the product of a constituent assembly is not necessarily democratic. An assembly-determined constitution cannot be said to enjoy popular legitimacy once it is formulated because it would not have existed when assembly elections were held. Legitimacy thus requires that the electorate ratify the constitution after the assembly has formulated it. It is this direct appeal to the people that those opposed to a constituent assembly in fact suggest is a necessary step in the process.

Perhaps it is important for Inkatha to remind other political organisations of the lessons learnt from the only remotely significant constitutional-negotiating experience that SA has had — the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba. The fundamental lessons of this success story were:

To invite parties with a recognisa-

ble constituency of reasonable size;  
 To allow the parties to voice their pent-up grievances towards each other, and let them come to the table with their preconceived positions. Initial hostility and mistrust would then give way to a mood of reconciliation, followed by common commitment to a mutually acceptable result;

Within the multiparty deliberations, small parties feel free to express themselves, but display an almost natural appreciation of the status and significance of the larger parties; and

Decisions are reached without intense power plays, without false posturings and without contrived politicking, and are likely to be popular.

In this way the political contest takes place only once inter-party reconciliation has taken place and once a minimal level of political understanding has been achieved by the electorate.

Woods is executive director of the Inkatha Institute. This is an edited version of a speech delivered at an Idasa conference last week.

# The archives come home

HISTORICAL archives often give birth to historical books, but it seldom happens the other way round.

The Harare-based Popular History Trust, which has now been absorbed by the Johannesburg-based South African History Archives, is something of an exception. It owes its genesis to Julie Frederikse's five year study on non-racialism, published this month as *The Unbreakable Thread*.

Frederikse, a former American National Public Radio Southern African correspondent who lived in Zimbabwe for 11 years, recently settled with her husband and eight-year-old twins in Durban, after having been refused a visa since 1985.

What she has brought with her she describes as "an incredible, computerised data base", consisting of interviews with over 200 South African political personalities, documents, posters, pamphlets, T-shirts and other memorabilia from groups ranging from the South African Communist Party to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Author Julie Frederikse has brought her Zimbabwe-based archives of political struggle in South Africa 'home', where it will be available for future generations, writes **GAVIN EVANS**

beweging.

The Popular History Trust (PHT) was set up in Harare in 1987 to collect and classify material collected for the book. It soon developed its own momentum, took on a small full-time staff and several collectors inside and outside South Africa.

"We formed it there as an archive of political struggle, with the aim that when things were secure enough inside South Africa, it would be transferred there," explains Frederikse.

In 1980 she completed her first book, *None But Ourselves*, on the media and the independence struggle in Zimbabwe, and the material collected was passed on to the National Archives of her newly independent host country.

This was not possible in the South Africa of four years ago, but the initiative helped give rise to the Braamfontein-based South African History Archives (SAHA), which is now an independent archive gathering material relating to the "struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa".

In addition to discussion documents, pamphlets, organisational memoranda and the like it also collects, categorises and classifies mass media from all corners of the political spectrum, smear pamphlets and oral histories.

PHT has now dissolved in Harare and the material has been passed on to SAHA, while copies of some of it have been passed on to the Southern African Political and Economic Research Service in Harare.

"After February 2 last year it was clear that it was time for the collection to go home to where it belonged," says Frederikse.

"It's wonderful that this has now happened, and will be available to future generations of South Africans."

## Precious view of the rich tapestry of non-racialism

112-712191  
w/e Mac THE UNBREAKABLE THREAD  
by Julie Frederikse (Ravan, R29,25) 11A

POLITICAL journalist Julie Frederikse's new book, *The Unbreakable Thread*, tackles the question — the mystery, almost — of how the dominant liberation movement in South Africa transcended the temptation to fight racism with racism.

The sub-title to the work is *Non-racialism in South Africa* and two quotations towards the end of this collection of interviews give the lie to what is really meant, in this text, by non-racialism.

The first quote comes from African National Congress economist Max Sisulu. "The point is that we're not simply fighting for non-racialism, because if you fight for non-racialism it becomes simply a civil rights struggle," he says. "Ours is a struggle for the seizure of power and its transference to a majority of the people. Non-racialism is a form that the struggle takes, but it is not the content of the struggle, it is not the objective."

And the second from ANC member, lawyer and writer Albie Sachs, who says: "Non-racialism is not just a bland thing. It is not just an absence of racism — that's empty. In fact, the reality of developing a non-racial culture in South Africa is much richer than that. It is much more active, more dynamic."

"It includes laughter, a way of telling a story, a way of making a political point ... It has a richness, a strength. It is popular in the sense of being people-oriented, people-participatory."

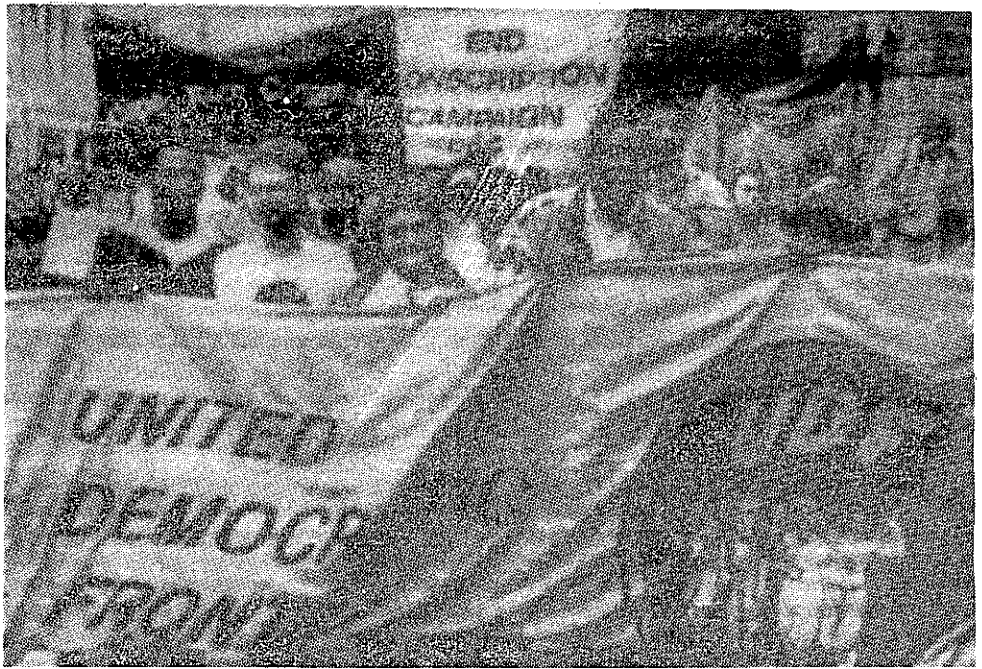
Sisulu's view is very much the thrust of *The Unbreakable Thread* — Sachs' humanistic contribution is the mostly unspoken sub-text.

The book is not a conceptual treatment of non-racialism — it is, in effect, a history of the Congress Movement and aligned organisations. It is told primarily through excerpts from interviews — 118 of them — conducted with participants in the struggle against apartheid. These are interspersed with particularly pertinent extracts from documents of political organisations.

Interviews with members of organisations outside of the "non-racial" tradition and various documents from these organisations are utilised both as a counterpoint to the Congress approach and to show how, paradoxically, they fed into the non-racial movement at particular points in history.

If there is a criticism of the book it is the blandness which results from the author's faithfulness to the idea of letting participants tell the story. It does not take account of the fact that the thread of political non-racialism is uneven — it has knots in it where the skein is reinforced. In other words there are critical junctures in the development of non-racialism, moments in history where conscious strategic decisions are made.

They are all there in *The Unbreakable Thread* — but you have to look for them. In a book which is obviously aimed at a broad audience — which would admirably serve the serious reader who nevertheless is no expert in the history of the liberation struggle — surely the



On the march ... banned individuals and organisations defy the law in a 1989 Cape Town march — one of the many illustrations in *The Unbreakable Thread*

author would have been forgiven for signposting these significant junctures.

The material is rich — the experiences of those interviewed sufficiently spread over time, place and area of involvement within the struggle to avoid dreary repetition.

The book contains accounts from an impressive range of notables in the democratic movement — including trade unionists. But it is lesser known people who contribute a precious private view of the non-racial struggle.

Buras Nhlabati, a student activist from Tembisa, describes how he was tortured by four white members and two black members of the South African Police and the military. Suspected of ANC involvement, he was beaten, subjected to electric shocks and incarcerated in a refrigerated room while naked, Nhlabati said. At the time he was interviewed he had still not regained the ability to read.

"You'll find that even (if) I can be tortured to such an extent that maybe I can be paralysed, but I don't want to see South Africa only being the blacks there. I want to see South Africa with all races living there in peace and harmony. So that is why I am not going to change my ideology."

There is some insight into how the Congress tradition survived, under severe strain, the dark political years of the '60s. Mongezi Radebe, an activist from the Free State town of Heilbron, told how treasures of the liberation movement were preserved in the most unlikely places.

"I know, for instance, people in Heilbron who I had never thought were politically aware, and I got friendly with one and he gave me *The Struggle is My Life* by Mandela. And he said it's a good book, it'll make me a man. A man selling coal, who was a delivery boy — I knew him not to be in a position to read anything or write his name, but he gave me that book. So it was like that in townships all over."

The interviews deal obliquely with the problem of the interface of a non-racial political strategy with the racial social reality created by apartheid. But the book does not examine the political implications of this at any real length.

This certainly creates a sense of frustration in the reader, when the work is released amid unprecedented political violence in South Africa, predicated largely upon the conscious manipulation of ethnic chauvinism.

Jo-Anne Collinge



# Trying times: Does Mrs Mandela stand alone?

W/Mail 11/21-7/2/91

**T**WO of the young men who were allegedly kidnapped and assaulted by Winnie Mandela — therefore potential key witnesses for the state in the forthcoming trial — are working for the African National Congress.

Some ANC sources confirm that Barend Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe are being "quietly employed" by the ANC, while others deny this, saying they are merely active as ANC members.

Members of the attorney-general's staff expressed surprise that the two were at the ANC when asked for a comment by *The Weekly Mail*, and then refusing to confirm or deny the allegation, dismissed the matter, saying it was "not material whether they are working at the ANC". If it is relevant, says the prosecution, then the issue will be raised in court.

Some admit the quality of evidence given by those still loyal to an organisation whose principal female member is on trial for their kidnapping and assault might be questionable.

Both the ANC and those involved in the trial are anxious to downplay any notion that it is the ANC which might be on trial. It is an individual member who has been accused, they say, not the whole organisation. For this reason, neither Mono nor Mekgwe were approached by the ANC with the suggestion that they should stay away from the organisation in the period between the indictment and the trial. Such an action would have made the ANC vulnerable to the accusation of interfering with the witnesses. As it is, ANC sources remain adamant that the boys were not encouraged to behave in any way other than that which they had always done. They were offered no spectacular jobs and just allowed to remain as active as they had always been.

The third of the surviving victims allegedly assaulted by Mandela, Kenny Kgasi, who has not been working at the ANC, together with Mono and Mekgwe has already testified in the trial of Jerry Richardson, the Mandela United football team coach, as to what happened at her house on December 29 1988. Last year Richardson was found guilty and sentenced to death both for the assault and kidnapping of these three men and for the murder of the fourth victim, Stompie Seipei.

Kgasi has said he was unable to leave Mandela's house until dawn on January 6. He eventually got to Legal Resources Centre lawyer Geoff Budlender and gave him a statement. Mono and Mekgwe remained at the Mandela home. Questions remain as to whether they stayed there voluntarily or against their will. According to an article in the American magazine, *Vanity Fair*, there were telephone calls between Ismail Ayob (Mandela's instructing attorney in the trial) and ANC president Oliver Tambo about the young men's continuing presence in Mandela's house.

She has repeatedly denied being present during the assaults.

Under advice from her lawyer, she did not take the stand in the Richardson trial and was given an alibi for the time when the assaults were taking place (December 29-31 1988) by a woman from Brandfort in the Free State. In a BBC television interview she says the last time she saw Stompie alive was about four days before his

The trial of the ANC's best-known female figure affects more than Winnie Mandela: it impacts on the ANC's image and that of its deputy leader; on the other accused; and on convicted murderer Jerry Richardson.

By EMMA GILBEY



On trial ... Winnie Mandela Photo: AFP

disappearance. There was nothing wrong with him? she was asked. "There was absolutely nothing wrong with him," she replied. "He was washing his hands in a tap that was attached to the backroom in which he was sleeping. I greeted him and he greeted me back."

To *Vanity Fair* she has dismissed "the allegations against me with the contempt they deserve".

She told John Ellison of London's *Daily Express* that Stompie "was taken away from here in good health". She also told him that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela "can't believe the allegations that are being made about his family. He is deeply grieved about what is going on. But he has total support for my case".

Despite what she has said in press interviews the fact remains that in the Richardson trial Mr Justice O'Donovan dismissed her alibi saying it "did not impress", and made a special finding in his judgement that Mandela had been present for at least part of the time during the assaults. He said it was alleged that she had punched and whipped each of the abducted men and added that the testimonies to this effect by the three who survived corroborated each other "in all material aspects".

Four months after this finding Mandela was indicted.

The case was originally scheduled for October 30 and the ANC's Alfred Nzo released a statement last week suggesting

political manipulation in the timing of the new trial date.

"It is no accident that the various steps taken in preparation for the trial coincided with major political events and issues connected with the process of negotiations," the statement said.

But it was Mandela's defence team who successfully argued for a February 4 trial date when she first appeared in court last September.

At the time, Ayob said the complexity of the case with eight accused represented by two different defence teams, together with Winnie Mandela's long standing arrangement to be abroad on October 30, necessitated the delay.

Nzo's statement referred to the trial as coming at a time when the ANC's reputation was winning greater and greater acclaim.

"We have no doubt that elements opposed to the peace process and the agreements already reached are manipulating the issues surrounding this trial for blatant political purposes," said the statement.

The political implications of Mandela's trial are widespread and have already begun to be apparent. The real test of the ANC lies in how the organisation handles the trial's outcome. Whether members stand by Mandela and whether she continues to hold her positions within the organisation if she is convicted are wide open questions.

A split in ANC ranks on the subject of Mandela is the most damaging possible scenario. There is no doubt that she still enjoys strong support with a substantial section of members.

But in February of last year, after the Stompie affair first broke, the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement called on its supporters to disassociate with her

Widespread anger was reported last August when she prepared to take up the reins as head of social welfare. And some people were unhappy at the manner of her election to the PWV regional executive with its lack of a secret ballot.

But any hint of disaffection within the ranks has to be denied at a time when all eyes will be watching to see how they handle events surrounding the court room.

There is already evidence that some on the sidelines are going to maximise the political elements involved. The United Democratic Front-affiliated group, Actstop, has taken a resolution that its members are going to show support during the trial by packing the court room. They say they are convinced Mandela is innocent and a victim of the state.

One person who will be very keen to be kept abreast of what goes on in this case is Richardson. He is appealing against both his verdict and sentence. If Mandela is convicted it could have a tremendous impact on the outcome of Richardson's appeal.

Attention will be as heavily focused on Nelson Mandela as on his wife during this trial, especially if he attends court with her regularly.

He has shown constant support for his wife throughout this case and repeatedly given statements underlining this support. What effect, if any, his presence will have on witnesses remains to be seen.

Equally under scrutiny — and in a sense on trial — will be his reactions to the events in court and their outcome.

# Both sides win as Inkatha and ANC set hostility aside

W/Mail 1/2 - 7/2/91

In his opening address to this week's watershed talks with Inkatha, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela said neither organisation should be victor or loser. "Only our people must be the victors."

Whether there will be an end to the fighting which will benefit all South African people, only time will tell. But it is already clear that both Inkatha under its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the ANC, have won important advantages from the meeting.

Although they were an about-face for both sides, the talks enhanced the personal reputation of the two leaders.

They have been portrayed as men of peace, and all delaying tactics which prevented the talks happening before have been glossed over.

Warnings by hawks in the ranks of Inkatha and the ANC that their respective leaders would be demeaned by talking with the about-to-be-defeated enemy were proved wrong, and public response to the meeting has proved overwhelmingly positive.

Inkatha has benefitted by the ANC's public recognition that it is a force to be reckoned with.

The ANC strategy of "isolating" Buthelezi and kwaZulu has proved a failure, and Inkatha's right to an independent seat at the negotiating table as a party with real support is now guaranteed by both Mandela and de Klerk. At the same time the continuing and significant political differences between Inkatha and the ANC were acknowledged by both sides at the talks.

This frees Inkatha to seek alliances with either the ANC or the National Party, depending on the issue being negotiated, rather than being fixed in a role as junior partner of either.

Buthelezi sought this freedom to manoeuvre, as he spelt out in his opening address to the peace talks: "I will seek common cause with F W de Klerk ... and the government, wherever that common cause is justified. I will seek common cause with the ANC wherever that common cause is justified. Inkatha has a political mind of its own and it will choose allies on the basis of the issues being fought."

Both sides in this week's watershed talks on political violence in Natal came away with some kudos, writes  
**CARMEL RICKARD**

Inkatha probably also hopes to pick up new members following the talks and the projection of its image as a party committed to peace.

The ANC has also won advantages from the talks.

Crucial clauses in the joint agreement will be used by the ANC to challenge the political discrimination it claims to be suffering at the hands of local Inkatha officials and chiefs.

One of the most significant is the provision that "all persons with authority over public facilities" will allow them to be used by members of the public regardless of political affiliation. For the ANC this means chiefs and Inkatha town councils may not refuse permission to use public venues.

Along with the easing in violence which it expects to begin soon, this will enable the ANC to step up political organisation and recruitment in the region, even in the Zulu heartland which has so far been closed to it.

"Clearing the decks" with Inkatha is also a necessary step towards changing the ANC's image as "anti-Zulu" and "Xhosa-dominated", an image which ANC officials privately admit has caused some concern.

The ANC probably also hopes that the public process of healing the rift will make it easier for Inkatha members to "cross the floor".

The understanding reached between the two organisations could significantly change the political relationship between them, permitting co-operation and impacting on national politics in a way which was impossible before. Already there is a commitment to joint tours of the worst-hit areas by Buthelezi and Mandela, and some ANC officials have hinted at the possibility of other joint strategies.

So far Buthelezi has turned down the ANC's idea of an all-party conference, but following Tuesday's wide-



Reunion ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela meet for the first time in 28 years

Photo: RAFS MAYET, Afrapix

ranging discussions new options are possible — it was noticeable that in his opening address Buthelezi spoke forcefully against a constituent assembly and an interim government, saying they were not achievable. Asked about the same issues at the news conference after the talks he was far less dogmatic and said in effect that he was open to persuasion.

The whole region will also benefit from the meeting if it leads to peace.

Although funds have been set aside for socio-economic improvements, Pretoria vowed "not one cent" would be given until the violence stopped.

This money could soon be made available, along with other international funding on hold until there were clear signs the conflict was waning.

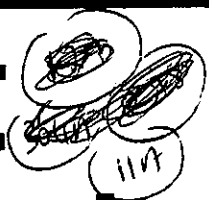
Once the violence subsides, badly-hit commerce and industry will begin to recover and business leaders hope the talks will attract investors to the area who have been frightened off.

With all the benefits in the offing, both parties want the agreement to stick. It will be extremely difficult, and there is a real possibility of failure, but both sides have said they will lose no time in establishing the mechanics for its implementation.



# Affluence a distant dream for most blacks

Soweto 11/29/91



AMID the squalor of Soweto, 19-year-old Siphso dreams about a life of luxury.

"I wonder what it is like to live in Sandton," the black youth said about the wealthy town.

"I think the whites would be angry if they knew a black man was living next door," Siphso said with a smile.

Black expectations and white fears have been heightened dramatically by South Africa's year-old reform process and are putting the search for racial peace under mounting strain.

President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are under pressure to persuade their followers to trust reform rather than repression or revolution.

De Klerk is due to announce further reforms of apartheid at the opening of parliament today, continuing a process he began last year by freeing Mandela from jail, legalising black politics and starting negotiations with anti-apartheid forces.

## Hysteria

But with black warfare ravaging townships and paramilitary pro-apartheid extremists sowing hysteria among whites, many commentators say prospects for peaceful change are gloomy.

"Anarchy spills wider by the day," said the *Sunday Times*.

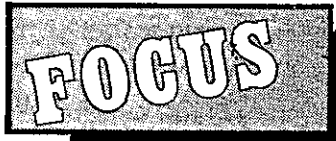
"The shallow euphoria of a year ago has dissipated; in its place there is now a hint of despair."

Blacks, who outnumber whites by five to one, live in tribal reserves in the countryside or in spartan townships on the edge of white cities. Most whites live in affluent European-style suburbs.

Blacks have flocked to the cities in recent years, often housing themselves in shanty towns where crime and unemployment have become rife.

Some rightist whites have reacted violently, whipping or beating blacks who use amenities once reserved for whites.

"The fear we have is of an avalanche, where an ignorant ma-



majority will take us into a black period of chaos," a white caller named Reg told a radio phone-in programme.

Soweto social workers say warfare among black political rivals is so intense that increasing numbers of youths do not expect to live long and turn to crime to grab what they can.

Siphso, who spends his days at Inkanyezi Youth Club amid the

beyond our reach are now attainable. We can now make choices in our lives. But many feel the process is not moving fast enough," Gama said.

Blacks did not want to live in townships because the conditions were starkly inadequate compared with white areas.

"It's like looking at A and B," she said. "A is glittering, while B is just mud and overcrowding."

"Transport is poor, so we get up early in the morning and get home very late at night. It interferes with family life."

But even basic amenities may be too much to expect.



All townships lack the most basic amenities.

squalor and gang violence of a Moroka North slum, said a trip from Soweto to Johannesburg's bright lights was a major outing for which funds were saved days in advance.

There, amid glittering city skyscrapers, Sandton's Californian lifestyle seems tantalisingly close, but for impoverished blacks such affluence will remain a world apart.

Social worker Jane Gama said for most township folk the most urgent need was for basic amenities - tarred roads, street lighting, hot running water and regular refuse removal.

"Things that previously were

Business leaders say there is not enough money to extend even proper housing and sewerage to all 28 million blacks, a third of whom live in shacks.

"The expectations of black people are high and are exercising tremendous pressure on the fabric of society," wrote Harry Schwartz, the ambassador-designate to Washington.

The South African Chamber of Business said it would cost the equivalent of 20 billion dollars to create immediate parity for blacks and whites in health, education, housing and social services.

"The sheer magnitude of this challenge cautions against un-

realistic expectations and calls for creative responses," Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said.

But many political analysts say business must play the main role in allaying black mistrust of white intentions.

"If the economy doesn't change gears immediately, the doors of hell will be opened," said political analyst Wimpie de Klerk.

"The key to political success lies in the immediate and dramatic improvement of the quality of life of the black masses," said De Klerk, who is the president's brother.

He said black support for the reform process would collapse unless there were concrete improvements in their lives - township amenities, wages, transport - during 1991.

## Boiling

"The pressure cooker of expectations is boiling," said Rand Afrikaans University professor Nina Overton.

Opinion polls show blacks, though angry about township poverty, are optimistic about the future of race relations while whites are gloomy.

"Whites have more to lose from reform. Blacks have more to gain," Overton said.

The prospect of having a black neighbour makes most whites uneasy and a good many furious.

"The prevailing emotion among whites is fear," novelist Nadine Gordimer told a literary symposium.

"(It is) fear of retribution for all that has been done to blacks by whites' forefathers; for all that the whites themselves have done by their own actions and for their own silence, their turning away with closed eyes," she said.

"I believe we must create material justice before we can hope to eliminate the kind of violence that has become a tragic habit in South Africa," Gordimer said. - *Sapa-Reuter*

# Two giants put status on trial

Step 2/2/91

11A  
~~11A~~

WHEN Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi put their signatures to the historic peace pact between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, they put their reputations on the line.

If the pact, signed in Durban on January 29 after 10 hours of intense discussion, fails to end the bloodshed, their political enemies will conclude that their writ does not run into the townships and villages.

The initial omens were not auspicious. Within 24 hours of the accord, fierce fighting broke out in Umgababa less than an hour's drive away from the plush Royal Hotel where the delegations hammered out their agreement. At least eight people were killed.

## 'Magic'

But, as Chief Buthelezi remarked during the discussions, violence had become endemic to the region and it would be unrealistic to expect it to cease immediately. Neither he nor Mr Mandela had "magic wands" which they could wave to create instant peace, he said.

The ANC and Inkatha recognised that the agreement was the start of a peace process and that its success depended on conscientious fulfilment of its clauses. The essence of the agreement was contained in a five-point joint declaration, in which the signatories solemnly pledged to:

- Call on their members to stop attacking one another.
- Desist from vilifying one another or indulging



FORWARD TOGETHER: ANC's Nelson Mandela and IFP's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

## 'Peace pipe' failure will dent reputations

### PATRICK LAURENCE

in what Chief Buthelezi called "killing talk".

- Renounce the use of coercion or intimidation to force people to join their organisations or accept their strategies.

- Use an existing "joint mechanism" — a reference to a complaints adjudication board set up in September 1988 — to monitor violations of the agreement and recommend "appropriate action".

- Organise a joint tour of affected areas by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, to enable them to personally call for peace at grassroots level.

The envisaged joint tour will put the reputations on Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi on the line. If people fail to heed their pleas for peace, their reputations as leaders will suffer.

But, of course, the peace process is bigger than two men, no matter how important they may be.

To a large extent the success of the accord will depend on the ability and willingness of the signatories to revive the all but defunct adjudication board and ensure that it works efficiently.

It failed for several reasons in the past. For it to work efficiently, the reasons for its earlier failure must be addressed.

The 1988 agreement under which it was established was between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha. The United Democratic Front (UDF), a major party to the dispute between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha, was not a signatory to the agreement.

That deficiency is now eliminated. The five-point declaration commits the ANC and its allies — Cosatu, the UDF and the SA Communist Party — to the agreement.

A second reason for the past failure of the adjudication board was, according to Cosatu, the refusal of Inkatha "warlords"

and their followers to appear before it on the grounds that it might prejudice their case in pending criminal actions against them.

Chief Buthelezi has now, however, given a solemn assurance to uphold the new agreement and that means ensuring that Inkatha strongmen appear before the board if summoned.

In the past the internecine war between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha loyalists was, in large measure, fuelled by fraternal bitterness.

The ANC saw Chief Buthelezi as a renegade, as a former ANC man who launched Inkatha in 1975 with the blessing of the ANC to advance its cause but who then developed an agenda and ambitions of his own.

## Power base

As the ANC president Oliver Tambo put it in a report to the ANC's national executive committee in 1985: "Gatsha Buthelezi ... built Inkatha into a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised."

He accused him of "dressing Inkatha in ANC colours" in order to exploit the loyalty of the masses to the ANC.

In his address to the peace conference delegates in Durban, Chief Buthelezi, who has previously accused the ANC of trying to hijack Inkatha, said: "We ... identified with the ANC because we came forth out of the ANC."

The peace accord appears to do just that and thus to create an opportunity to restore — in Mr Mandela's words — "the cordial relations" which existed between the ANC and Inkatha in the years 1975-79.

# ANC and PAC share spotlight

2/2/91  
ABEL MUSHI

FOR the first time since they were unbanned last year, the ANC and PAC yesterday shared the same platform at a rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto before leading a crowd of about 30 000 in a march to the Moroka police station to deliver a memorandum addressed to President de Klerk.

The general secretary of the PAC, Benny Alexander, accompanied by executive member Carter Seleka, shared the stage with ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus, SA Communist Party executive member Elias Motsoaledi and Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

Mr Alexander told an emotional crowd that although the PAC had been unbanned, it still had to fight for its rights. He said the PAC would continue to fight for the rights of the oppressed people of South Africa.

## Overthrow

The PAC executive also called for a "vigorous and intensive armed struggle" to overthrow the Government.

Mr Kathrada said it was "a great honour" for the ANC members to share the platform with the PAC, adding that unity of all the oppressed would "bring the Government down to its knees".

Delivering his speech in Sepedi (Northern Sotho), Elias Motsoaledi told the crowd: "The time has come and any moment now, we're going to take over the Government."

At about 2 pm the crowd marched to the Moroka police station, about 3 km away, where a memorandum was handed by Mrs Sisulu to Major A J S Prinsloo.

Major Prinsloo accepted the memorandum and promised to hand it over to the authorities.

The memorandum reaffirmed the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Police kept a low profile and no incidents were reported.



**SHARED PLATFORM:** The ANC and PAC yesterday held a joint rally for the first time since the unbanning of the organisations. On the left is ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada, in the middle is Albertina Sisulu (wife of ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu), and on the right is PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander. ● Photograph: Stephen Davime

# Power must be won fairly Mandela

11A

w/6 ARGUS 2/2/91

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC did not assume — as many people did — that it would become South Africa's first post-apartheid government, Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president, said in Magaliesberg.

Addressing an ANC constitutional conference last night, Mr Mandela said the ANC did not take it for granted that it would become the next government.

"It goes without saying that we would want to be there, where power is exercised, where the direction in the affairs of this country is discussed. But, we don't assume it to be automatic or our right that we must be the next government.

"We must win the right to govern like any other party — in elections.

"If we lose we would want to rest assured that we will have the opportunity to try again next time around."

## Reaction later

In his speech Mr Mandela did not, as expected by some, respond to President De Klerk's watershed speech in parliament yesterday.

He said an ANC working committee would meet early today and would release a reaction statement later.

"In matters of this nature, with questions of historic importance, what is important is not so much a comment from an individual, no matter what position he holds. What matters most is the comment from the organisation he represents.

"I don't consider it appropriate to make a comment at this stage."

In his address to international and South African jurists Mr Mandela said the objective of the

## ANC NOT NECESSARILY THE NEXT GOVERNMENT

conference was not to find a formula acceptable to the ANC, but one that would be acceptable to all South Africans.

The conference was convened to discuss whether or not a constitutional court would be needed in a new South Africa.

The ANC leader said the constitutional court would have the power to test various Acts — such as legislative Acts — to determine whether they are valid in terms of the constitution or not.

The constitutional court would be asked to give an advisory opinion on the validity or invalidity of any Acts prior to their enactment.

Mr Mandela said the ANC could not accept a bill of rights as envisaged by parliamentary parties because that bill would abolish apartheid laws but preserve apartheid in practice.

Speaking for the first time on environmental issues, the former Robben Island prisoner said preservation of peace should go hand-in-hand with a considered effort to preserve nature and protect the environment.

"Never before was it so important to contemplate the consequences for the prosperity of the political, economic, technological and environmental decisions we take today."

The constitutional conference continues until tomorrow.

DURBAN. — The death toll at Umgababa on the Natal South Coast rose to 10 yesterday as a senior joint ANC/Inkatha delegation met to develop strategies to curb the violence.

The latest victim was KwaZulu Constable Lucas Nkosi, who died when unknown assailants attacked a car in which he and two other policemen were travelling near Umbumbulu, close to Umgababa early yesterday morning.

A police spokesman said a handgrenade was thrown at the car and shots were fired from AK-47 rifles.

The two other policemen in the car, Const V Mkhize and Const S Mkhize, suffered minor injuries.

In a separate incident on Thursday night, shots were fired at a KwaZulu reservist Const J M Sithole and a handgrenade hurled at the car in which he and Mr Ronnie Mkhize were travelling, in the Eziko area near Umbumbulu.

Yesterday's meeting between Inkatha national organiser Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jacob Zuma was the first since this week's historic Durban agreement between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the joint ANC/Inkatha press conference at the Inkatha Institute here, Dr Mdlalose said the conflict in Umgababa started on Tuesday, before the agreement between the two parties was signed.

"It is an unfortunate challenge to us to work more closely to stamp out violence. That is why you see us working shoulder to shoulder now," he said. — Sapa

Inkatha,

ANC to

continue

talks on

violence

CAPL Times 2/2/91

114/106



# Nobel for Nelson?

OSLO — United States President George Bush and the deputy-president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, were among those proposed for the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize as the deadline for nominations passed yesterday.

"We got between 10 and 15 (nominations)," said Geir Lundestad, director of the Nobel Institute, which awards the annual prize.

Lundestad said all nominations posted before yesterday would be considered for the award, which went in 1990 to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

## Role in Gulf War

Vidar Kleppe, a representative of Norway's right-wing Progress Party, said he had nominated Mr Bush for his role in leading the international coalition in the Gulf War.

"Mr Bush acts in accord with Alfred Nobel's wish that the Nobel Peace Prize should be awarded to persons who show courage and step into the frontline in the fight against oppression, torture and totalitarian acts against human dignity," he said.

A group of 67 members of the US Congress late last year nominated Mr Mandela for helping dismantle racial barriers in South Africa.

Mr Kleppe said he and another representative for the Progress Party had also jointly nominated the Salvation Army. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE African National Congress did not assume — as many people did — that it would become South Africa's first post-apartheid government, Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy-president, said in Magaliesberg last night.

Addressing an ANC constitutional conference, Mr Mandela said: "It goes without saying that we would want to be there, where power is exercised. But, we don't assume it to be automatic or our right that we must be the next government."

"We must win the right to govern like any other party — in elections.

"If we lose, we would want to rest assured that we will have the opportunity to try again — next time around."

Mr Mandela did not respond to President de

# ANC 'does not take power for granted'

Star 2/2/91



FOOD FOR THOUGHT: Nelson Mandela and aides break for refreshments during the conference.

## JOVIAL RANTAO

Klerk's speech in Parliament yesterday. He said an ANC working committee would meet early today and release a statement later.

"In matters of this nature, with questions of his-

toric importance, what is important is not so much a comment from an individual, no matter what position he holds. What matters most is the comment from the organisation he represents."

In his address to international and South African jurists, Mr Mandela said

the aim of the conference was not to find a formula acceptable to the ANC, but one that would be acceptable to all South Africans.

The conference was convened to discuss whether a constitutional court to test the validity of legislation would be needed in a new South Africa.

Mr Mandela said the ANC could not accept a Bill of Rights as envisaged by parliamentary parties, because such a Bill would abolish apartheid laws, but preserve apartheid in practice.

Speaking for the first time on environmental issues, the former Robben Island prisoner said preservation of peace should go hand-in-hand with a considered effort to preserve nature and protect the environment.

● See Page 6.

# Mandela and Buthelezi are told: go into

CAM Tembe  
2/2/91 (11A)

# ANC supporters attacked on Soweto train

JOHANNESBURG. — Unknown black assailants attacked a group of ANC supporters on a train here yesterday, throwing them from the carriages and killing one and injuring at least 10, police said.

The victims, on their way to a political rally at Jabulani stadium, were thrown from the train near Inhlazane station, police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said.

"We are not sure who is responsible, although some witnesses are blaming Inkatha," he said. The single death had probably been caused when the person was thrown "head first" out of a carriage.

Baragwanath Hospital reported 14 injured people were admitted after the incident, but a spokesman said some could have caused their own injuries by jumping from the train to escape the attackers.

The ANC condemned the attack, saying irrespective of the motive it was "inconceivable".

Transvaal Inkatha youth leader Mr Themba Khoza angrily denied the reports that ANC supporters were attacked. He said ANC supporters had attacked passengers coming home from work. The IFP had not yet established whether the deceased was an Inkatha member, he added. — UPI, Sapa

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# Still not enough, says ANC

S (Times 3/2/91)  
THE ANC yesterday welcomed President FW De Klerk's scrapping of discriminatory laws as helpful in creating a climate for further negotiations.

But it remained unimpressed with Mr De Klerk's failure to deal with the question of prisoner releases, exile returns, black economic empowerment and his rejection of an interim government.

Sanctions, said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday, should remain in place until "real change" had taken place in South Africa.

"As a liberation movement, we are not called

By CAS ST LEGER

upon to thank the government for the repeal of laws and reviewing policies which are considered a crime against humanity," said Mr Mandela.

"There was never any need for the enactment of legislation like the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, and a host of other laws which we consider to form the pillars of apartheid."

He said the government was "still a prisoner of the old mentality" on the local government issue where decisions were made by a white minority.

On sanctions: "We would like to warn the international community not to be hasty about reviewing sanctions."

The ANC's official statement did, however, welcome the "belated acceptance" of the principle that South Africa and its peoples constituted one nation.

The publication of the manifesto by the government constituted a fundamental departure from the apartheid framework.

This, said the statement, deserved recognition.

"These developments will be of great assistance in providing a climate conducive to the elaboration of a new constitution."

# 10 die in baptism of fire for peace bid

11A  
11/2

THE peace agreement reached between Inkatha and the ANC this week had a baptism of fire.

A day after the meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha and Nelson Mandela of the ANC, serious fighting flared again in the troubled Umgababa area of the South Coast, leaving at least 10 dead.

In an important departure from previous practice, however, senior leaders of the two sides refused to point fingers but said in the spirit of Tuesday's agreement they were working together to establish the causes of the fighting and how to end it.

They were also adamant the incident did not mean the peace talks were a failure, saying word had not yet reached all combatants and communities and that bringing peace to the region so long wracked by violence would be a gradual process.

"From the start, we stressed the meeting was not a miracle cure."

Both sides stand to make significant gains from the meeting and from peace.

The handling of the Umgababa conflict appears to indicate they are determined to curb whoever is behind the attacks.

The talks were an about-

By CARMEL RICKARD

face for both sides, but they were widely hailed, enhancing the reputations of the two leaders, who are being portrayed as men of peace.

Inkatha's major gain is public recognition by the ANC that it is a force to be reckoned with in Natal and beyond.

At the same time, the significant political differences between Inkatha and the ANC were acknowledged by both sides at the talks.

This frees Inkatha to seek alliances with either the ANC or the National Party, depending on the issue being negotiated, rather than being fixed in a role as junior partner of either.

## Chiefs

The joint agreement contains important provisions which will be used by the ANC to challenge the political discrimination it claims to be suffering at the hands of local Inkatha officials and chiefs.

The talks will also improve the ANC's "anti-Zulu" image and this, together with an easing in violence, will enable the ANC to step up political organisation and recruitment in the region.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela



# THE LONG ROAD AHEAD

Now to  
see if  
peace  
*Apr 3/24/91*  
stays on  
course

By SEKOLA SELLO

**A**FTER a seemingly amicable meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week the main task now facing the two parties is to translate words into deeds.

The mainstream Press, which relied only on short briefings and later a joint statement from the two leaders, can well be excused for believing all went well save for minor differences. Indeed, this was the essence of the joint statement made by the two leaders.

But whispers along the corridors at the Royal Hotel where the meeting took place indicate it was not sweet reason all the way.

There were serious differences. Reading the faces of the delegates during the lunch break gave the impression the mood was sombre.

But one must concede the fact these two parties met against the backdrop of so much bloodletting between their followers is a sign of victory for both sides.

The coming months will indicate whether the peace accord will stand the test of time.

And the greatest challenge faces Mandela and the ANC leadership.

Everything in Inkatha pivots around Buthelezi. What he says, his followers follow to the letter - including the Central Committee of the organisation.

The same cannot be said about Mandela. His word is not final to some ANC members, particularly the youth. The NEC also does not display the same unanimity which exists in the Inkatha Central Committee.

It may be argued that this shows how democratic the ANC is



At last . . . the meeting South Africa thought would never take place. Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at the historic Durban peace summit this week.

Pic: Africa

Mandela. His word is not final to some ANC members, particularly the youth. The NEC also does not display the same unanimity which exists in the Inkatha Central Committee.

It may be argued that this shows how democratic the ANC is.

But it may just as well be another way of trying to downplay serious differences within the movement.

There is another vexing problem. How committed to peace is Buthelezi? The tone of his speech in which he singled out several leading members of the ANC like Chris Hani, John Nkadameng, Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo and Harry Gwala for what he termed vilification and not criticism of himself, was just not on.

I do not believe Tuesday's peace summit was the right place for Buthelezi to have aired such views. It is a matter to be resolved between the two parties. For Mandela to tell the Press after the meeting that Buthelezi's speech helped the ANC understand Inkatha better was a sign of the diplomacy the ANC deputy president is well known for.

Buthelezi's speech must have been viewed unkindly by some hardline ANC delegates, and it cast doubt on his intentions for the peace process, as it could easily have precipitated a situation where some ANC members may have felt tempted to walk out of the meeting.

He accused the ANC of having engaged in "war talk". But can his utterances be construed as "peace talk?"

While Mandela's speech was short and more conciliatory, Buthelezi emphasised the differences between the two organisations such as his rejection of a constituent assembly, an interim government and the ANC's position on mass action.

Given this scenario, it is difficult to envisage a harmonious working relationship between the two parties.

At the end of the day, the meeting loaded another burden on Mandela. The fruits or lack of them could have a profound bearing on the coming ANC congress in June. If the Mandela strategy in meeting Buthelezi greatly minimises the bloodletting, his allies will be in a strong position.

If on the other hand he fails to achieve discernible results, the hardliners will gloat and say "we told you so". Then Mandela's allies will have to fight for political survival at the congress.

But Mandela's own position remains unchallenged. Tambo will step down gracefully due to health reasons and Mandela will step into his shoes.

The Durban peace talks were a good start. But it would be folly to expect too much too soon. The differences between the two organisations are rooted too deep to be eliminated overnight.

# ANC and PAC move a step closer

d/pey  
3/2/91

11A



The ANC's Albertina Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada are joined by the PAC's Benny Alexander during a protest march in Soweto on Friday.

■ Pic: GIDEON NHLAPHO

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE broad alliance between the PAC and the ANC is now nearer than many thought it would be just two weeks ago.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai has announced that high-level discussions between the two parties will take place tomorrow in Johannesburg but did not say where.

The aim of the meeting is, according to Desai, to "discuss the mechanics" for the establishment of a united front. In the past, both parties expended much energy shouting abuse at each other, although both admitted individually that a common front was the most effective and practical way of defeating the white power bloc.

Several heads of State in Africa have in the past pleaded with, and at times threatened, the two organisations in a bid to make them form a common alliance against white rule. The two most prominent in this regard have been Presidents Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

There were several factors which prevented such a front from becoming a reality. The ANC poured scorn on the PAC's claims that it had a constituency, let alone an army.

Similarly, the PAC was derisive of the military tactics used by the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe like striking at electricity pylons and substations and blowing up railway lines in the township. The PAC also accused the ANC of being led by white liberals and using ineffective strategies to dismantle white power.

Since Nelson Mandela's release from jail he has at least twice outside the borders of this country stated the need for such a front. This was first said in Uganda at a meeting attended by several African leaders and repeated later while he was in Swaziland.

At this stage it is not known whether Azapo will be at tomorrow's talks. It appears Azapo was not invited, although this does not mean it has been snubbed. The strategy adopted by the ANC seems to be talking to the various groups on a one-to-one basis.

It is only later, when areas of common cause have been established, that a joint meeting - either as an all-party congress which both Azapo and the PAC have rejected, but which has been endorsed by Inkatha - or a united front, will take place.

The possibility of a united front between the ANC, Azapo and the PAC has been strengthened by recent events.

Both Azapo and the PAC immediately supported a call by the ANC for a mass stayaway on Friday and a march to Parliament on its opening day.



# First silence, then the mudslinging

**T**HIS week's historic ANC-Inkatha peace summit in Durban was not the cordial affair it may have appeared from the outside.

In the Royal Hotel's Prince Alfred Room about 45 men and women sat opposite each other. They stared at their political rivals without saying a word. Instead, they talked among members of their own delegations.

Two chairs, on opposite sides of the table, were reserved for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The Inkatha side was backed by three rows of other delegates and observers, outnumbering the ANC delegates three-to-one.

The entry of about 50 local and foreign journalists provided delegates with a much-needed ice-breaker, as they were laughing at TV cameramen and photographers who jostled for better positions.

The tension between delegates prompted Inkatha delegate VV Mvelase to compare it to the excitement which used to characterise soccer matches of local rivals the African Wanderers and Durban Bush Bucks in the 1950s and '60s.

Even Saki Macozoma and Suzanne Vos, media officers for the ANC and Inkatha respectively - who were supposed to work as a team - barely tolerated each other.

Security personnel consisting of the Kwa-Zulu police, the SAP Security Branch and the ANC's Security Department - sworn enemies

just a matter of hours before - found themselves in unaccustomed, complementary roles. Even so, there was an element of guarded caution. An ANC security officer remarked: "We suspect some of them have killed our people, but we have to co-operate. The security people have a job to do."

Back in the summit room, the tension was eased by the entry of Mandela and Buthelezi through the side door. Everyone stood up. The leaders stopped in front of the cameras for a "grip and grin" session.

Buthelezi shook hands with the ANC delegation, but the media followed Mandela, who stopped to chat to Inkatha delegates he recognised from the old days.

After the initial photo session, the Press was strictly excluded from the corridors outside the Prince Alfred Room and there was intense but futile lobbying to get an insight into the goings-on inside the room.

Co-chairman of the summit, the Inkatha national chairman Frank Mlalose, asked the media to leave. When his requests were not heeded, security personnel declared a "mini-armed struggle" on some journalists. They pushed them aggressively, throwing some on the floor, to raucous laughter from some delegates.

We were given copies of the introductory speeches of both leaders at about noon.

The essence of Mandela's four-page speech was: "Let bygones be bygones."

Buthelezi took more than an hour, carefully

The doors and walls of Durban's Royal Hotel this week kept the Press out of deliberations between Inkatha and the ANC, and kept the infighting out of the public eye. But *City Press* man-on-the-spot S'BU MNGADI got some insight into what went on at the peace summit - which was not what the public might have been led to believe ...

listing a litany of incidents in which every ANC leader, from president Oliver Tambo and Mandela to the most junior official had slammed, maligned, sworn at and humiliated him since their last watershed meeting in London in 1979. *AP 20 5/2/79*

Buthelezi's speech provided journalists with the first indication of what was going on behind the closed doors.

The delegates' impressions of and reflections on the meeting were strikingly similar.

In his opening remarks, Mlalose highlighted the significance of the meeting in the light of the more than 8 000 people the bloody conflict had claimed in the past eight years.

He then called upon Mandela to deliver his opening address.

Inkatha delegates confessed they had been expecting a showdown. But much to their surprise they found themselves punctuating the

ANC leader's address with thunderous applause.

Mandela concluded his four-page speech by saying: "Let the culture of debate flower to full bloom." The speech had a soothing effect on all delegates who came just short of giving him a standing ovation as he returned to his seat.

It was now Buthelezi's turn to take the stage. He excitedly leapt from his chair with a wad of papers in his hands.

He then dug through the past about ANC verbal attacks on his integrity by almost everyone in the ANC delegation present, starting in the early '80s.

Justifying this, he said: "Papering over past difficulties will not lead to reconciled normality in our political relationships."

Gesticulating with both hands, the chief reached a crescendo in emphasising differences in the policies, strategies and tactics of his organisation and the ANC. "The constituent Assembly: I say no, no, a thousand times to that!"

His speech received little applause, even from his own delegation. And by the time he concluded, there was much tension in the room.

Mandela appealed to his delegation not to respond to Buthelezi's attacks on them. "People are dying out there," he warned, and "the world is eagerly awaiting the outcome of this meeting."

During the lunchbreak, Buthelezi, surrounded by an army of his security men, took a walk-

about to greet a small crowd of Inkatha supporters who had gathered outside the hotel, on Smith Street.

But Buthelezi's security personnel blundered by leading him to the wrong side of the crowd - the onlookers.

They only realised this when Buthelezi's cry of "Amandla" was only returned by about 80 people, about 40 metres away.

He quickly dashed back to the hotel, stopping in the foyer to tell journalists the talks were "going very well".

Only five ANC delegates participated in the meeting. The rest were quiet and passed notes to one another.

Those who spoke appealed for an end to mudslinging and wanted to shift the focus of discussions from differences to issues they agreed on - such as the cessation of hostilities between their members and supporters. But the mudslinging continued.

At about 5pm Mandela realised the meeting was under threat of being bogged down and tabled a motion calling for the cessation of hostilities.

A team of four people - Thabo Mbeki and Joel Neshitendtze from the ANC and Dr Dennis Madide and B Felgate from Inkatha - were appointed to draft the resolutions.

At this point the meeting became informal as delegates shared jokes and reminisced about the past.

Mandela's motion was incorporated into the joint declaration.

# ANC URGES FAS

CP/Press 3/2/91

11A

# TO MOVE FASTER

organisation still had deep reservations about De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC noted the "remarkable absence" in De Klerk's speech of a reference to security legislation - described by Mandela as "the most obstinate obstacle to free political activity".

"These security laws have been the subject of intense discussions between the ANC and the government for the past nine months.

"De Klerk's silence on the release of political prisoners, ending all political trials and the return of exiles is also cause for alarm.

"These omissions suggest a reluctance on the government's part to relinquish the inordinate powers it wields in terms of these laws.

"This underscores the urgency of the installation of an interim government, reflective of all the political forces in our country."

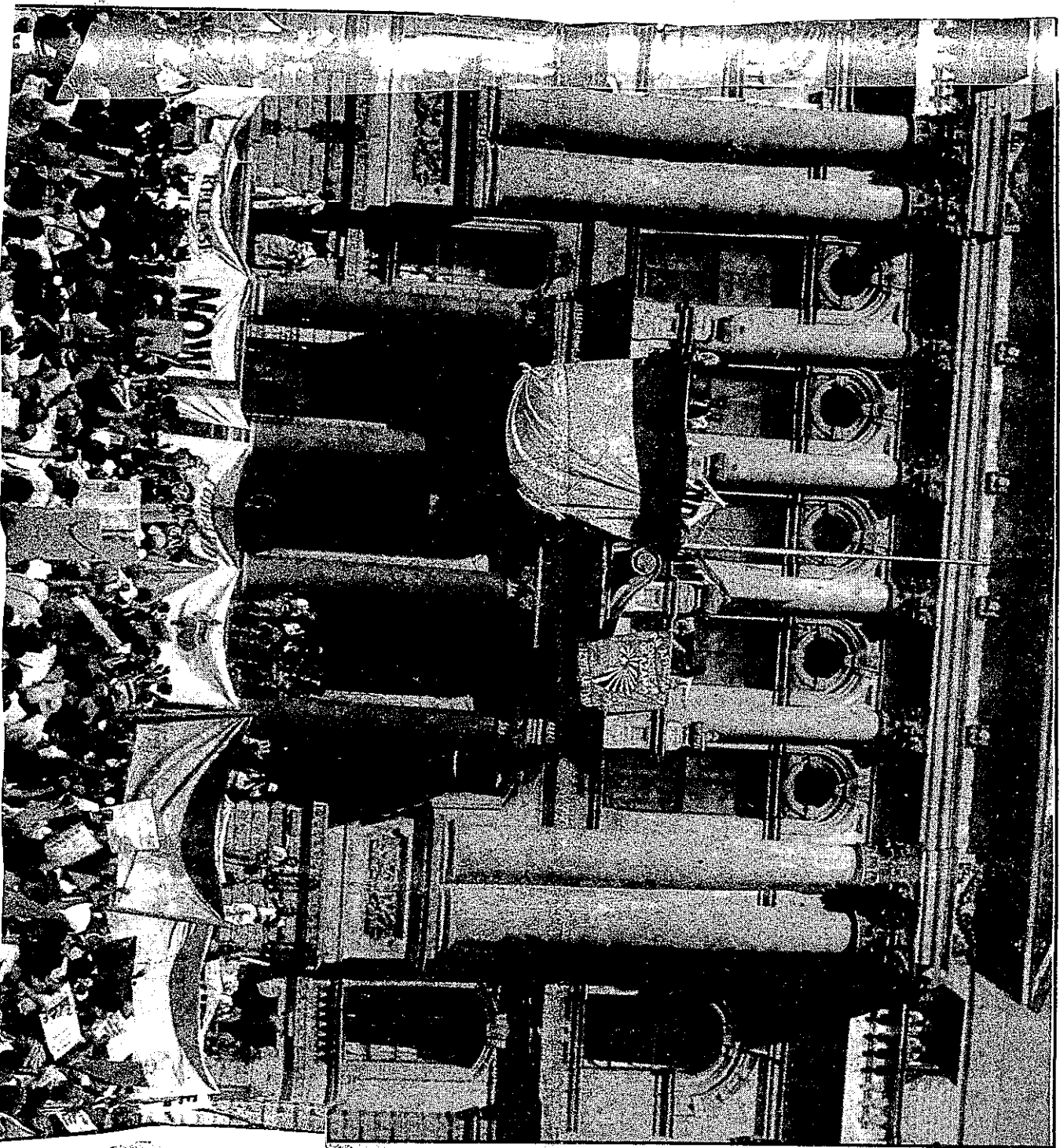
Dealing with the homelands system, Mandela urged De Klerk to adopt measures to ensure that all the people of South Africa, including those in the TBVC states, participate in determining the future of South Africa.

Mandela appealed to the international community "not to be hasty" in lifting sanctions against South Africa.

His appeal was addressed specifically to the United States and Australia, which indicated they would review their stand on sanctions.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said in an interview with City Press the government's refusal to accede to the demand for a constituent assembly meant it was "determined to be in full charge of the process of change".

To Page 2



## Security laws must go - not just racial laws, says Nelson

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE ANC yesterday welcomed State President FW de Klerk's declaration to scrap all apartheid legislation in the coming months, but the organisation urged him to scrap all security legislation which prohibits free political expression.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, however, condemned De Klerk's opening speech in Parliament this week and said the president had made "no progress at all."

In their formal response to De Klerk's announcements in Parliament this week, ANC leaders said it remained their view that apartheid must be abolished now and the process towards a non-racial democracy must begin as soon as possible.

"We therefore commend President FW de Klerk for his announcements yesterday that all apartheid legislation will be abolished. We also welcome his belated acceptance of the principle that all people in our country are one nation," ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Johannesburg.

Mandela described De Klerk's stated manifesto as a fundamental departure from the apartheid framework. "It therefore deserves recognition." (See page 2)

The ANC leader expressed satisfaction with what he described as the narrowing of views between De Klerk's National Party and the ANC. Despite this, the

To Page 2

# ANC cautious over De Klerk

*CAF Times 4/2/91*

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday praised President F W de Klerk's courage in planning to scrap the country's last race laws, but warned that "the struggle" would continue as long as black people were excluded from political power in South Africa.

The ANC was also disappointed by Mr De Klerk's failure, in his opening of Parliament, to deal with the release of the remaining political prisoners and the return of exiles. These issues remained an obstacle to the opening of constitutional negotiations with the government, Mr Mandela said.

Relaying the ANC's official response to Mr De Klerk's speech, Mr Mandela expressed appreciation for "the courage with which Mr De Klerk has taken up his duties as the leader of South Africa". But he pointed out that as long as blacks had no vote, "apartheid is still in force", and urged the international community to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

The ANC had deep reservations about Mr De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly and an interim government and his failure to respond to demands for the lifting of security laws.

The government's reluctance to relinquish "the inordinate powers it wields in terms of these laws" underscored the urgency of an interim government "reflective of all the political forces in our country", Mr Mandela said. — Sapa

As the first anniversary of NELSON MANDELA'S release approaches, PATRICK LAURENCE interviews the ANC leader — and finds him calm, patient and purposeful.

# A prisoner's patience

Star 4/2/91 (110)

NELSON Mandela has neither discarded nor forgotten the lessons he learnt during his 28 years in prison. Nearly a year after his release from jail on a hot Sunday last February, Mr Mandela remains calm and composed, dispassionately assessing situations and weighing options.

He appears to approach political issues in a detached state of mind, reminiscent of the imperturbability recommended by the yogis of India. It is as if his mind has been cleared of egotism and emotion.

In his office in the headquarters of the African National Congress in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela exhibits the patience which he learnt, or perhaps honed to near-perfection, during the years he spent on Robben Island and at Pollsmoor and Victor Verster prisons.

He starts the interview by apologising. He had hoped to grant me a full interview, he says. But the pressures of his programme have forced him to reluctantly cut it to 15 minutes.

He has had to allocate most of the time allowed for the interview to pressing consultations with educationists. The ANC is working on a memorandum to submit to President de Klerk.

The perilous state of education in the black community demands urgent attention after the publication of last year's disastrous matric results.

I can feel the pressure as he talks. As I hastily glance through my list of questions, trying to pare away the least important, Mr Mandela has two visitors.

The first is Walter Sisulu, his long-time political comrade and



A free man . . . Nelson Mandela grins in delight and waves to well-wishers after being released from Victor Verster prison last year. Since then he has kept up an incredibly punishing schedule without forgetting the lessons he learnt during the long years in jail.

co-prisoner. Addressing Mr Mandela as "Madiba," a sign of their close friendship, Mr Sisulu reminds him of the imminent appointment with the educationists. Mr Mandela hears, answers politely but is not ruffled.

The second visitor is Ismail Ayob, the Mandela family lawyer and the instructing attorney in the pending trial of Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, on charges of kidnapping and assault of youths in 1988-89.

Mr Mandela apologises again and asks for a minute or two of privacy. Two or three minutes

of my allotted 15 minutes slip by. I feel the pressure again.

The prospect of the trial must be deeply distressing to Mr Mandela, who, defying pressure from some quarters in the Mass Democratic Movement to distance himself from the events which took place while he was in prison, has stood loyally by his wife. But he shows no sign of stress when I return.

The clock ticks inexorably. As the interview begins Mr Mandela looks at his watch. We have just over 10 minutes left.

I ask how he feels about the

situation now as against his feelings when he walked through the gates of Victor Verster prison to freedom a year ago. The scales move up and down as he weighs his words.

He acknowledges that "substantial changes" have been made from the perspective of whites in general and that of the governing National Party in particular.

But, he says, the ANC's central demand is the extension of the vote to all South Africans without discrimination on grounds of colour or creed.

He adds: "We are still very far from that."

He recalls that the ANC leadership has had to face opposition from within its own ranks to continued negotiations because of suspicions that the security forces, or elements within them, are responsible for violence in the black community.

He discloses that the ANC has given President de Klerk a list of security-force members it believes are implicated in the violence and has asked him to remove them.

With one exception, Mr de

Klerk, who is generally "very responsive", is unwilling or unable to dismiss or transfer the officers, Mr Mandela says.

"I think he has more problems than I have," he adds.

I ask whether he thinks the Government will fulfil its promise to release all political prisoners and facilitate the return of all exiles before the April 30 deadline.

The Government's commitment is a quid pro quo for the ANC's agreement to suspend its armed struggle in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Mr Mandela considers his words carefully. He is "optimistic" rather than "confident".

He talks of ANC suspicions that the De Klerk administration had deliberately stalled on the release of prisoners and the return of exiles in a bid to incite a rank-and-file rebellion against ANC leaders.

"But we have hammered them very heavily on that point and they seem move to be moving a bit faster and I am therefore . . . optimistic that the deadline will be met."

The next question focuses on

the ANC's mass action programme and official fears that it may precipitate violence.

Mr Mandela replies firmly. I can detect steel in his voice.

"We have no vote. The only way in which we can focus attention on our grievances, when we fail to convince through persuasion and argument, is to exercise our power, to go into the streets and demonstrate. We are going to do that."

Mr Mandela is confident that substantial progress is being made in a quest close to his heart: the forging of a "patriotic front" between the ANC and rival organisations, particularly the Pan-Africanist Congress.

He deflects PAC criticism of the ANC's proposed all-party congress as less important than the forging of close ties between ANC and PAC leaders.

"We are confident that there top and influential people in the PAC who are in favour of us pooling our resources and discussing our programmes."

Mr Mandela is confident, too, that the all-party congress idea will take root in the black community.

He is packing up as he talks, rummaging through his desk drawers, bending first to the left and then to right with the agility of a man at least 10 years younger.

At 72, Mr Mandela looks astonishingly well, despite the punishing schedule which has kept him moving at an incredible pace since his release almost a year ago. His ability to pace himself is a major part of his secret.

I switch my tape recorder off, convinced the interview is over. As I do so, Mr Mandela mentions almost casually that he has found time to engage President Lucas Mangope in direct discussions.

I switch my tape recorder back on, metaphorically and agitatedly kicking myself for turning it off.

It picks up his next words: "I won't go into details but we saw eye to eye on a number of issues and I am hopeful that we will be able to resolve (our differences)." □

# Far — but not far enough, says Mandela

THE ANC has praised President F W de Klerk for saying all apartheid legislation would be repealed, but urged him to scrap security legislation that prohibited free political expression.

On Saturday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela commended De Klerk and said the ANC welcomed "his belated acceptance of the principle that all people in our country are one nation".

"The ANC leader expressed satisfaction with what he described as the narrowing of views between the National Party and the ANC.

Despite this, the organisation still had some deep reservations about De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC also noted the "remarkable absence" of reference to security legislation — described by Mandela as "the most obstinate obstacles to free political activity".

"These omissions suggest a reluctance on the government's part to relinquish the inordinate powers it wields in terms of these laws," he said.

Mandela urged De Klerk to address the homelands issue and to adopt measures to ensure that all the people of SA, including those in the TBVC states, participated in determining its future. — Sapa.

# Govt seeks early repeal of race laws

CAPE TOWN — Government departments are scouring the statute books to find all clauses referring to race classification after President F W de Klerk's announcement that the repeal of the Population Registration Act this year will remove the last vestiges of apartheid in legislation.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday his department was working flat out to draw up legislation to repeal the Act and have it tabled early in this session of Parliament.

He said at least two Bills would be tabled soon: the repeal of the Population Registration Act, without the interim measures required to prop up the tricameral constitution, and another general Bill removing racial clauses in all other Acts of Parliament.

"We have to decide whether we draw up a general Act that can bring about the necessary changes to all the Acts or whether the different departments need different Bills to make the statute book devoid of all racially discriminatory legislation," he said.

Louw said his department still needed to investigate those stipulations required to keep the tricameral constitution operational and allow for

by elections. "I can assure you we are not going to just redraft the Population Registration Act in some other form."

On Friday Constitutional Development Minister Gerret Viljoen said there were a number of clauses in the constitution that referred directly to the Act and these needed to be retained.

"We will still have apartheid on the books as long as the tricameral constitution exists," he said.

He said everything promulgated under the Act would remain until a new constitution was enacted.

## Births

People classified under the Act would retain that classification and, for example, children going to school next year would still be registered by their racial classification.

All new births registered after the repeal of the Act would, however, be "race-classification-free".

On Friday, De Klerk set government's agenda for the year by committing the administration to:

□ Repealing the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Population Registration Act;

□ A multiparty conference which, through negotiation, would give constitutional

content to the adoption of the President's manifesto for a new SA which promised justice, full political rights and freedom to all. This includes a universal franchise; government based on the consent of the governed; equality before the law; a justiciable bill of rights; and freedom of expression, religion, movement and association;

- Legislation for local government that will enable communities to negotiate nonracial joint structures on a "one municipality, one taxbase" basis;
- Some form of social contract; and
- Redressing the historical inequalities of apartheid through economic restructuring, growth and negotiation.

The programme of economic restructuring, "in line with the political and socio-economic exigencies, is firmly on course", he said.

Depending on the interim measures introduced, De Klerk has met the five conditions stipulated in the US's Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act. The release of political prisoners and the return of exiles is due to be completed by April 30.

As a cover for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, government is planning to introduce a City and Town Environment Act which is designed to maintain standards not based on race.

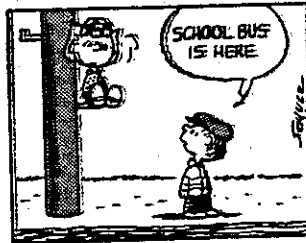
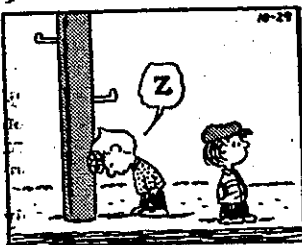
It leaves the decision of setting standards to either the city councils or a lower borough level.

On the economic front government plans further budget cuts and capital expenditure cuts as well as restructuring parastatals, with the concomitant selling off of shares, and continuing privatisation.

8/0am 4/2/91  
BILLY PADDOCK

## PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



FOR A CLASH BETWEEN PEACE OF MINDS...

TEA BAGS ROC
TEABAGS
TENNIS BISCU
TUNA
VANILLA ESSE
VIENNAS
VIENNAS
VINEGAR ASY
VISOLIE
YEAST
VARS PLAASME
AIRFRESHENER
BLEACH
CONDITIONER
STRAIGHTENER
CONDITIONER
STRAGHTENER
FURNITURE POI
FURNITURE POI
TOILET CLEANI
INSEK DODER
INSEK DODER
GIK
LOTION - LAN
LOTION - PROTEIN
LOTION - COCOA BUTTER
LOTION - LEMON GLYC
OLIVE OIL
OVEN CLEANER
OVEN CLEANER
OPWASMIDDEL
ROLL-ON (MEN - CHASE)
ROLL-ON (MEN - SHIELD)

# ANC, PAC speak with one voice

11A  
Sowetan 4/2/91

By **IKE MOTSAPI**

**IN a pledge of unity, the ANC and the PAC on Friday spoke in one voice for the first time.**

The two organisations announced their new-found alliance to 20 000 people during an anti-apartheid rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Mr Elias Motsoaledi, a senior member of the ANC, and PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander committed their organisations to working together to achieve a true and democratic government.

**Mistake**

Motsoaledi said blacks would be running the country by now were it not for the mistrust and disunity among black politicians in the past.

He told a cheering crowd that the time was now ripe for the ANC and

PAC to take over the government of South Africa.

He said: "I want to make it clear that the ANC and PAC have now realised their mistakes and are now working together.

**Intensify**

"We should have done this years ago because this could have helped us to achieve our objective of running this country.

"We are now ready to take over the government," he said.

Alexander said his organisation had joined forces with the ANC because "it was the right thing to do to achieve black unity".

Commenting also on State President FW de Klerk, he said the PAC was angered by the Presi-

dent's refusal to establish a constituent assembly.

"He has actually closed the door for negotiating with us," he said.

"The only option left for us now is to fight the racist regime until we gain victory.

"We are going to intensify the armed struggle," he said.

Miss Barbara Hogan, a regional ANC official, said the Government was in disarray and thus vulnerable to a takeover.

**Victim**

The atmosphere at the rally was tense as the large crowd marched to the Moroka police station.

Police were out in full force but maintained a low profile except for an alleged acid attack by officers on one man.

The victim, Hector Masango, was treated by first aid marshals of the ANC.

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2.53	
2.53	
1.92	
4.31	
4.86	
1.94	
2.26	
2.89	

South Africa 4/2/91

# Joint PAC, ANC rally

By **MONK NKOMO**

**RACISM**, colonialism and imperialism must be replaced by a democratic order in South Africa, ANC and PAC leaders said at a joint rally in Pretoria on Friday.

After an historic march through the city, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo and PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, told a crowd of about 10 000 that a constituent assembly should be formed and a new democratic constitution drawn up.

SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo chanted: "Viva ANC and PAC!" saying the march was for democracy and majority rule.

It was "the year of the struggle for people's power", he said.

"The process has begun and there is no turning back.

Publicity secretary of the Atteridgeville branch of the ANC Mr Ronnie Mamoepa described the joint march as historic and as "the beginning of serious communication".

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# De Klerk speech fails to excite

*Sowetan 4/2/91*

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's reformist opening address to Parliament was met with little enthusiasm from the main extra-parliamentary groups.

The initial reaction was that nothing has changed.

The groups noted that the main obstacles to negotiations - the release of political prisoners, the unconditional return of exiles, the repeal of security legislation and the termination of all political trials - received no mention in De Klerk's speech.

The ANC has given the Government until April 30 to resolve these issues before reconsidering its participation in the peace process.

Other groups focused merely on De Klerk's frank rejection of a constituent assembly, a demand highlighted

through mass action campaigns countrywide yesterday.

De Klerk's failure to address the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles stands firmly in the way of constitutional negotiations, Lawyers for Human Rights said in a statement on Saturday.

The organisation said it hoped the Minister of Justice, Mr ~~Coetsee~~ *Kobie*, would see a state-justice on the matter soon.

## Acts

LHR, however, welcomed the intended scrapping of the Land and Group Areas Acts, but said that the proposal to repeal the Population Registration Act was "couched" in vague terms.

The Government needs to clarify what it means by "temporary transitional measures," LHR said.

The PAC said in a

statement that the Government, in rejecting the call for a constituent assembly, was determined to maintain complete control of the transition process, thus excluding "the democratic participation of the people".

Said the PAC: "Apartheid is being reformed not abolished. We have made no progress and will have to shoulder on until our demands become irresistible."

The Azanian People's Organisation said that the power relations in South African society had not changed in any way.

"That is why Azapo rejected De Klerk's 'talks about talks'," said an Azapo spokesman.

## Power

For as long as the power to decide the destiny of our country remains in the hands of whites, black people should have no joy at all," the spokesman said.

Azapo said that the proposed repeal of the Land Acts and Group Areas Act would not return the land to the landless.

It rejected with contempt De Klerk's remarks that mass action was unacceptable. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Marchers move towards the Union Buildings to demand a constituent assembly.

# ANC praises FW but asks for more

*Sowetan 4/2/91*

THE ANC on Saturday lavished praise on State President FW de Klerk for announcing the coming repeal of all apartheid legislation, but went on to urge him to scrap repressive security legislation.

In its formal response to De Klerk's landmark announcements in Parliament on Friday, the ANC said the speech abided by its call for the end of apartheid.

"We therefore commend Mr FW de Klerk for his announcements yesterday that all apartheid legislation will be

abolished in the coming months.

"We also welcome his belated acceptance of the principle that all people in our country are one nation," said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the organisation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

In further praise, Mandela described De Klerk's manifesto as a fundamental departure from an apartheid framework. "It therefore deserves recognition."

The ANC leader expressed satisfaction with

what he described as the narrowing of view between the Nation Party and the ANC.

Despite this, the organisation still has some deep reservation about De Klerk's rejection of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Mandela also commented on what he called the "remarkable absence" of reference to security legislation in De Klerk's speech. He described such legislation as "the most obstinate obstacles to free political activity". - *Sana.*



# Azapo stands firm

11A

THE Azanian People's Organisation is not prepared to draw up a new constitution with bantustan leaders, the organisation's president said at the weekend.

"We can't trust them to determine the destiny of our oppressed masses," said president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

By MONK NKOMO and MOKGADI PELA

He was addressing scores of Azapo members who attended a service to commemorate the death of Black Consciousness leader Mr Onkgopotse Tiro at the Monrovia Church in Atteridgeville on Saturday.

Nefolovhodwe also re-

jected negotiations with the Government on the land issue. "We can't negotiate for the land because it belongs to us. FW de Klerk and his Cabinet must relinquish power, give us our land back, and allow us to determine our own destiny."

Referring to the formation of a constituent assembly, Nefolovhodwe warned that "we are most likely going to part ways with other black political organisations who may opt to have members of the NP in the drawing up of the new constitution."

In addition to honouring Tiro, the memorial service was held to highlight the plight of 360 workers at Vametco, a vanadium producing company in Bophuthatswana who have been on strike since September following a wage dispute.

The company has its headquarters in the US.

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ATLANTIS BUYERS CO-OPERATIVE

# Govt to propose centres for handing in MK arms

SKV 5/2/91  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government is to propose setting up jointly administered points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice: Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members inside South Africa should surface or face further security force action.

These proposals are expected to be made today at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC-Government working group empowered to deal with suspen-

sion of the ANC's armed struggle.

The group went into deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of MK members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year. The group met last month, the first time since November, but apparently only assessed its work.

# ANC, PAC in unity talks

By Al-Ameen Kafaar

Delegations from the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress met last night for the first time in 30 years.

After the two-hour meeting at a Johannesburg hotel, a joint announcement was made that a joint liaison committee would be established to determine a suitable date for the Patriotic Conference.

The ANC delegation, led by deputy-president Nelson Mandela, comprised national executive committee members Joe Slovo, Alfred Nzo and Pallo Jordan.

PAC-president Clarence Makwetu's delegation included general secretary Benny Alexander, vice-president Dikgang Moseneke and the secretary of legal affairs Willie Serete.

A national agenda, the possibility of an all-party congress, a constitutional assembly and interim government, unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles, were some of the issues discussed.

Mr Mandela said at the press conference after the meeting that their objectives were not "to gang blacks up against whites" but to work towards closer co-operation.

11/1/79  
Star 5/2/79

ANC, PAC discuss unity  
at first meeting in 30 years

APC 5/2/81  
14  
The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — An historic step towards black unity was taken when delegations from the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress met for the first time in 30 years to discuss joining forces for liberation.

After the two-hour meeting at a hotel here last night the parties issued a joint statement saying a joint liaison committee would be established to organise a "patriotic conference" next month.

The ANC-delegation, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, included national executive committee members Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Pallo Jordan. The PAC-president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, led his delegation, which included

general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, vice-president Mr Dikgang Mosenke and secretary of legal affairs Mr Willie Serete.

A "national agenda", the possibility of an all-party congress, a constitutional assembly and interim government, unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles, were some of the issues debated.

Members of both organisations were called on to end hostile activities against each other.

Mr Mandela said at a Press conference after the meeting that their objectives were not "to gang up blacks against whites" but to work towards closer co-operation and to deal with the crisis facing the country.

# Manifesto and Charter have points in common

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

AR 6/5 5/2/91 (11A)

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk's Manifesto for the New South Africa reflects in many ways a remarkable convergence towards the ANC's doctrinal testament, the Freedom Charter.

And yet, given the broad, often ill-defined and usually inately laudable precepts contained in both documents, it would be foolhardy to suggest there was a miraculous confluence of thinking between the President and the movement on just how to achieve the freedom, justice, prosperity and peace of the non-racial future to which they both profess a commitment.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert remarked recently that South African politics contained a disproportionately greater degree of consensus on goals than on the means to achieve them.

The manifesto and the charter tend to reflect this.

A cursory examination of the august phrasing - both documents possess elements of the grand political poetry of a Magna Carta - deceptively suggests a unanimity of intent in the President and the ANC.

## Consent

So, for instance, the charter has it that "no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people".

Barely distinguishable on this point, the manifesto says: "The government of the country shall at all times be based upon the consent of the governed."

Both use the conveniently slight "based on" to encompass the constitution and all the complexities that entails.

Similarly, the charter says: "Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws."

Again, the manifesto is barely distinguishable: "All the people of our land shall participate fully at all levels of government on the basis of universal adult suffrage."

The manifesto mentions the rights of minorities (though "defined on a non-racial basis") being protected in the constitution along with individual rights.

## Equality

The charter uses the terms "national groups" and "races" and promises them protection against insults, and the right to use their own language and develop their own "folk culture and customs".

Equality before the law is affirmed in both documents.

The charter: "All shall be equal before the law ... all laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed."

The manifesto: "All people shall be equal before the law, and shall enjoy equal rights regardless of race, colour, sex or creed; all discrimination between groups of people or between individuals will be eliminated and discriminatory legislation shall be repealed."

On the question of the freedom of movement and expression, the charter says: "The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

all shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad."

The manifesto, which adds a general proviso, says: "Freedom of expression, within the generally recognised bounds of responsibility, shall be the right of all people; freedom of movement and of association shall be guaranteed to all; freedom of religion and of worship shall be guaranteed for all."

The two documents diverge distinctly - and sometimes not so distinctly - on some points.

## Housing

On land, for instance, the charter says: "All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose."

The manifesto: "The ownership of property shall be open to all."

On housing, the charter promises: "All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security."

The manifesto: "Access to all to affordable shelter shall be a high priority."

On education, the charter says: "Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children."

The manifesto: "The goal of just and equitable educational systems, accessible to all, shall be striven for unswervingly."

## Wealth

While the charter speaks of restoring the national wealth to the people and transferring to the people the ownership of

certain sectors of the economy, the manifesto refers to a "free and equitable" economic system and the right of all to "sell their labour and market their products" in a system in which economic growth and the creation of employment will be "vigorously promoted".

In many instances, the charter is more specific - on worker protection, for instance, it stipulates a 40-hour week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, sick leave for all workers and paid maternity leave for working mothers - and it is longer than the manifesto.

Partly for this reason, it is not possible to match the two point for point.

It is clear that they converge on several key goals, but diverge on others and on mechanisms to achieve them.

For President De Klerk, the manifesto is a useful way of taking a signal step without risking the charge of being arrogantly unilateral.

## Provocative

After all these years, it could be seen as an answer to the echoing demands of the original charterists, a piquant acknowledgement, but its political value will depend largely on its capacity to provoke, to arouse disagreement and debate, rather than warm-hearted congratulation.

If it does turn out to be a provocative counterpoint, the manifesto could usefully stimulate the negotiation process.

Ironically, perhaps, if it were merely to earn deference and praise, it would not be half as effective an instrument for affirming common values.

CONSTITUTION

# ANC to probe disappearances

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ANC will investigate the mysterious disappearance during 1985 of three Eastern Cape civic leaders, Mr Nelson Mandela has announced.

The missing men are Mr Qaqawuli Gqolozzi, Mr Siphon Hashe and Mr Champion Galela, of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco). The ANC will also investigate the disappearance of student leader Mr Siphiso Mtinkulu and his friend Mr Topsy Madaka.

The Pebco men went missing after leaving their homes to meet a British embassy representative at Port Elizabeth's H F Verwoed airport on May 8, 1985.

Mr Mtinkulu was disabled on his release from detention, having been poisoned with thalium. He disappeared with Mr Madaka on his way to hospital in April 1982.

"Certain investigations will start soon and we will come back to the families and report our findings," Mr Mandela told Eastern Cape ANC leaders.

# ANC, PAC leaders hold unity talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior ANC members, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, met a PAC delegation headed by the organisation's president, Mr Clarence Makwethu, last night to strengthen ties between the rival organisations.

"The meeting marked the beginning of closer co-operation," Mr Mandela said.

The organisations will establish a liaison committee to formulate joint strategies and deal with incidences of inter-organisational violence.

Both leaders appealed to their members to cease all hostilities and maintain a spirit of political tolerance. — Sapa

# 'Paragraph 3' proving uphill battle

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Negotiations between the Government and the ANC remain bogged down after an apparently unsuccessful meeting yesterday of the crucial joint ANC-Government working group.

The meeting was arranged to

8 Feb 6/2/91  
discuss the practical implications of the ANC's suspension of armed actions as well as "related activities".

Sources said this second meeting this year of the so-called Paragraph Three working group in Pretoria had been "tough".

This seems to indicate a setback after earlier indications that the two sides were poised to find a way around their disagreements.

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Both sides, however, agreed to refer the matter to their principals, indicating that they had failed once again to make progress.

In November last year the working group suspended its activities and referred its differences to Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

The Government's main demand now seems to be that cadres of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

should hand in their weapons.

It is also demanding an end to the training and recruiting of MK cadres and an end to certain mass-action campaigns which the Government believes lead to widescale intimidation and violence.

The Government has decided that "worst-case" political offenders will not be released, nor exiles allowed to return, until the problems of the Paragraph Three group have been solved.

Nevertheless, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a press briefing in Cape Town yesterday that he believed the Government would meet the April 30 target date for releasing prisoners and granting exiles indemnity against arrest.

All these disagreements were "obstacles to negotiations" and the next stage of negotiations could not begin until they had been resolved, he said.

Star 6/21/91

## Soviet envoys <sup>11A</sup> have ANC ties

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Soviet Union has made two significant diplomatic changes in its Africa Department, says Dr Philip Nel, head of Stellenbosch University's Soviet studies unit.

Vladimir Kazimirov, the former Soviet ambassador to Angola, is the new head of the department and Boris Azian has been appointed Soviet ambassador to Botswana.

Mr Azian "favours closer ties with South Africa when the situation warrants it".

"They have close links with the ANC and there will only be a change once the ANC gives the go-ahead," Dr Nel said.



## Major and Hawke target sports sanctions

# ANC: Can FW deliver?

8/21/91

(11/1) (3)

**HARARE** — President de Klerk's announcements on eradicating apartheid were a measure of his seriousness to effect change in South Africa, but whether he would deliver the goods was another matter, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said last night.

The declaration was important, he told journalists after flying to Harare for this week's Frontline states'

summit and an Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee meeting.

However, he said, two crucial issues in South Africa were that the black majority had no vote and no representation in government.

Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk's announcements were received with mixed feelings depending on people's social and economic classification.

He said for whites, the impending repeal of the Group Areas, Population Registra-

tion and Land Acts caused a lot of excitement, but to the black majority, which did not have any meaningful income, this did not present any significant and immediate advantage.

"They do not have the resources to take advantage of this," he said.

In London yesterday, Prime Minister John Major told Parliament that Britain and Australia supported easing sports sanctions against South Africa after the deci-

sion to repeal key apartheid laws.

Describing President de Klerk's action as "a massive move forward", Mr Major said he and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke had agreed in a telephone call earlier in the day that the time was ripe for relaxing sanctions imposed under the 1977 Commonwealth Gleneagles agreement.

"He and I both very strongly agree that the time has come to begin lifting the

Commonwealth measures, in particular the sports sanctions, particularly where the sports are integrated in South Africa."

Government sources said some of the sanctions could be lifted before the Commonwealth summit in Harare in October.

Mr Major, a sports fan, said he had discussed the issue with Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku and US President George Bush.

The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid said it opposed relaxing sanctions, believing they were the only effective way to maintain pressure to end "the system".

Chairman Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria welcomed President de Klerk's statement, but added the trial of Winnie Mandela could not have come at a worse time. — Sapa-Reuter, Special Correspondent.

KA

# Mandela report: 'He's a star'

**LONDON.** — The ANC and Mr Nelson Mandela have been given a clean bill of health by the authoritative publication Africa Confidential.

The journal said in its latest edition that Mr Mandela was the "star" of the organisation's consultative conference last month.

And the ANC, it said, was now "more united and healthier than at any time in the past 30 years".

Despite this upbeat assessment, the bi-monthly journal pointed to a number of major obstacles facing the organisation.

These include the need for Mr Mandela to find "credible negotiators" to "sell" the idea of negotiation to the ANC ranks, after years of focusing on the seizure

of power.

"Mandela will need the support of people with proven militant credentials to keep talks in progress through the rough patches which they will undoubtedly encounter."

Figures like Mr Chris Hani and Mr Siphiso "Guebuza" Nyandeni could be of considerable importance in this regard.

His current negotiating team, says Africa Confidential, relies on several figures intent on trying to bolster their own positions by staying close to Mr Mandela, such as secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi.

It says Mr Thabo Mbeki, another supporter of negotiations,

is respected for his intellectual powers but does not have the common touch, while Mr Jacob Zuma's alleged lack of popularity stems from his being blamed in some quarters for the death in detention of Mr Thami Zulu.

Mr Aziz Pahad, another highly-regarded intellectual, is not well-known by the rank-and-file due to his long sojourn in London.

On an organisational level, the paper says, the ANC's Sauer Street headquarters have an "unwieldy bureaucracy in need of overhaul... its present shortcomings have inspired the nickname African National Chaos".

The conference showed that predictions of an ANC split were wrong.

# ANC consolidates to 'spread the message'

CAPT Tenz 6/2/91 114

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC is shopping for a building in Johannesburg where they can house all their central functions, including a radio station.

ANC spokeswoman Ms They Matlala said this yesterday in response to reports that the ANC was negotiating with Transkeian authorities to set up a radio station there.

Among the buildings being looked at in Johannesburg was Shell House but "nothing is finalised yet — we've got the staff but need the space", she said.

Ms Matlala said that the ANC's Radio Freedom programme would continue operating out of

Madagascar, Tanzania, Mozambique and Lusaka for the "foreseeable future".

The idea of an internal ANC radio station was in the "feasibility study stage", she emphasised.

## Licences

"For example we're debating whether it is better to aim it at the rural areas, where information about us is most needed, or in the PWV area, where more people have radios," she said.

Television was also being looked at as a communication medium, she said.

The ANC was doing "all it could to acquire radio and television licences" but no meetings had

been held with the SABC, she said.

Ms Matlala confirmed that discussions had been held between the ANC's Border branch, the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) and the Transkei government, but described this as a "regional initiative".

TBC managing director Mr Leslie Xinwa was quoted in weekend reports as saying he had "no problem" with the ANC wanting to set up a radio station in the Transkei.

Preliminary discussions had begun with ANC head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, but nothing concrete had yet been agreed on.

"They are obviously doing more research on the subject," he said.

**State in  
bid to  
disarm**  
6/2/91  
**MK**

THE Government is to propose jointly administered-points with the ANC where members of Umkhonto we Sizwe could hand in their arms.

And the ANC is to be given a choice - members of Umkhonto inside South Africa should surface or face further action by the security forces.

These proposals were expected to be made yesterday at a meeting in Pretoria of the joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle. (11A)

The group deadlocked when the parties could not agree on the recruitment and training of Umkhonto members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

These issues were then discussed at a meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute the working group had to complete its report by September 15 last year. - *Sowetan* Correspondent. (11A)

# ANC faces demand for MK to lay down its arms

Sowetan 6/2/91



THE Government hopes to convince the ANC to jointly administer a disarmament of the liberation group's military wing.

If the ANC declines, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country are likely to face further action by security forces.

The Government's proposal was on the agenda of a meeting in Pretoria yesterday of a joint ANC/Government working group empowered to deal with the suspension of the armed struggle.

The group struck a serious deadlock last year when the two teams could not agree on the continued recruitment and training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members and the ANC's campaign of mass action.

The deadlock was overcome after these issues were discussed by President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The working group was to have completed its report by September 15 in accordance with the Pretoria Minute.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday in Parliament that the Government insisted that all parties involved in negotiations should be committed to peace.

"In this regard it is imperative that the working group on Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute should urgently conclude its consideration of the full implications of the ANC's undertaking to

suspend armed actions and related activities and of all outstanding questions arising from this decision," he said.

The working group met last month, the first time since November.

Viljoen said the Government is hoping that both parties will formulate proposals for dealing with the suspension of the armed struggle.

He also maintained that the Government distinguishes between mass action such as political rallies and mass action such as boycotts and stayaways.

"The State President has clearly distinguished between, on the one hand, peaceful mass action forming part of recognised

democratic processes and, on the other hand, unacceptable forms of mass action.

"Mr Mandela is therefore completely at fault in creating the impression that the government is indiscriminately rejecting all mass action, thereby depriving the ANC of a legitimate political instrument. This is not true," he said.

The ANC argues that Umkhonto we Sizwe is a legal organisation and as such is entitled to continue its activities.

In November, the Government unilaterally linked the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to the satisfactory resolution of the "armed action" issue. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

# Liberation groups left out in the cold

Source 6/2/91

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IN moving ahead with its own "post-apartheid" agenda, the Government has left liberation groups out in the cold.

While the ANC, PAC and Azapo are out demonstrating, the Government is speedily removing remaining discriminatory legislation.

It is also deciding the format, time and place for a negotiating forum as well as the basic approach to a settlement.

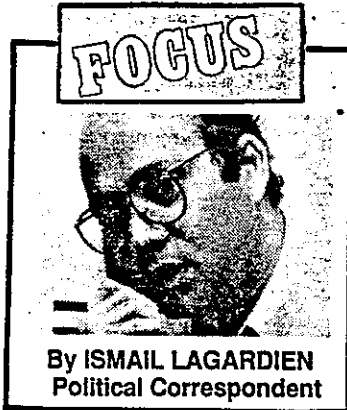
State President FW de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday authenticated his pledge to shift away from apartheid and towards a just system.

## Determined

He seems determined to do so before establishing the format and size of a negotiating forum.

In an indication of how the Government sees itself, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen said on Monday that the Government has become "the most effective anti-apartheid front".

He said that while others were



still trapped in fighting apartheid, the Government is busy looking at a post-apartheid phase.

De Klerk's speech did in fact signal fundamental social and economic restructuring in the near future.

The political rebuilding, it seems, is the only thing being left to the negotiating forum.

The speech addressed the question of economic restructuring in the public service. Education, housing, health and agriculture are the main areas where economic restructuring will take place, according to the speech.

Viljoen said that a statutory system aimed at ensuring self-determination for all must be built on justice, equality, practicality and affordability.

He lamented the cry of "One Settler One Bullet," which he said comes from "one sick circle" while the rest of the country strives for peace and reconciliation.

The Government is preparing to meet soon with major extra-parliamentary groupings for exploratory talks, but did not give a specific date, Viljoen said.

He also re-extended the invitation to the PAC and Azapo to enter into the talks.

## Serious

"I would like to give the assurance that the Government is seriously concerned to achieve the participation of all important role players," he said.

However, he noted that the Government remains adamantly opposed to a constituent assembly.

Quoting Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Viljoen said a con-

stituent assembly would leapfrog the whole negotiating process.

"By so doing the concept of negotiation would be rendered meaningless and without effect" as after the resulting constitution the "simple majority decides", he said.

Meanwhile from across the borders, accolades and promises of re-admission to the global economy are arriving for De Klerk.

The European Community has indicated that it will lift sanctions as soon as legislation scrapping the Group Areas, Land and Population Registration acts are tabled.

From Brussels it was reported yesterday that South Africa is being considered in the long-term membership to the African Caribbean and Pacific group of developing countries.

Reports about South Africa's re-admission to world sports are also circulating. South Africa could be re-admitted to the Olympics within months.

And all of this is happening before there is a black or non-racial government in power.

# Marches a 'great success'

*South Africa 6/2/91*  
THE march by thousands of people against apartheid last week showed that blacks were ready to take over control of the country, an ANC official said yesterday.

Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, an official of the ANC's regional executive committee, said the organisation was pleased that so many people had turned out to "demand" the es-

*11/1*  
**By IKE MOTSAPI**

establishment of a constituent assembly.

"In the constituent assembly the masses will elect people who will serve in the envisaged new government.

"People elected to serve in the constituent assembly will then draw the new constitution for the new South Africa," he said.

Mamoepa said more than 140 000 supporters of the ANC, PAC and Azapo took part in marches in the PWV area alone.

The figures for the PWV area showed that the marches were a "great success".

"This is a significant step which indicates that

blacks are ready to hold their own as far as running this country is concerned.

"The peaceful marches have shown that blacks are tired of being tossed around and told what to do by people who do not have their aspirations and interests at heart.

"The people from various political organisations have also clearly shown they shared a common interest of wanting to see a truly democratic government being established in the country.

"I want to take this opportunity to thank our supporters and those of other organisations for endorsing our call for a constituent assembly,"

Mamoepa added.



The ANC and PAC scored a first when their leaders met after 30 years for talks to agree on joint common action. At the Johannesburg meeting on Monday were (from left) ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke and Benny Alexander, PAC secretary-general.

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Savelan 6/2/91

Pic: JOE MOLEFE



## Report goes to FW, Mandela

PATRICK BULGER (119)

ANC and government positions on the organisation's suspended armed struggle have been referred back to President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The ANC-government working group on the armed struggle met yesterday and decided to refer a report on the matter back to their principals, a source said. (10/04/1991)

The meeting considered a report drawn up by ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and government representative SS van der Merwe.

At a previous meeting, the source said, the ANC was given the option of handing in its weapons or facing security force action and prosecution for illegal possession of arms.

The ANC rejected the ultimatum.

No date had been set for a future meeting, the source said.

# LP-ANC contact broken off, says Hendrickse

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — Initial contact between the Labour Party and the ANC after its unbanning last year had been broken off completely, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

Speaking at a press briefing, Mr Hendrickse indicated that ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela's efforts to establish relations with the Labour Party had been quashed by his adjutants.

"Dr Nelson Mandela stands out as a person who is willing to compromise, but there are forces around him that are in a sense dictating some areas in which he has already made pronouncements," he said, referring to Mr Mandela's promise

to meet LP leaders in Cape Town during a visit last year which had not materialised because of pressure from ANC leaders in the western Cape.

He also revealed he had personally invited Mr Mandela to address the LP's annual congress in Cape Town in December. No response had been received to three written invitations.

A healthy relationship between the LP and ANC had been established at three meetings with Mr Mandela and ANC leaders last year.

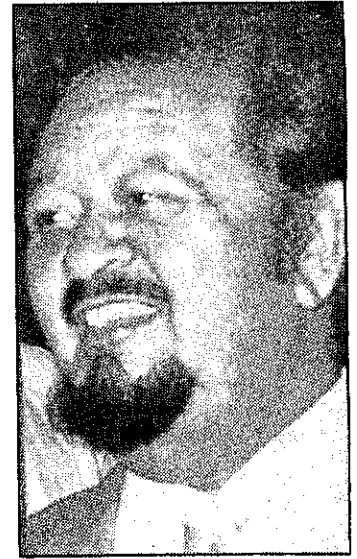
But while he and Mr Mandela had agreed on certain procedures, there would "always be a change of mind afterwards", which indicated that the ANC leader was not allowed to make his own decisions, Mr Hendrickse said.

11A  
Asked about the LP's membership in view of the ANC's unbanning, Mr Hendrickse said that initially there had been "a euphoric movement away from the Labour Party to the ANC".

Since then it had become clear that the ANC and its allies could not meet expectations, and the LP's membership had increased since September.

ANC policy on a unitary state — as opposed to a federal state — and its alliance with the SA Communist Party ruled out formal co-operation with the LP.

Mr Hendrickse said the LP's sympathies rested with the NP and Inkatha Freedom Party, though physical alliances would not be formed because "the LP has a particular role to play in South African politics".



The Rev Allan Hendrickse . . . efforts thwarted.

Spectrum

# The remarkable Mr Mandela

**STANLEY UYS of the Argus Foreign Service, reporting from London, discusses the qualities and abilities of Nelson Mandela, a year after his release.**

**WATCHING** Nelson Mandela being interviewed by Arthur Miller on television here the other night, the thought occurred to me: does South Africa realise what a remarkable man it has in its midst?

When Mandela was released from prison a year ago, he was engulfed in hero worship. Then the doubts set in.

Whites took alarm at his talk of nationalisation, the armed struggle, etc, and black militants became suspicious over his confidential chats with President F W de Klerk.

Mandela has made his mistakes, of course. Someone should have told him that you cannot embrace Gaddafi and Arafat one moment and then expect the Jewish community of Florida to donate money to the ANC the next.

Nor do you ask the international community, shortly after De Klerk has released you from prison, to begin a diplomatic boycott of South Africa (as Mandela did in Stockholm).

Be that as it may: Mandela has never wavered in his commitment to a negotiated settlement, and that is what matters. If, one year after Mandela's release, an assess-

**'The real quality of the man is his ability to see things in their historical sweep, to detach himself from events, to stand outside them and identify the mainstream'**

ment is to be made of him, this is the central fact that must be recognised.

The Mandela-De Klerk initiative is still the only game in town.

There are some, even many, who argue that Mandela's initiative has failed, because fundamentally nothing has changed in South Africa. This is nonsense. Everything is either changing or will change, because the balance of power between the white and black communities has been altered.

This is the real "irreversibility" of change in the country — and Mandela can take the credit for it. With a little help from President De Klerk, of course.

Is it a coincidence that these two men should emerge on the political stage just when South Africa needed them most urgently, or are

these things sometimes written in the stars?

Mandela has taken to television as if to the manner born, although the long night-shirt he wore for the interview (well, it looked like a night-shirt), with its blues, pinks, red, orange and yellow, was a little startling.

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There's more than a hint of the autocrat in Mandela, and I suspect we will see more of this side of his character in due course.

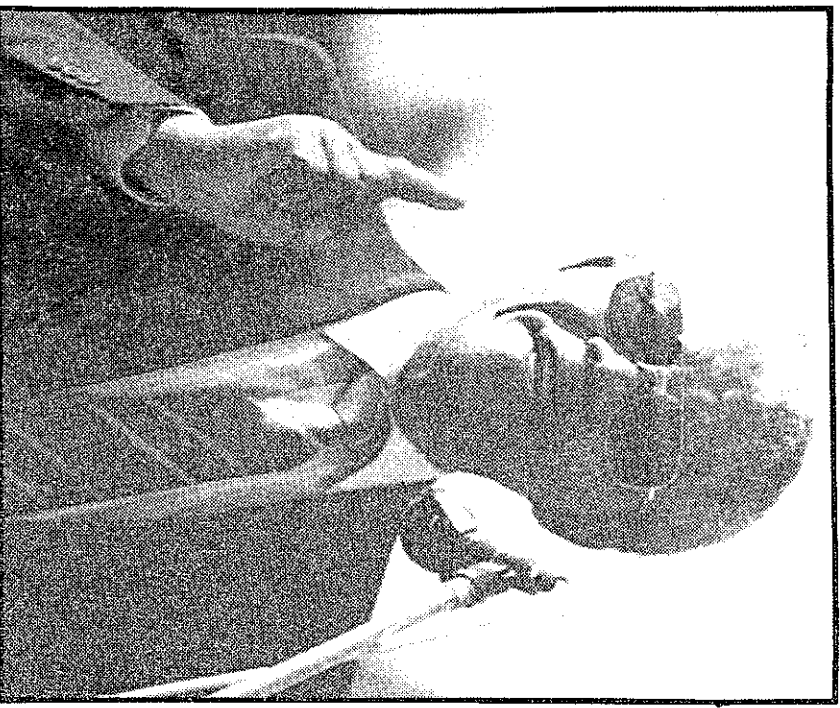
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as prisoners on Robben Island they had managed to establish not only relationships, but even "close friendships" with the more humane warders.

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No one could have blamed him if he had emerged with revenge in his heart, yet he chose to become a reconciler, and even has profoundly complimentary things to say about F W de Klerk and Koobie Coetsee.

White South Africans are lucky to have black leaders like Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu — and Archbishop Tutu — negotiating with them. The younger generation, apartheid's children, live by a different code.

If there are whites (or blacks) who are wondering where Mandela is leading the country, let them do what Miller tried to do: look at the man's character. This is the real test of leadership. Mandela will have his ups and downs, and maybe one day everything will fall in on him, but if it does it will not be because his character failed the country.

CNF-1145 7/2/91 (11A) (11A)

# Veteran SA communist stresses trade union democracy

TRADE union democracy was a key facet of a future democracy in South Africa, veteran trade unionist and communist Ms Ray Alexander said yesterday.

"Our trade union taught its members the meaning of democracy," she told a press conference in the city marking the 50th anniversary of the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu).

Latvian-born Ms Alexander, 78, spear-

headed the formation of Fawu's forerunner, the Food and Canning Workers Union, on February 6, 1941. She was later banned and went into exile in 1965. She and her husband, historian Dr Jack Simons, returned to South Africa last year.

SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo said in a message of support that his organisation was committed to trade union independence and democracy.

Fawu vice-president Mr Peter Malepe said the union had grown from 40 000 to 130 000 members following its merger with two other unions in 1986.

With its rapid expansion and geographical spread, the union had embarked on a restructuring campaign, he added.

Fawu would discuss restructuring and various campaigns, including one on Aids, at its national conference in June. — Sapa

## Labour's love lost

THE Labour Party is not in contact with the ANC as its sympathies lie with Inkatha and the National Party, its leader, the Mr Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

At one stage last year Nelson Mandela had phoned him regularly, but forces around the ANC deputy president had seemed bent on reversing decisions they reached, Mr Hendrickse said.

# Mandela enters Ciskei rumpus

WT South 7/2-13/2/91.

~~119~~  
119

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has become involved in a war of words with Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The homeland chief reportedly called the regional ANC leaders "a bunch of nincompoops" and announced he would have Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, shot on sight.

In an interview on Radio Ciskei this week, Gqozo confirmed Mandela had contacted him.

Gqozo appeared to be backpedalling on his allegations against the ANC, claiming he had been misquoted in a newspaper article.

He repeated his threat that, if Hani continued to make utterances against his government at rallies in the Ciskei, he would not hesitate to "deal with him".

## Defiantly

In the article Gqozo was quoted as linking Hani with Mr Charles Sebe, killed last week during an alleged attempt to topple Gqozo's government.

Meanwhile, Hani in an exclusive interview with SOUTH, reacted defiantly to Gqozo's threats.

"I am not going to stay away from any part of South Africa. If I'm called on to go to Ciskei to do the work of the ANC, I will go to Ciskei," he said.

Hani called allegations that he had plotted with Sebe "absolutely rubbish".

"I would never work with Charles Sebe. Sebe has his own history and track record. He persecuted all of us, he persecuted the ANC. He was responsible for the detention of our people."

The ANC was not interested in confrontation with homeland leaders. "However, just as we respect their right to express their views openly, we believe it is a democratic right of the ANC members to differ with some of the strategies of these bantustan leaders," Hani said.

# Winnie faces greatest test

South 7/2-13/2/91

11A

2/3

From Mono Badela  
Johannesburg

WINNIE Mandela has never been one not to fight back against the odds and attacks by the apartheid government.

But this week she faced what could be her greatest test ever — a court appearance which could send her to jail for a long time if found guilty.

The court proceedings may blacken the Mandela name with it.

She has already lost the first stage of the battle — attempts to have the case quashed.

## Confidence

In court and outside the courtroom during the two days of hearing Winnie Mandela, with husband Nelson always at her side, displayed confidence.

Despite the seriousness of the occasion, the Mandelas smiled and chatted with friends and family.

But the lightheartedness is fragile.

Winnie Mandela is accused of kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

The case involves the alleged abduction of four youths from a Methodist Church manse in Soweto by Winnie Mandela's bodyguards or members of the Mandela United Football Club.

Teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, 14, who was found murdered in



**SOLIDARITY:** Nelson and Winnie Mandela outside court

nearby Soweto last year, was one of the four youths.

Jerry Richardson, the coach, was found guilty last year of Stompie's death.

Winnie Mandela is being charged with seven others — four of whom have jumped bail.

ANC spokespeople have closed ranks around Mandela and say the trial amounts to political harassment by the government.

Asked whether the trial would in any way hurt the image of the ANC, its chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, replied: "They hope it will ... but it won't."

But many ANC insiders view the trial as being against Winnie Mandela in her private capacity and not as a representative of the ANC.

They point out that at the time of the alleged abuses in her Soweto home, she was not organisationally connected to the ANC beyond being the wife of one of its leading figures.

The case resumes on Monday. Among the 30 state witnesses are the Reverend Paul Verryn of the Methodist Church in Orlando West, Soweto, from whose premises the youths were allegedly abducted, and Mrs Joyce Manaki Pu leng Seipei, mother of Stompie.

# US gives ANC R8-m

11A  
~~11A~~

Govetlan 7/2/91

By MATHATHA TSEDU

**THE ANC is to receive R8.4 million from the United States Congress to finance its activities, according to a document issued by the Zimbabwe Institute on Southern Africa.**

Zisa said in a fact sheet published last month titled *US funds for democracy*, that the money was part of a R25 million grant by the US Congress to "promote democracy and negotiations" in South Africa.

Zisa said the State Department and the US Agency for International Development, had announced that Inkatha would receive R2.5 million for research and training in "management, political communications and election organisation as well as office rent".

ANC spokesman, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, yesterday said the organisation had approached the US Congress last year when deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, visited that country.

He said the organisation had approached congress, as

opposed to the Bush administration because they did not want the funds to be used to compromise the ANC into adopting positions in favour of the US government.

He denied that acceptance of the money would lead the organisation to soft-peddle on its comments about the US government.

"People can look at our position on the Gulf and will see that there is no soft-peddling at all," he said.

## Reserve fund

About R1.75 million has been set aside as a "reserve fund primarily to support the infrastructure requirements of parties not yet eligible for funding because they have not chosen to participate in negotiations and have not renounced violence".

Organisations falling in such categories have until February 28 to apply, after which date the money would

be reallocated to the ANC and Inkatha, Zisa said.

Other recipients of the money include:

\* The University of Witwatersrand Centre for Policy Studies which receives R562 500;

\* The Free Trade Union Institute of the US based National Endowment for Democracy receives R112 500 to develop a "Worker Charter";

\* The Washington-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law will receive R1 million to "set up a legal and constitutional advisory committee in collaboration with the ANC and to establish a constitutional law library;

\* The National Democratic Institute, get R3 million, "to enhance public awareness and understanding of the negotiation process";

\* The National Institute for International Affairs, receives R3 million to conduct public opinion surveys, draft rules for the functioning of parties under a new constitution, and provide political party training;



# Mandela is the right man at the right time

11A  
Sowetan  
7/2/91

LONDON - Watching Nelson Mandela being interviewed by Arthur Miller on television here the other night, the thought occurred to me: does South Africa realise what a remarkable man it has in its midst?

When Mandela was released from prison a year ago, he was engulfed in hero worship. Then the doubts set in. Whites took alarm at his talk of nationalisation, the armed struggle, etc., and black militants became suspicious over his confidential chats with President F W de Klerk.

Mandela has made his mistakes, of course. Someone should have told him that you cannot embrace Gaddafi and Arafat one moment and then expect the Jewish community of Florida to donate money to the ANC the next.

Nor do you ask the international community, shortly after De Klerk has released you from prison, to begin a diplomatic boycott of South Africa (as Mandela did in 'Stockholm).

## Unwavering

Be that as it may, Mandela has never wavered in his commitment to a negotiated settlement, and that is what matters. If, one year after Mandela's release, an assessment is to be made of him, this is the central fact that must be recognised. The Mandela-De Klerk initiative is still the only game in town.

There are some, even many, who argue that Mandela's initiative has failed, because fundamentally nothing has changed in South Africa.

This is nonsense. Everything is either changing or will change, because the balance of power between the white and black communities has been altered.

This is the real 'irreversibility' of change in the country - and Mandela can take the credit for it. With a little help from De Klerk, of course.

Is it a coincidence that these two men should emerge on the political stage just when South Africa needed them most urgently,

## FOCUS

By STANLEY UYS

or are these things sometimes written in the stars?

Mandela has taken to television as if to the manner born, although the long nightshirt he wore for the interview (well, it looked like a nightshirt), with its blues, pinks, red, orange and yellow, was a little startling. Television is a medium that requires minimum not maximum gestures. One should never do anything on it to frighten the horses.

## Sensible

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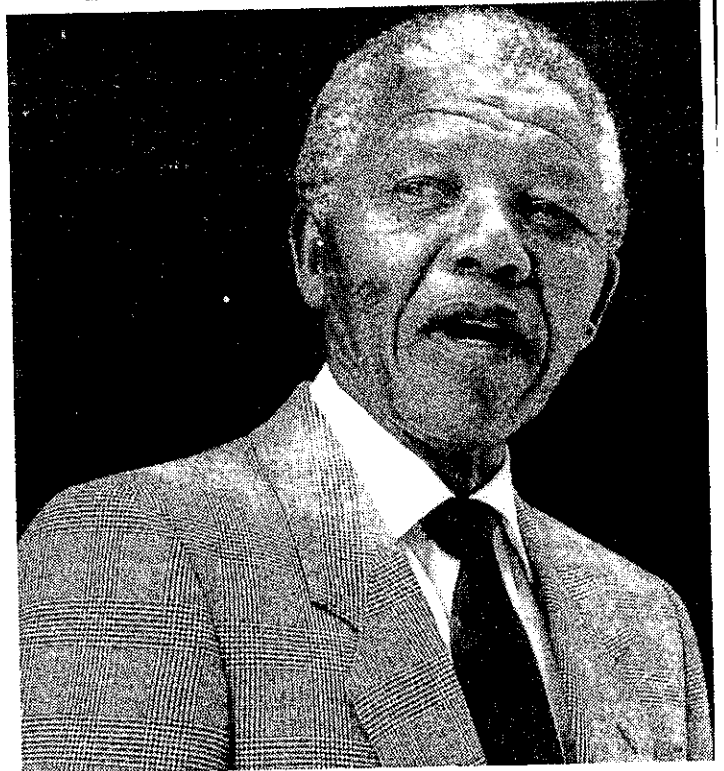
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He does not overdo the humility though. Watch those flint-like eyes next time. There's more than a hint of the autocrat in Mandela, and I suspect we will see more of this side of his character in due course. There was a warning flick of the whip at the ANC's January 8 meeting.

## Intriguing

The question that intrigued Miller, as it intrigues most of us, was: what are Mandela's qualities, what are the gifts of character, that have enabled him to make such an impact on South African politics?

Well, first, he is what one would call a very proper man. Rather endearingly, he told us that he was reared in the tradition of mission education - you wore a tie if you were a university graduate and your behaviour and dress had to correspond with this image. You were educated to be a man of honour.



MANDELA . . . a man of honour.

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He has thought his values through, and in my book that makes him a man of honour.

But the real quality of the man is his ability to see things in their historical sweep, to detach himself from events, to stand outside them and identify the mainstream. This really is what matters in politics, not the slipstream rhetoric that puts the wind up some whites.

Mandela also has the ability to see human beings outside of their politics. Miller remarked on this, and Mandela in response related how as prisoners on Robben Island they had managed to establish not only relationships, but even 'close friendships' with the more humane warders. Nowhere, he insists, does a culture exist that can make its people impervious to change.

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distinguish between good whites and bad whites - for a black man who spent 27 years of his life behind bars, and for years before that was harassed and persecuted by the police.

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If there are whites (or blacks) who are wondering where Mandela is leading the country, let them do what Miller tried to do: look at the man's character. This is the real test of leadership.

Mandela will have his ups and downs, and maybe one day everything will fall in on him, but if it does it will not be because his character failed the country.

# State and ANC talks hit snags

Sowetan 7/2/91

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and the ANC remain bogged down after an apparently unsuccessful meeting yesterday of the joint ANC/Government working group discussing the ANC's suspension of armed actions.

Sources said this second meeting this year of the so-called "paragraph three" working group had been "tough".

This seems to indicate a setback after earlier indications that the two sides were poised to find a way around their disagreements.

The Government's main demand now seems to be that cadres of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe should hand in their weapons.

It is also demanding an end to the training and

~~SECRET~~ (11A)

Sowetan Correspondent

recruiting of MK cadres and an end to certain mass action campaigns which it believes lead to intimidation and violence.

The Government has decided that "worst-case" political offenders will not be released nor exiles allowed to return, until the problems of the "paragraph three" group have been solved.

Nonetheless, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a Press briefing in Cape Town yesterday that he believed the Government would meet the April 30 target date for releasing prisoners and granting indemnity against arrest to exiles.

All these disagreements are "obstacles to negotiations" and the next stage of negotiations cannot begin until they have been resolved.

Patrick Laurence reflects on the emerging concord between the ANC and PAC

# Ready for long-distance race

SPW 8/2/91

~~1117~~  
1117

**P**RESIDENT F W de Klerk clearly outpaced his opponents in extra-parliamentary organisations over the past week leaving them seemingly flat-footed as he dashed ahead to the acclaim of Western leaders.

But it was clear as the week ended that a long and arduous race lay ahead, in which the present front runner was not assured of victory.

Mr de Klerk, who was praised last month by an American professor, Samuel Huntington, for his ability to surprise his foes on the Left and Right with sudden "blitzkrieg" moves, was first off the mark when he opened Parliament on February 1.

His rivals in the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, anticipating that Mr de Klerk would use the occasion to win support here and abroad for his reformist administration, tried to distract attention from his performance by organising mass protest marches.

But Mr de Klerk won the day by including the Population Registration Act — the legislative cornerstone of apartheid — in the list of laws destined for the dustbin. Referring to the impending

abrogation of the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, President de Klerk declared with oratorical flair: "The repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era."

The Conservative Party, which walked out of Parliament in disgust, complained that Mr de Klerk had no mandate for the radical changes he had placed on the agenda. Corné Mulder of the CP accused Mr de Klerk of deceiving the voters.

Professor Huntington, however, would have applauded. As he told The Star, blitzkrieg tactics have to be deployed in combination with "Fabian strategy" for reform to be implemented successfully in complex societies.

"Fabian strategy" necessitates concealing the extent of the reform programme from the broad public to avoid raising its levels of alarm, or expectations, too much. The idea is not to be too frank about the reform schedule but to move rapidly and decisively when a decision to press ahead on any issue is taken.

Mr de Klerk raced ahead after his blitzkrieg announcement, leaving his CP foes flummoxing and his opponents in the ANC and the

PAC gasping for breath. But even as the fleet-footed Mr de Klerk surged forward, ANC and PAC leaders, preparing for a long race, put their long-standing enmity behind them, joined hands and set out in pursuit.

On the very day that Mr de Klerk pronounced that the statute book would be devoid of racially discriminatory legislation "within months," ANC and PAC leaders were marching together.

In Cape Town ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and PAC president Clarence Makwetu linked hands, in Pretoria South African Communist Party general secretary and senior ANC executive member, Joe Slovo, and PAC vice-president Dikgang Mosenke, led a protest march through the streets of Pretoria: at Soweo's Jabulani Stadium, ANC matriarch Albertina Sisulu smiled in unison with the PAC's secretary general Benny Alexander.

Three days later the emerging solidarity between the ANC and PAC was given further emphasis at two separate events.

The first was the trial at the Rand Supreme Court of Winnie Mandela, wife of the ANC deputy president, on charges of kidnapping and assault. One of her de-

fence advocates is Mr Meseneke, the same man who walked through Pretoria with Mr Slovo.

The second event was the meeting that might be described as high-powered ANC and PAC delegations, the first formal meeting at national level between the two organisations for 30 years. The delegations were led by Nelson Mandela and Mr Makwetu.

After the talks Mr Mandela told journalists progress had been made towards closer co-operation between the two organisations on the major issues facing South Africa. Mr Makwetu, in keeping with the PAC's more radical image, spoke about the imperative need for the two organisations to "confront the common enemy".

A joint statement disclosed that further moves were in the offing to consolidate ties between the two organisations, including establishment of a permanent liaison committee, a meeting between their national executive committees and future combined actions.

Apart from their mutual dislike of apartheid, in whatever form, ANC and the PAC policies converged on one central point: their demand that the task of drafting a

new nonracial constitution for South Africa should be assigned to a constituent assembly, a notion which Mr de Klerk once again rejected in his speech to Parliament.

The ANC-PAC rapprochement meant the campaign for a constituent assembly was poised to escalate even while Mr de Klerk was rejecting it. The campaign would push the ANC and its new ally to the fore again and, possibly, carry them past Mr de Klerk.

The February 4 meeting between ANC and PAC delegations took place exactly a week after the signing of an accord in Durban between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Durban accord was concerned mainly with finding ways of ending the fighting between ANC supporters and Inkatha loyalists. But it left open the possibility of wider co-operation between the two organisations.

The PAC had earlier acted as a pathfinder to that possible wider unity through its slogan "peace among Africans" and by accepting Inkatha envoys at its functions instead of turning them away.

In his address at the Durban talks, Inkatha president Mangos-

uthu Buthelezi spelt out his opposition to the idea of handing over responsibility for drafting a new constitution to a constituent assembly.

His thinking converged closely with Mr de Klerk's. The way forward should be chartered by round-table discussions between existing parties, Chief Buthelezi contended.

But at a news conference afterwards Chief Buthelezi added an important and largely unreported corollary. "We in the Inkatha Freedom Party are open to argument that we are wrong," he said.

It presented a challenge to Mr Mandela, who, soon after his release from jail a year ago, set himself the task of winning over Mr de Klerk's potential allies in the black community.

Mr Mandela's considerable prestige and his undoubted prowess as a politician raised the prospect of a powerful propulsion in the direction of a constituent assembly by a tripartite alliance between the ANC, the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The surge could carry the tripartite alliance past President de Klerk in a manner reminiscent of Aesop's fable of the tortoise and the hare. □

FIM 8/2/91  
NATAL ACCORD  
**A FRAGILE PEACE**

Nelson Mandela of the ANC and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party are expected to begin their Natal peace tour on Monday.

Neither side would confirm or deny the date after it was given to the *FM* by reliable sources.

It is expected that the tour will begin in northern Natal with a visit to King Goodwill Zwelithini, king of the Zulus. Northern Natal is also where the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord was signed on September 1. This was important in paving the way for last week's meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela.

ANC and Inkatha leaders are also trying to set up peace forums with businessmen in Natal. They want help in working for peace and in restructuring the battered Natal economy. The Inkatha Central Committee at the weekend hailed the meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela, saying it could lead to peace in Natal.

Both sides acknowledge that ending violence will be a complex process because of the extent of bitterness fostered over four years of factional warfare. "Quite intensive hatred has been engendered against Inkatha because of atrocities committed here and bitterness has been such that hostility is difficult to stop," says Sibusiso Ndebele, secretary of the ANC's southern Natal region.

Themba Khoza, Transvaal head of the Inkatha Youth League, agrees: "Violence has been going on for too long for it to end in the twinkling of an eye. It will take time and a lot of physical effort. We still have to address rallies to inculcate in members an acceptance of other organisations."

Ndebele believes "there are people who have a vested interest in continued violence, the most obvious element is the criminal element and warlords who profit by violence."

"That is why the agreement talks about reconstruction and development. The basis of violence is apartheid and the scarcity of resources it has caused. The homelands can't

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provide enough housing, hospitals, schools. But if there is striving to attain these goals, it will bring communities closer together.

"We are not going to get people to shake hands at local level when one is in a house, and the home of the other has been razed. There have been 8 000 deaths, and around 60 000 people in the Maritzburg area alone have been displaced. We will need help from business and donors to rebuild." Ndebele also says government must urgently provide more land for housing.

Khoza believes the Inkatha task is less difficult than the challenge faced by the ANC, because Inkatha members respond more readily to discipline — "not that ANC members are not disciplined."

The most notable change since the talks last week is the very careful formulation of statements by both sides. Each is pointing out the other side's role in past violence, but taking care not to use provocative language. For instance, according to Khoza, there is an agreement not to publicise attacks, and to work together to find solutions and discipline culprits or hand them over to police.

Jacob Zuma, ANC NEC member and chairman of its southern Natal region, says government and police will have to play a different, more impartial role to back up peace measures. Both Inkatha and the ANC have been very critical about the role of the police in conflict. "Peace will take some time," says Zuma, "the complexity of vio-

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lence results from how the apartheid State nurtured violence."

Willies Mchunu, ANC northern Natal regional chairman, says work must be done to break down "a suspicion among people who perceive they have no freedom of association. The agreement will work if all adhere to it, and tolerate political activity by the other side."

Mchunu says a major problem in his area is large-scale arms smuggling from Maputo; people carry and display weapons. "What that means is that open law and order has collapsed, and that endangers people's lives." He says there are people who have committed crimes in the names of both organisations, but it is hoped that co-operation between Inkatha and ANC will put a stop to this.

There are still areas where an escalation of violence could occur, says Mchunu, "particularly where there are no proper organisational structures. It is very difficult to bring people together in such areas."

Charlene Smith

## THE FINAL CARDS

In the eyes of most Western governments, President F W de Klerk has removed all the remaining obstacles to the lifting of sanctions. This makes the ANC vulnerable, because it had insisted on retaining sanctions as a prime negotiating tool. Senior ANC members have confided to the *FM* that the organisation is going to have to revise strategies and tactics in the light of De Klerk's moves. *FM 8/2/91*

To some extent the ANC strengthened De Klerk's hand by refusing even to discuss a strategy document on sanctions presented at its mid-December conference. This proposed a linkage between the removal of sanctions and the scrapping of laws as well as discriminatory practices. But hardliners forced the leadership to maintain an absolute position on sanctions; this has now been undermined and there is nothing to replace it.

The European Community is expected to remove sanctions when the Land and Group Areas Acts have been repealed. But it seems that the US will adopt a more cautious line.

The ANC is strengthening its hand elsewhere. Talks with the Pan Africanist Congress this week and with Inkatha last week show the ANC building up a "patriotic front" of progressive groupings to go forward to the negotiating process and to participate in an all-party congress, primarily representing black aspirations.

Meanwhile, according to ANC political education officer Raymond Suttner, the ANC is keeping an open mind on negotia-

tions. There also appears to be flexibility on the issue of a constituent assembly. Says Suttner: "The most practical way to a negotiated settlement is through a constituent assembly, but it might not be the only one."

De Klerk's "proposal to find ways to integrate leaders of the negotiating parties into policy formulation" has aroused some interest. Suttner says it would "be prepared to govern the country with the NP, among others, for a limited period in an interim government, not as junior partners of this government; the question of co-option must be excluded. It would need to be a government of equal powers of all parties and consensus; equal authority and equal responsibility."

As sanctions crumble, the tendency in ANC ranks will be to focus increasingly on mass action as a main way of expressing disenchantment with government and exerting pressure. But there is also an awareness in the ANC leadership that mass action has been ignored by government in the past and is not likely to influence it now. There is also a perception that with high unemployment and a struggling economy, now is not the time for extra days or hours off work.

While ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela commended De Klerk for Friday's announcements, there was no jubilation in the ranks of the extra-parliamentary organisations. The consensus is that while apart-

heid will go from the statute books, its effects will endure.

Mandela said that the NEC "noted with satisfaction the narrowing of the distance between the positions now being adopted by the NP and the historic policies of the ANC and its allies as adumbrated in the Freedom Charter and more recently in the ANC's draft Bill of Rights." Indeed, there are elements in De Klerk's manifesto which could have been lifted straight from a speech by Mandela himself.

The central issue in SA politics is no longer apartheid, but how to get the country on track to democracy and reasonable prosperity.

The greatest defect in De Klerk's speech, in the eyes of extra-parliamentary groupings, was in the area of security legislation. The failure to scrap the Internal Security Act and other security legislation, or free political prisoners, or put an end to political trials and detentions, or speed up the return of exiles — all these have been consistent stalling points in the negotiation process. It could also prove a block for some governments; the scrapping of SA security legislation has been called for by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, the US Congress and some of the remaining sanctions bloc nations.

The reassuring aspect is that the amending or scrapping of the security laws, so

resented by the ANC, is a matter of tactics for government, not an issue of principle.

*Charlene Smith*

THE speech which launched Nation Building included these words:

"Nation Building is many things. In the final analysis it is something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought, and in the crucial role that blacks will play in this country's future."

It is important to note when this initiative was launched: October 21 1988. Before that day I had in various ways indicated that something of profound significance had occurred to me.

I raised these thoughts before February 2 1990. After the State President's speech announcing the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of various political organisations, there was general euphoria about the advent of the "new South Africa".

In all modesty, the Nation Building initiative had anticipated that.

And now the idea, which has been refined through debate and practical application, needs even more urgent attention. It is now crucial for this country's future to have reconstruction programmes to rebuild collapsed structures in the black communities.

## 'And now the idea needs even more urgent attention'

While Nation Building, in my view, was not an original idea, the thrust that the idea proposed was definitely new, and particularly independent.

The reason for this has to be explained.

Most people who are oppressed or in any way subjugated by others, concentrate their energies in one direction only: to remove the oppressive situation from their lives.

In the process, various ingredients that make up nations are either ignored or it is assumed they will fall into place. I had submitted that this was a conventional and reasonable approach.

Dr Kwame Nkrumah, in the heydays of independence throughout Africa, exhorted blacks to seek first the political kingdom. After liberation everything would fall into place.

The black American

# Rebuilding our nation a priority

Blacks  
must  
get  
power

Sowetan 8/2/91



Sowetan editor **AGGREY KLAASTE** explains the thinking behind the newspaper's Nation Building initiative.



experience also echoed this feeling. With the abolition of segregation laws after the Civil Rights struggle, black Americans attained the political kingdom.

Those who attacked Nation Building wanted to make believe that I was attacking the historical process in Africa, to whit Dr Nkrumah's approach, and the Civil Rights

"They need the backup of strong people who have clout academically, who have strength to recognise the value of a free Press, who have a spiritual or religious foundation."

Other interesting analogies can be drawn from the American experience. While the black Americans did not devote enough time to the type of structure buildup that would underpin their new political freedom, there were significant spinoffs.

The black middle class, which incidentally was behind the Civil Rights movement in more ways than one, escaped the ghetto!

What is extraordinary is that the same thing is happening in South Africa. The apartheid laws are disappearing, and the

middle class were to escape all the way to the most far-lying white areas.

That tells me a number of things: the chief being that the black areas have to be rebuilt. This must be done systematically because of the enormity of the problem.

We are now working at solving the education crisis. Education in black areas must not only be normalised but must be upgraded. In fact the country's future stability and economy depend on that.

Nation Building is also a concept. The conceptual level of the initiative is the most important and should be grasped.

Steve Biko and Robert Sobukwe, amongst others, did speak of blacks or Africans re-asserting them-

blacks must get power. But this must not be seen as threatening white power or any other power. We believe powerful black communities will benefit all South Africans.

The history of nation building in other nations, in other countries, has influenced my thinking. The Afrikaners who have misruled South Africa for 43 years could only effect that with power.

They had political power, admittedly, but they consolidated other forms of power to form the Volk, as they called their nation. Their major flaw was they did this only for themselves - for the Afrikaner Volk. Not only that, they hurt us.

### Wisdom

Once more the wisdom of hindsight tells me Nation Building should be inclusive and exclusive. Blacks, like the Afrikaner, must consolidate themselves, build strong families, but they must tell themselves this is being done in the interests of all South Africans.

That is a very important proviso, which may well have been in the minds of both Biko and Sobukwe. The trick is, it has to be said, to be done, to be seen to be done.

In current political thinking there are many views about the redistribution of wealth and other resources.

Nation Building is able to help in this very important process. While it seems folly to talk about dividing the cake equally, it makes more sense if opportunity for development is shared. Naturally, political freedom will dictate that some form of sharing takes place.

### Priority

As that might not work out to everybody's satisfaction - it might even spread poverty - there MUST be programmes developing black economic muscle. This must be prioritised.

The misconception that people had about what Nation Building was supposed to do, was they expected to see an organisation with a programme of action. That could not take place for the simple reason that the notion came from the editor's head who had hoped the people would take it up, examine it, and use it.

Be that as it may, Sowetan has evolved various Nation Building projects. This will continue.

## 'Political freedom will dictate that some form of sharing takes place'

black intelligentsia is leaving the ghetto. The American experience is distressful but not as serious as ours.

The blacks in America are a minority population. Black ghetto-dwellers in South Africa make up four-fifths of the country's population. That is the bad news.

There is no escape for all of us, even if the black

themselves, re-building their power bases. Their ideas were political dynamite and were right. They were so powerful that these two men were silenced.

To overcome this, we under Nation Building, working through the wisdom of hindsight believe, nay insist, there should be no secret about the initiative.

We demand that

# UDF pair slit men's throats, court told

ARGUS  
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By JOHN VILJOEN  
Supreme Court Reporter

TWO United Democratic Front supporters cut the throats of two men accused of being Azapo members, despite their pleas for mercy, it was alleged in the Supreme Court.

UDF supporters Mr Gamlakhe Elliot Ngwegwe and Mr Lindemna Lawrence Dada are charged with murdering Mr Mxolisi Herman Sibeku and Mr James Charlie on Koelenhof Farm in the Koekenaap district on March 16 last year.

Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada are alleged to have beat Mr Sibeku and Mr Charlie, tied them up with wire and cut their throats, before burying them.

Pleas of not guilty have been entered for Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada who handed in statements to court pleading guilty of murder with extenuating circumstances.

Mr M Stowe, for the State, said he did not accept these pleas and would lead evidence.

Dr John Roux, district surgeon, said the men's heads were almost severed and the killers must have used "a lot of force".

In their statements Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada said they were taken to Koelenhof



**EVIDENCE:** Warrant Officer Alwyn Grobbelaar of the Lutzville police holds two knives which are trial exhibits.

Picture: BRENTON GEACH  
The Argus.

Farm from Uitenhage with other men and were employed as grape pickers.

In addition to wages of R10 a day, each labourer was given a 750ml bottle of wine at the end of the day's work.

Mr Sibeku and Mr Charlie were known to them as active members of Azapo in Uitenhage, while they were support-

ers of the UDF, Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada said.

Azapo and the UDF had been involved in "a very large-scale conflict" in the Eastern Cape and Azapo members had threatened them on the farm, the men said.

On the night of the incident they had acted in self-defence after Mr Sibeku and Mr Charlie attacked them.

Both said in their statements that in a "state of intoxication and rage" they had cut their assailants' throats after disarming them and tying them up.

Both admitted their actions were "unwarranted" and that they felt "great remorse".

A State witness, who may not be named to protect him against possible attack, said he watched the killings.

He saw Mr Ngwegwe kicking and beating Mr Sibeku in a shed. Mr Sibeku's arms were tied behind his back with wire from a washing line.

The witness said Mr Ngwegwe had told him: "Can't you see these people are filthy because they belong to Azapo."

Mr Sibeku was saying to Mr Ngwegwe: "Please forgive me. I am also a comrade. I do not belong to Azapo."

The hearing continues on Monday.

# Enemies unite in rally against 'Boers', govt

*CPA 7/15/84*  
BEKKERSDAL — The ANC and Azapo, who have been fighting one another in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal, joined forces with the PAC and Inkatha yesterday in a rally where leaders blamed the "Boers and apartheid government" for the violence.

Yesterday police said the death toll since new fighting broke out on Saturday had risen to 11.

The rally was an attempt to bring peace to the township. It was attended by Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Earlier outside the stadium where the rally was held, the situation was volatile, with a faction of the ANC squaring up to a faction of Azapo, PAC, and Inkatha members.

Mrs Mandela told the rally: "It is healthy for us to have political differences. But what we are not going to allow is for the Boers to exploit them."

A joint monitoring committee charged by the ANC, Azapo, PAC, and Inkatha to monitor violence in Bekkersdal will meet on Monday and start implementing a peace process. — Sapa



**BEKKERSDAL RALLY . . .** Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Chris Hani lead a crowd in Bekkersdal yesterday. Mr Themba Khoza, the Inkatha leader in Transvaal, also attended the rally which was an attempt to bring peace to the township.



# ANC pair to wed in prison

JOHANNESBURG. — Convicted ANC Broedersroom members Damian de Lange and Susan Westcott are expected to marry later today in Pretoria Central Prison, a friend of the Westcott family said yesterday.

The Dept of Correctional Services, however, declined to confirm whether the couple were to be married.

De Lange, 33, and Westcott, 25, are presently serving prison sentences of 25 and 18 years respectively for acts of terrorism, including a bomb attack which injured 16.

The family said the wedding service would be performed in the women's prison section at 11am.

Out  
Tempt

8/2/91

11/11

~~11/11~~

C.M. 24/5 8/2/91

# Azapo slayings: 2 UDF men in court

Supreme Court Reporter

TWO Azapo members' throats were cut during a political clash in Namaqualand early last year, and yesterday the two alleged murderers — both UDF members — appeared in the Supreme Court.

The court was told yesterday of a political dispute between Azapo and UDF members who were farm labourers in Koeken-aap.

A witness told the court an Azapo member, who lay sobbing and begging for his life while a UDF member cut his friend's throat, was told he would suffer the same fate.

The witness — who may not be identified in terms of a court order — was testifying in the trial of Mr Gamalakhe Ngwege and Mr Lindemna Dada, who are on trial for the murder of Mr James Charlie and Mr Mxolisi Sibeku at Koelenhof farm.

They pleaded guilty to both charges but in a statement, Mr Ngwege pleaded guilty to murdering Mr Charlie only and Mr Dada pleaded guilty to murdering Mr Sibeku. The state refused to accept their pleas and decided to lead evidence.

Mr X — who was warned that he may incriminate himself but would be indemnified from prosecution if he told the truth — told the court he and 46 other Uitenhage

men were employed on the farm as seasonal grape pickers in March last year and lived in a shed.

He was woken by a noise in the early hours of March 16 and found Mr Sibeku, who was lying on the ground in the shed. Mr Ngwege was kicking and hitting him.

When he asked the reason, Mr Ngwege replied: "Can you not see, these people are filthy, they belong to Azapo," Mr X said.

Meanwhile, Mr Charlie begged Mr Dada for forgiveness but was instead assaulted with an iron bar and told that Mr Sibeku's fate would befall him too.

His arms were then tied behind his back with wire while he protested that he was a "comrade" too, Mr X said.

When Mr Ngwege asked Mr Dada what he should do with Mr Sibeku, Mr Dada replied there was nothing else but to kill him.

Mr Ngwege then fetched a knife, put on a balaclava and "bent over him and started cutting his throat", he said.

During this time Mr Charlie was still pleading for his life but Mr Dada said he was making too much noise and tied a piece of cloth around his mouth. When his finger was bitten, Mr Dada used an iron bar to force the cloth into his mouth, Mr X said.

His arms were also tied behind his back

with wire and his throat was cut.

Both men were placed into bags and taken outside where they were buried in an embankment, Mr X said.

In their statements, the men said the deceased were known to them as active Azapo members and because of a conflict between the UDF and Azapo, a number of relatives and friends had their property destroyed by Azapo.

This had enraged them, they said.

Mr Ngwege said he was woken on the night when Mr Sibeku, who was armed with a knife, trampled on him. A fight ensued and he disarmed Mr Sibeku. In his rage he grabbed his knife and started to cut Mr Sibeku's throat and left him on the ground.

Mr Dada said he had intervened in the fight and after disarming Mr Charlie, took his knife and started to cut his throat. He then left him on the ground apparently dead.

Both men said they had acted wrongfully and unlawfully but that they had been driven by a combination of drinking, rage at the men's conduct and the fact that there had been animosity and conflict between the UDF and Azapo.

The trial continues on Monday.

Mr Justice D M Williamson was on the bench. Mr C H van Gend and Mr A H de Villiers were the assessors. Mr Mike Stowe appeared for the state and Mr Denzil Potgieter, instructed by Mr Charles MacDonald of C E MacDonald, Papier and Associates.

FIM 8/2/91

REFORM AND THE ANC

# PROMISING THE EARTH

FIM 8/2/91

**The abolition** of apartheid leaves, of course, the economic and social legacy of the system. For this reason alone it was not to be expected that the ANC would respond with rapture to F W de Klerk's announcements last week.

In his response to De Klerk, Nelson Mandela argued that "we are not called upon to thank the government for the repeal of laws and reviewing policies which are considered a crime against humanity." No, but since the road has now been cleared for negotiations which will give blacks the vote and a crucial role in public expenditure, it seems intellectually lacklustre to give history lessons to people who have shown they have learnt from history.

There is discernible resentment in the response — probably attributable to the fact that De Klerk has once more gained the high moral ground and, therefore, in a sense, remains in control of reform.

To counteract the effect of this, Mandela stresses the victim status of blacks.

However, the world has too many victims at the moment. If the ANC's intention is to make the case for reparations and affirmative action, the best place to argue this would be parliament — not to demand them now under the threat of continued sanctions, mass action and nationalisation. That way there would be a better chance of democracy than leaving the process to the mood of the people.

The violence of that mood is all too apparent — to give it leeway would be not only for De Klerk to lose control, but all serious participants in the constitutional negotiations as well.

Yet for every reform which is enacted, the ANC shivers with suspicion. Mandela continues to call on foreign nations to boycott us because "real change" has not yet occurred. In walking out of parliament, the Conservatives demonstrated just how real the change has been for them — though it is equally true that many black schoolchildren still cannot find a place at a desk. The *FM* has suggested a few things that ought to be done about that (*Leaders* January 25).

Only if you believe that reform must mean the overnight betterment of the life prospects of millions, can you believe that reform is a trick. Mandela's body language radiates suspicion and uncertainty, but there is a good reason why this instantaneous betterment cannot simply occur.

It is that resources are and always will be finite and, therefore, while reform is irreversible, its effects will take time. The million-odd schoolchildren who have lost out since 1976 may all wish to read and write, have a job, drive a big car and live in mansions. Unfortunately, they are at best likely to be dependent on charity or kind-

hearted magistrates for survival in the next few decades. For the ANC this is unsayable, but it is risking its own credibility if it continues to fuel unrealistic expectations.

That is why Mandela's argument that the per capita inequalities in black and white education can be resolved in "months" through exponential hikes in spending, is as dangerous as it is absurd.

Last year, the Human Sciences Research Council estimated that if educational expenditure were equalised, it would cost R37bn for 1990/1991 — more than treble current total annual expenditure. Apart from the fact that the money is not available — because of contraction in the economy due in part to sanctions — it could not physically be spent in "months" to raise schools, create transport systems for disadvantaged pupils, train teachers and produce and distribute textbooks. Inflation would become uncontrollable.

The racial gap in education is inequitable and must continue to be narrowed. And there are many other areas in which injustices must be remedied.

As the ANC approaches closer to a participatory role in central government, it needs to fine-tune its arguments on the reallocation of expenditure, not merely reiterate the "nothing has changed" chord. It isn't doing so — and appears to want redress by fiat, meaning reparations and affirmative action so that conditions change swiftly.

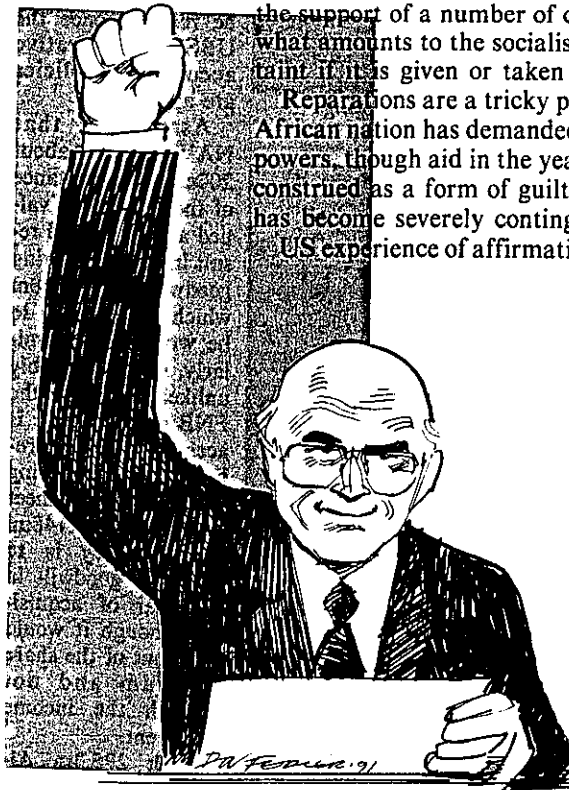
There is no doubt, in fact, that a great deal of the ANC's forward thinking has become concentrated on these issues, rather than on, say, the electoral process. In this they have the support of a number of churches, who have long argued what amounts to the socialist case that wealth only loses its taint if it is given or taken away.

Reparations are a tricky problem in international law. No African nation has demanded them from the former colonial powers, though aid in the years after independence might be construed as a form of guilt-salving. In the event, such aid has become severely contingent on accountability.

US experience of affirmative action has not been happy. It

leads to quotas, resentments and a cycle of failure and it depends on one or other definition of racial grouping. There can't be affirmative action for blacks in a legally non-racial SA, or conscription for whites.

Why isn't the ANC telling its followers these things? It can no more deliver the kingdom of the earth than government — yet it continues to generate emotionalism and unrealistic expectations as if there were no tomorrow. ■



# More than a trial: It's courtroom drama

Is it Winnie Mandela who is on trial or has her case expanded to become state versus African National Congress? **EMMA GILBEY** reports

**B**EFORE the trial began, both the African National Congress and the state took pains to say that it was just Winnie Mandela and her co-accused who were facing charges, not the entire liberation

movement. *W/Mand 8/2-14/2/91*

But consider the events surrounding the opening of the kidnaping and assault trial at the beginning of the week. **Day One.** Four of the seven defendants, Mandela, John Morgan, Xoliswa Falati and her daughter, Mompumelelo, arrive at court. So does Mandela's husband, deputy ANC president Nelson Mandela. Fair enough. So does South African Communist Party head Joe Slovo, Umkhonto weSizwe head Chris Hani, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Cosatu leader Jay Naidoo, member of the ANC's Eastern Transvaal regional executive Reagan Shope, United Democratic Front executive member Popo Molefe and Mandela biographer Fatima Meer.

A bench is kept free for the leadership. Members of the press pack the two benches in front, spectators wearing ANC colours pack the two benches at the back.

By the end of the day, hundreds of ANC supporters jostle with reporters and photographers to catch a glimpse of the Mandelas as they leave court. Fists are raised, Viva! is cried out, police are present, the Mandelas are mobbed as marshals escort them to their car — it could be any march, any stadium event, any piece of mass action anywhere.

**Day Two.** This time, uniformed ANC marshals control access to the courtroom. Mandela and three co-accused arrive at court. So does Nelson Mandela, ANC national executive member John Nkadimeng and PWV regional chairman Kgalema Motlanthe. Less leadership today, but more rank-and-file, especially outside the courthouse where the jostling with the press is a little less friendly than the day before.

"If any of the press get in your way just push them," instructs the marshals' leader, identifying himself only as Sam.

The ugliness increases at lunchtime as the crowd spills into the street, following the Mandelas' stately procession from the court to their lawyers' offices (cheers, toyi-toying, ululating, placards, chants). The police issue a one minute warning. One minute passes. The police baton-charge the



The Mandelas leave the court ....but it could have been a political rally

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

crowd, much to the delight of photographers and camera crews who have been waiting all morning in the hot sun for an event just like this. The charge makes the evening news as well as front page headlines and pictures in various newspapers the next day.

It's very different inside the courtroom once the court is in session. Nelson Mandela might be present, but somehow sitting in the public gallery diminishes his stature and he becomes just another elderly spectator.

The real stars are the judge, Mr Justice MS Stegmann, leading advocate for the prosecution, Jan Swanepoel, and senior counsel for the Mandela defence, George Bizos.

John Morgan and the Falatis have their own counsels, Hendrik Kruger

and Henj Joubert respectively, but it's Bizos and company who hold the spotlight.

Swanepoel and Bizos crack jokes at each other.

"We have acted against each other and been friendly for a long time," said Swanepoel, smiling broadly at Bizos at one point.

Bizos has a good sense of the theatrical, and the court perks up as he heaves himself to his feet. He likes the sound of his own voice — and uses it well.

"What your lordship has been asked to do," he said, as he began to wrap up his argument to quash the indictments, "is to adopt the most benevolent possible and wide interpretation of the dribs and drabs (here his voice dripped with

scorn) the state has managed to put together in three or four documents ... for the purpose of saving their indictment."

It didn't work, of course — but it was a nice try.

Stegmann ruled that the defence did, for the most part, have enough information to prepare a case. Just to make sure there could be no misunderstanding, he read out what his understanding of what the state's case was, a detailed and crystal clear summary.

Stegmann, Swanepoel and Bizos might be the male leads in this courtroom drama, but there is no doubt as to the leading lady.

Winnie Mandela appears in court with the poise and savoir-faire of a great leader about to greet foreign dig-

nitaries. She chats a lot and laughs a lot as she waits for proceedings to begin. Sometimes she laughs very loudly, and then those around her laugh very loudly too.

Only at the last minute does she go and sit in the dock.

It's a bizarre juxtaposition. One moment everybody is being gracious and polite, making cocktail party small talk. The next minute the room is divided between protagonists and spectators at a trial for kidnaping and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm. Charges include hitting, punching, kicking, trampling, lifting and dropping the victims to the floor and whipping.

The case continues.

## GANGS HIJACK THE STRUGGLE

# Youth 'comtsotsis': Can the ANC ride the tiger?

**T**HE African National Congress faces one of its greatest threats as dissident political factions, frequently linked to ruthless gangs of "comtsotsis", wage a bloody war against ANC activists across the country.

This week saw a unique pact between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress. The agreement commits the rival movements to a common campaign for a constituent assembly and joint efforts to stop sectarian clashes between their members. But it does little to address the deep-rooted problems that have ripped apart the social fabric of many black townships.

Take Bekkersdal near Randfontein. Bitter sectarian strife between the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) escalates as local gangs enter the fray.

In Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, the local ANC branch is torn by dissension as former "comrades" form themselves into a criminal gang that, with apparent support from Inkatha, wages a bloody war that culminated in the massacre of 45 people at a funeral vigil in January.

Shatale is a part of Lebowa in the East-

rades" plot to kill the chairperson of the pro-civic organisation (see below).

Komga in the Eastern Cape: a battle between rival PAC and ANC factions splits the volatile township and fills the casualty ward of the local hospital.

Around the country the ANC, instead of mobilising new members and consolidating its ranks, is being called on to put out the fires of sectarian strife. Organisers, already overworked and stretched to the limit, are forced to throw the bulk of their time and energy into quelling internecine battles.

Andrew Mapheto, senior organiser for the ANC PWV region says: "Since the violence broke out I would say that 99 percent of the new branches have not been visited regularly. What we have been doing is crisis management rather than building a powerful network for the organisation."

In attempts to 'make the townships ungovernable' the ANC often turned a blind eye to excesses of the militant youth. It now battles to bring them under control.

By **EDDIE KOCH** and **SARAH BLECHER**

And it is the renaissance of a familiar township scourge, organised gangs of unemployed township youths, that runs like a thread through each of the trouble spots.

These people are part of a social grouping that formed a class ally during the insurrections that took place between 1984 and 1986. Youngsters, who in normal times respond to unemployment by resorting to crime, became the shocktroops of the struggle.

They are the ones who carried the twin leitmotifs of ANC strategy at the time:

"people's war" and "make the townships ungovernable". For these people, the fight was for freedom, power and loot — or a combination of these.

Civic and trade union leaders, capable of imposing some discipline over their young compatriots, were in detention and excesses by the "young lions" of the townships were at best overlooked and at worst condoned.

The link between common crime and political struggle that characterised these times is graphically expressed by the activities, documented by ANC officials, of the gang of supposedly ANC-aligned youths — "comtsotsis" — in Khutsong that called themselves the Gaddafis or the G-squad.

"They burned houses at random; stole door frames, windows, and geysers; burned people; sliced off cars, forcing people to cut them; raped girls; stopped

people from reporting to police, operated own courts; forced shebeen owners to give them free liquor; forced shop owners to give them free food; hijacked taxis; and collected protection fees from households," says an unofficial report on G-squad activities.

When the ANC was unbanned last year, and forced to don the respectable cloak of a government-in-waiting, leadership could no longer afford to overlook the indulgences that frequently accompanied political activity.

Says Michael Cross, researcher into youth culture at the Wits University Education Faculty: "Gangsters can do things like throw petrol bombs and hijack cars that normal people must be first taught to do, so there was a real space for the expression of gang culture in the struggle."

But there is an inherent contradiction between the discipline required by political struggle and the unruly behaviour of tsotsis. "As leaders began to emerge in the mass democratic movement (after the abolition of the Emergency and the unbanning of the ANC) the tsotsis resisted discipline and began to organise themselves as gangs."

By GAVIN EVANS  
DIKGANG MOSENEKE, a member of Winnie Mandela's defence team, is a man with a way of breaking through barriers and cutting through cant. *Wimant 8/2-14/2/91*

Unusual for members of the legal profession, he is happy to respond to questions about himself with refreshing honesty.

Do you see yourself as a judge in a future, democratic South Africa?

"Frankly, yes," he replies, before explaining the importance of the legal profession and the judiciary in protecting human rights.

It would be an understatement to describe the 43-year-old advocate and Pan Africanist Congress leader as a South African on his way up in the political and professional worlds.

Two events, his election as the PAC's second deputy president and his appointment as one of Mandela's counsels, have put him in the limelight recently, but he's been making waves for 30 years.

In 1962 this son of a high school principal was expelled for taking part in a student strike. A year later, as a 15-year-old Standard Eight pupil, he was detained for three months, convicted of sabotage and jailed for 10 years on Robben Island to become

# He cuts across the political divide

one of the youngest political prisoners in the country's history.

He matriculated and completed BA and BJuris degrees through Unisa before being released with a five-year banning order. He completed his LLB and then became the first black person in Pretoria to complete his legal articles with a white law firm.

When he applied for admission as an attorney in the Pretoria Supreme Court he was told that he was a Tswana and thus a foreigner. It took the intervention of Unisa's Professor Marius Wiechers for him to be admitted.

He went on to work for five years for a black law firm where he made his name in political and human rights cases and also served as secretary of the Black Lawyers Association.

In 1983 he was admitted to the Pretoria Bar, becoming the first black advocate in the capital. Now he is considering applying to become a senior counsel.

He has three brothers — one works for Anglo American, another is a teacher and a third, Tiego, is a lawyer. In common with several political siblings (Goram and Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim, Andries and Attie Treur-



Dikgang Moseneke ... PAC leader and on Winnie Mandela's legal team

Photo: THE NEW NATION

nicht, Constand and Abram Viljoen), Dikgang and Tiego are at different places in the political spectrum. Tiego, also a former long-term detainee, is a prominent member of the African National Congress, a former Azanian Students Organisation president and a United Democratic Front leader.

"We believe we should not let our different political positions get between brother and brother," says Dikgang.

Recently Moseneke has played a central role in attempting to improve relations between the PAC and ANC, as well as with other groups.

"I believe if you share a position as being disadvantaged in society, being part of one side of the divide between those who have and those who don't means you have a common cause: at least for as long as the transition period lasts," he says.

Moseneke says the PAC is a liberation movement without which "no effective solution can be found in South Africa". One of their key tasks is to campaign for a constituent assembly as the mechanism for negotiations.

"I understand the arguments about a constituent assembly seeking to nullify the negotiating process, but the premise on which this is based is a dangerous one. It is premised on seeing society in groups and on the belief that this is dangerous for those in power ... but we say that if you create a democratic society this will protect everybody."

Today his profile is divided between being one of the PAC's most articulate and respected leaders and his growing reputation as an advocate (though he

has also gained a reputation as an academic; he was appointed visiting professor at Columbia University in New York in 1987).

Ultimately, though, he sees his main contribution being made in the legal rather than the political sphere.

"The courts are very important structures in any state, but above all they should serve to protect and keep in place people's rights, which range from the right to bodily integrity to more fundamental rights such as the right to work, and to housing, and rights concerned with green issues.

"They serve as a counter-balance to state power ... In future I see myself as being part of this structure."

While he has remained firm in his support for the PAC, this has not come in the way of being retained as legal counsel in scores of cases involving activists from other organisations such as the ANC and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The latest, of course, is Winnie Mandela but Moseneke says there is an agreement among her legal team not to discuss the case publicly.

He stresses his aim is to "ensure that people can get some process of justice" — and adds that this goes "way beyond narrow ideological positioning".

# Is the stayaway a weapon best held in reserve?

*Wmail 8/21-14/2/91*  
LAST week's national stayaway is a crucial pointer of the more effective functioning of the alliance between the labour movement and the African National Congress — but has raised questions about the stayaway weapon under rapidly shifting political conditions.

The most successful general strike by black labour on a purely constitutional demand — it recalls the strike for a national convention in the early Sixties — it is viewed as “new and significant”.

“This was not over a bread-and-butter issue or an immediate problem, like violence,” commented *SA Labour Bulletin* editor Karl von Holdt. “It was over an abstract issue — future negotiations that will structure our national life.”

Observers also believe the action has virtually set the seal on ANC policy on a one person, one vote constituent assembly to draft a new constitution, an unequivocal demand of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party.

“It's fast reaching the point where it's non-negotiable,” said one source.

Called essentially over the constituent assembly demand, the stayaway marked the start of the alliance's campaign of mass action this year.

Timed to coincide with the opening of parliament, it was designed to wrest the political initiative from the government.

In the scale of the response, the stayaway was undoubtedly less impressive than many of its predecessors. The decision on the form of action was left to Cosatu's regional structures, and a full work stoppage was adopted only in the Eastern Cape and Border regions, a traditional ANC stronghold, the Witwatersrand region and Klerksdorp and Stilfontein.

Inkatha-ANC moves on political violence clearly underlay a decision not to launch stayaway action in Natal.

Organisational weakness appears to have been decisive in areas such as the

The stayaway called for last Friday was a qualified success for the labour/ANC/SACP alliance. It showed workers are willing to rally behind non-labour issues but raised questions about the directions this form of mass action should take.

By DREW FORREST

Free State and Western Cape, historically unresponsive to stayaway calls, but unionists stress that the march on parliament was the main thrust in Cape Town.

Employers concede that the Eastern Cape/Border stayaway was almost 100 percent effective.

On the Reef, the turnout was more patchy — Cosatu estimates a 60 percent response, and employers believe Pretoria and the Vaal were hardest hit.

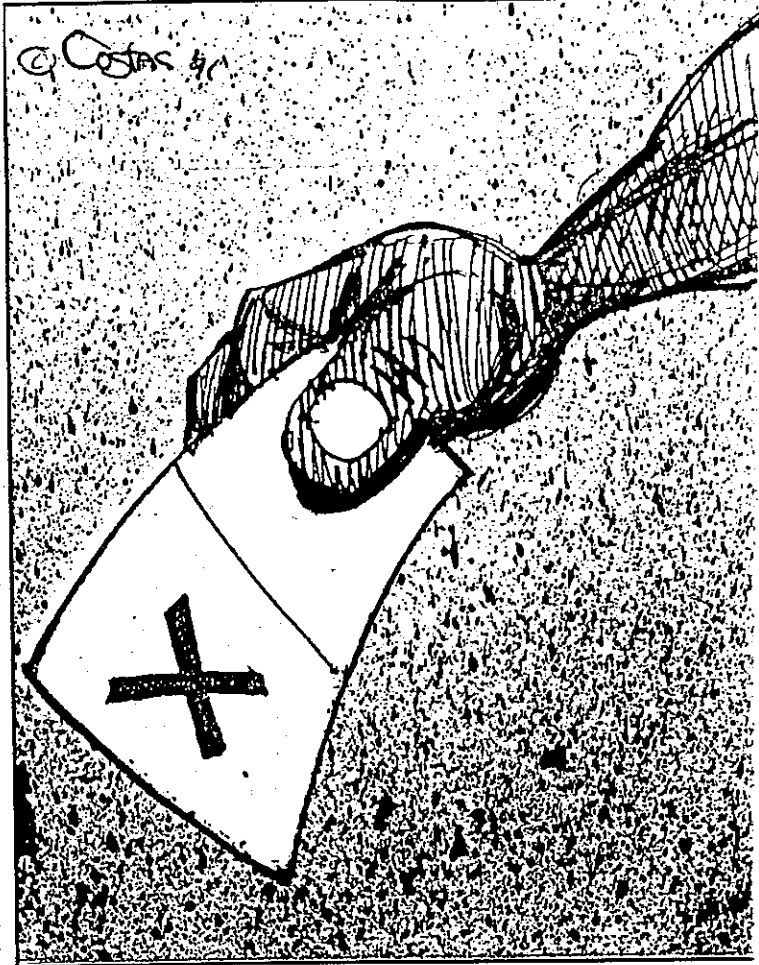
The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation estimates the national response in the metal sector at 41 percent, or 187 000 workers, as against 60 percent in the Natal violence stayaway last year.

Possible factors in this were the fact that February 1 was a payday, and the short notice — less than two weeks — to workers.

Sam Shilola, the vice-chairman of Cosatu's Witwatersrand region, said the region endorsed the stayaway and communicated this to shop stewards only days before it was due.

But unionists stress that other forms of action were widespread. Marches or rallies took place in Kimberley, Umtata, Bloemfontein, Nelspruit, Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Durban and elsewhere, while permission to march was refused in Empangeni, Welkom, six Northern Transvaal towns and five towns in the Western Transvaal.

The scale of the action points to improved alliance co-ordination on the ground. But it also reflects the growing national impact on alliance politics of labour, and possibly the SACP, which



feared last year that some ANC leaders were wavering on the constituent assembly demand.

Internal pressure has also been crucial. “The rank-and-file militancy at the ANC's December consultative conference was a nasty shock to some of the more glib, diplomatic leadership figures,” was one comment.

Cosatu's Information Digest reveals that at an alliance executive meeting on January 27, it was stressed that the ANC's proposed all-party conference (APC) “could discuss the setting up of transitional mechanisms, such as the interim government, but could not substitute for a constituent assembly”.

This is highly significant. Answering questions after his January 8 announcement, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said that if parties were so mandated, the APC could be transformed into an interim government, constituent assembly, or both.

Despite its qualified success, some unionists have misgivings about the

stayaway — doubts are known to have been voiced at national level with some Cosatu affiliates.

“There's a sense that the alliance shot its bolt — where does the campaign go from here, how does it proceed?” one source asked.

Stressing that the wisdom of a similar stay-at-home had been debated with the unions since the 1988 Labour Relations Act stayaway, he argued that general strike on the complex constituent assembly issue made little sense less coupled with “awareness-raising events such as rallies.”

Von Holdt sees the stayaway as a back from last year's threatened mass action on the LRA, dropped in government concessions.

“As a shift from the stayaway as a protest to the tactical use of the weapon in negotiations, last year's move was a watershed,” he commented.

“Should stayaway action not have been held in reserve for when real negotiations on the constitution are under way?”

# My wife is completely innocent — Mandela

8/29/91 (11A)

THE African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, yesterday strongly defended his wife, Winnie, declaring that she was innocent of the charges of kidnapping and assault brought against her.

"We have no hesitation in asserting her innocence," the ANC deputy president told a news conference on the eve of the first anniversary of his release from prison.

Mr Mandela chided a journalist for suggesting that Mrs Mandela should not have accepted her appointment as the ANC's head of social welfare until and unless she was acquitted of the charges against her.

"For you, for anybody to say that Mrs Mandela should stand down until the case is resolved, is to find her guilty before her trial," the ANC leader said.

For that reason, he added, the ANC national executive had issued two separate statements, dismissing the charges and describing them as "part of the harassment" against Mrs Mandela and the ANC itself.

Mr Mandela vigorously denied that Mrs Mandela's appointment had met with strong resistance among ANC cadres.

Rebuking the journalist concerned, he said: "If you read the

## PATRICK LAURENCE

file of that appointment, you would be ashamed to even put that question. The real truth is that people who have objected to that appointment can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Opposition to her appointment was confined to three branches of the ANC, he said.

"But," he continued, "the ANC executive has fully supported that appointment. Prominent social workers in the country, including the National Association of Black Social Workers, have made a powerful and spirited defence of it."

Since her appointment as head of social welfare, Mrs Mandela had also been appointed to the executive of the PWV regional committee, the most powerful in the country; chairman of the ANC Women's League in the PWV; and chairman of her local ANC branch in Soweto.

These appointments had shown how isolated her opponents in the ANC were, Mr Mandela said, adding: "From the point of view of the masses, Mrs Mandela deserves that appointment."



## 'Berlin wall' for ANC leader

LONDON — Britain's Foreign Office paid for a 2 m-high brick wall to be built around the Soweto home of Nelson Mandela to protect the ANC leader from attack, a newspaper here has claimed. *Star 9/2/91*

The London Evening Standard reports yesterday that the wall has cost British taxpayers more than £1 million (R5 million).

A report in the newspaper's Londoner's Diary comments that the "investment" followed Mr Mandela's decision to do away with the State bodyguards offered to him after his release from jail a year ago.

Londoner's Diary says the Foreign Office's decision was on the instigation of Britain's Am-

### FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

bassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, to protect Mr Mandela from "the attentions of robust Afrikaners". *CIA*

The Foreign Office, the newspaper says, claims this is not the first time Britain has intervened to protect South Africa's future leaders. "We have given bomb detectors to Inkatha and the ANC for their offices," a spokesman told the column.

The report quotes South Africa expert Conor Cruise O'Brien as saying that Mr Mandela faces dangers on two fronts.

"His life is at risk from both black and white extremists."

# 'White' fears will be addressed by Bill of Rights'

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela says he is certain South Africa's problems can be solved through compromise and that white fears about the future will be addressed.

Speaking to the local and international press in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Mandela stressed, however, that any compromise would not include the non-negotiable question of one person, one vote, "the basis of democracy all over the world".

Mr Mandela, who called the press conference to answer questions on his first year outside prison, said South African whites had "genuine fears" about one person, one vote, which they believed would lead to black domination.

## Rights

These fears, Mr Mandela said, could be addressed not by rejecting universal franchise, but by the adoption of a justiciable Bill of Rights.

"We regard their (whites) fears as genuine and we would like whites to stay on (in South Africa). They are our brothers and sisters — there is nothing we want more than to live peacefully with them."

The ANC leader said he was satisfied with progress made last year in talks with the Government, but warned that the peace process could be derailed.

"I sincerely hope that the moment will not arrive for us (the ANC) to say we have tried all avenues to resolve our problems by peaceful means and we have to take other routes," he said.

Responding to questions on his "special relationship" with President de Klerk, Mr Mandela said that although the President had made mistakes and had at times not done what he should have done, he remained a man of integrity.

## KAIZER NYATSUMBA Political Staff

He added, however, that the ANC's policies would not be determined by his relationship with Mr de Klerk, but by "the reality of the situation" — that blacks remained voteless and politically and economically disadvantaged.

He expressed disappointment at Mr de Klerk's failure to address the question of security legislation and the future of homelands in his speech in Parliament last week.

This had led to "harsh criticism" from those who argued that his speech was aimed at en-

- Stoutly defended the appointment of his wife, Winnie, as head of the ANC's social welfare department, saying those who were opposed to her appointment were in the minority.

- Denied Government allegations that the ANC was dragging its feet on negotiations, pointing out that the whole peace process was the ANC's initiative.

In another development, the ANC's department of arts and culture yesterday insisted that the cultural boycott against South Africa was "firmly in place".

## Mass action

The organisation said at a press conference in Johannesburg that it intended to make the cultural boycott "more effective" by linking it with the ANC's campaign for mass action in 1991.

However, the ANC said "democratic cultural structures" would give priority to interaction and exchange to those international groups and individuals who had supported the organisation over the years. Those who met the criteria for coming to South Africa would therefore be "considered".

● See PAGE 6.

couraging the international community to lift sanctions, rather than solving South Africa's problems.

Mr Mandela also:

- Reaffirmed the ANC's support for international sanctions against South Africa, saying mass action aimed at foreign investment would be "the order of the day" if the European Community and other countries went ahead in lifting sanctions without consulting the ANC.

Said Mr Mandela: "Once our people feel that they have no friends in the international community they will be very difficult for us to control — so angry are they."

- Conceded he had "taken a superficial view of the situation" when he made his back-to-school call to pupils shortly after his release last year before consulting educationists and pupils.

- Said those whose expectations of him were too great, believing his release would lead to an easy solution for the country's problems, were "living in a fool's paradise", because he was also human.

- Defended people's right to criticise him, saying every public figure had to expect criticism.

# Mandela: We'll find a

# Solution

SA 9/12/91



111A

# The AMGC'S Open Letter to FW

Weekend  
**FOCUS**  
3

**A** CROSS the country today millions of people have gathered in various places to raise their voices in unison. To give effect to this unity, hundreds of thousands are marching in the streets of virtually every city.

Production in the key industrial centres has ground to a halt with millions of hours of production time lost. Right outside of where you are addressing parliament are gathered tens of thousands of people to deliver this letter to you.

For the people of South Africa, today is a day of celebration and demand. Celebration of unity well earned. Demand for a constituent assembly.

From all parts of the country and from many different political persuasions we say to you as you step up to the podium, "Don't open parliament, close it!" Shut it down and with it will go years of apartheid misery, inequality, injustice and poverty.

It is said that you are "a man of vision". If this is so, then your vision must exclude all those wrongs which brought you to power. Your vision must be unequivocal of a democratic future for our country. There cannot be democracy without one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa.



F W de Klerk

Two important documents were released last Friday. One, delivered in parliament by President De Klerk, received widespread publicity because he was mapping out his views of the road ahead for South Africa. The contents of the other, an African National Congress open letter to him, has not been read by many. Today, Weekend Argus publishes a copy of that interesting document . . .



Nelson Mandela

Within your vision, a course must be charted. If so, you will know that the route to democracy takes us through the gateway of a constituent assembly. The rising of the millions today should be to you a clear reminder of that gateway.

Remember, Mr President, what you are seeing today is only the start of the mass call for a constituent assembly. In the days and months ahead, the demand for a constituent assembly will gather momentum. You may pretend today that you are blissfully unaware of the people's choice — soon, not even such pretence will be possible.

Exactly one year ago, you declared your commitment to democracy. A brave stand for a

leader of the National Party. In the year which has elapsed we have often heard about your commitment. We have, in the same period, only seen rare glimpses of it translated into action.

Mr De Klerk, you cannot eat your cake and have it. You cannot pretend to drop apartheid legislation while retaining the apartheid organ which promulgates (and repeals) those laws. If you desire democracy you need to be much bolder. You have no choice but to abolish your government.

In the period ahead, you cannot be both a player and the referee. In place of the apartheid government you must accept the inevitability of an interim government to oversee the process towards a constituent assembly.

**T**HE people have declared today "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DAY". But more, it is also an opportunity for reminders. So, we must remind you of your outstanding debts. Debts incurred when you signed the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. Debts which relate to the lives of thousands of patriots — incarcerated in your jails for acts against apartheid, or in exile, prevented from returning to their motherland.

The time for repayment is running out fast. April 30 is not far away. Your creditworthiness ends there.

We should also say to you that during the past year, your government has failed miserably to stem the violence. In point of fact, the security forces of which you are commander-in-chief have been implicated in countless in-

stances of instigation of violence. To this you have seemingly turned a blind eye.

This serious omission, Mr President, is in fundamental contradiction to your espoused commitment to peace and democracy. You cannot expect us to engage in negotiations about the constitutional future of our country while our people are being slaughtered. You, Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, have the power to reverse this.

**W**E do not want much. We do want a country governed by all its people. We do want a share in the country's wealth. We do want access to the land.

We do want equality before the law. We want jobs. We want a single education department. We want houses, security and comfort. We wish to enjoy peace and friendship.

For these basics we have already suffered much. We will continue to engage in a struggle to secure these rights. It is for this reason that we have risen today in the manner in which we have.

This is the reason why we, despite our political differences, have dubbed today Constituent Assembly Day! For us, the long march to democracy continues. Your government stands between us and our destination.

# Mandela's

CME 7/4/85 9/2/91

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17  
VILLIERS  
SUMMITS

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that any easing of world sanctions against South Africa before apartheid was abolished would turn the country 'upside down' with protest by blacks and prompt nation-wide turmoil.

Should the 12-member European Community end sanctions as a reward for President F W de Klerk's intentions to scrap South Africa's last race laws, you can expect that mass action in this country is going to be the order of the day," Mr Mandela said. "If the EC wants this country to be turned upside down, it will make good on its suggestions that sanctions imposed in 1986 against Pretoria are to be phased out this year," Mr Mandela said at a press conference to mark his first year of freedom after more than 27 years in prison.

His comments coincided with a remark by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha in Cape Town that sanctions "are no longer an issue."

Mr Botha said the focus of attention was now on reaching an agreement internally on a democratic South Africa.

He was reacting to a possible move by the Organisation of African Unity to persuade the United Nations general assembly, which began meeting yesterday, not to give recognition to the changes in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said confidential discussions between the ANC and the government would continue, but the ANC was not prepared to enter into another

## Memo on education

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are to meet on Thursday to discuss a memorandum on education submitted by the ANC.

A statement issued by the President's office yesterday said that the memorandum had been submitted to the President on January 29, and dealt with a variety of matters concerning black education and education in general.

In another development yesterday, the Minister of Agriculture and Development Aid, Mr Jacob de Villiers, announced that Mr Justice V de Pickard would head a one-man commission into the Department of Development Aid.

- The commission is to inquire into:
- \* alleged instances of irregular application, improper application or misapplication of State money or property at the Department, and
  - \* alleged instances of irregular application, improper application or misapplication of trust money or property at the South African Development Trust.

major summit meeting with the government until all the obstacles to negotiations were removed.

He said in terms of agreements reached at the historic Groote Schuur and Pretoria summits all political prisoners had to be released, abhorrent security legislation had to be repealed, all exiles returned and the homeland issue addressed before

## Stalling on the wall

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British government has declined to comment on claims that it has paid over £1 million (R5m) for a 1,98 metre wall around Mr Nelson Mandela's home.

However, the Foreign Office confirmed yesterday it has provided "low-level" security items — such as bomb detectors — to political organisations in South Africa.

A report yesterday alleged the wall was constructed at the instigation of Britain's ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick.

The London Evening Standard newspaper said the sturdy brick wall "now surrounds Mr Mandela's Soweto house, screening it from the attentions of robust Afrikaners".

The ANC and Inkatha had both been given bomb detectors to check for explosive devices in their offices, a Foreign Office spokesman said.

a third ANC/government summit could take place.

Although the announcements made in Mr De Klerk's opening of parliament speech last week, that all apartheid legislation was to be scrapped, were commendable, his failure to address the issue of security legislation was a mistake.

President De Klerk's speech had been aimed rath-

er at convincing the international community that sanctions should be lifted than at solving South Africa's internal problems.

Mr De Klerk's reforms still failed to address black demands for one-person-one-vote.

"I still have no vote," Mr Mandela said.

"The aim of sanctions is to get apartheid completely scrapped and the granting of the vote to all South Africans."

He said the ANC would soon "try and persuade" European countries not to lift sanctions until the movement gave the go-ahead and was hopeful the United States would consult the ANC before reviewing its own sanctions package.

US President George Bush "will not make the mistake which the EC has made, he will consult us," Mandela said.

US sanctions, also imposed in 1986, automatically fall away when Mr De Klerk implements his latest reforms and also releases all prisoners held for politically-motivated crimes and allows a full return of political exiles.

Mr Mandela played down suggestions that he was viewed as a black messiah or was the ANC personified.

"If people regarded me as a messiah . . . then they are living in a fool's paradise," he said, adding any public figure should expect criticism and that "criticism can also be very useful."

Mr Mandela's years in prison, after being sentenced to a life term for plotting to overthrow the government, had left him "very much elated to taste freedom . . . happy to be amongst my people."

# Reddy loses vote, <sup>AM Tings</sup> <sup>117</sup> 9/2/91 MPs defect to 'Tiger'

## Political Staff

DR J N REDDY, leader of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, has vowed to fight for his political life after losing a no-confidence debate yesterday.

Late last night Dr Reddy backtracked on a threat to resign after meeting President F W de Klerk to discuss the surprise loss of Solidarity's majority in the House.

Solidarity were outvoted 23 to 19 after four of its members crossed the floor to join an alliance headed by the leader of the opposition, Mr Amichand Rajbansi. The three Democratic Party MPs in the house also sided with Mr Rajbansi's alliance.

Mr Rajbansi ruled out the possibil-

ity that he would bid for the leadership, but Mr P I Devan, one of the four Solidarity members who crossed the floor when a division was called on Mr Rajbansi's motion to reconstitute the House, indicated he would be willing to take over the chairmanship.

Last night Dr Reddy said he had been "blackmailed" by the MPs who had crossed the floor and said they had put "a gun to my head".

He said they had come to him early yesterday and demanded that he reconstitute the Ministers' Council or they would have a "rethink".

"But I will never compromise my principles," said Dr Reddy, who has chaired the Ministers' Council through two sessions of Parliament.

● More Parliament news — Page 6

# Change the Red face of the SACP

**E**ACH time I listen to Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, putting his party's case on radio or television, I do feel like paying attention to what he says. I like his frankness and his readiness to test his views publicly against those of fellow South Africans who might not agree with him. I have now watched two television debates in which Mr Slovo was involved.

One concerned communism and Christianity and a recent one concerned the economy. Both debates were stimulating. In fact, I find Mr Slovo far more prepared to take and return punches in a debate than many of us who claim to be democrats and non-communists. Because I have not had the fortune of debating with other communists, I am unable to say whether Mr Slovo is an exception.

I am reminded of all this by what Mr Slovo told me when I met him for the first time a few months ago. I was then visiting all political leaders to seek their views on my plans to establish an Institute for Multi-party Democracy.

He told me that Russia and countries of Eastern Europe got into trouble because they were trying to establish communism without democracy and that the SACP would succeed because it was trying to marry the two elements. For that reason, he informed me that he fully supported multi-party democracy.

Mr Slovo totally disarmed me because when I did my rounds I expected stiff resistance from the SACP, but it was quite positive about multi-party democracy, as was the Conservative Party.

I have turned Mr Slovo's statement around in my mind because it sounds like a contradiction, unless I am misinformed about the main features

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**Through  
My Eyes**

OSCAR  
DHILOMO



of communism.

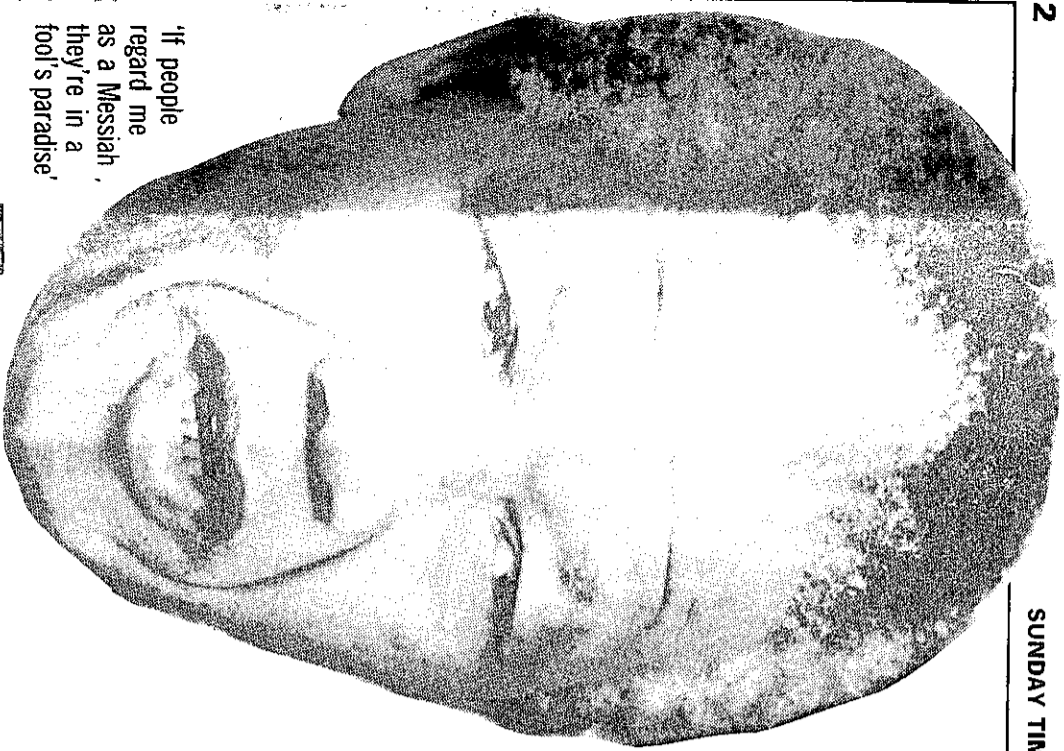
I am waiting for a time when Mr Slovo will say that his organisations wants to be something other than a communist party, because whenever I hear him declaring his support for multi-partyism, a mixed economy, no wholesale State ownership of the means of production, a Bill of Rights, political tolerance, protection of private property rights, etc, he is describing something which is certainly not communism.

The mere fact that he is a senior and influential member of the ANC which, to my knowledge, is not a communist party, would suggest that he is not uncomfortable in non-communist company.

Instead of dressing communism in clothes borrowed from democracy, I wish Mr Slovo could come out one of these days and say that the SACP is now changing its name to something like the Labour Party or the Social Democratic Party.

If he did that, his party would certainly gain more members and its image would improve. The move would also benefit the ANC, because there are many political groupings and individuals that are prevented from either aligning with or joining the ANC because of its links with the Communist Party.

If the SACP is sincerely no longer espousing the communism that people dread, then it should not allow the label of communism to hang like an albatross around its neck and thereby drive away potential supporters.



# A year on — Whither Mandela's blind loyalty?

A YEAR ago tomorrow Nelson Mandela emerged from Victor Verster Prison as a legend. Twelve months on he is a mere mortal.

It must be a great relief to him. Such was the power of the reputation that preceded him that the white right-wing expected immediate racial Armageddon on his release and black youngsters toyed in anticipation of instant deliverance.

Both were naive. "If people regarded me as a Messiah," he told a press conference on Friday, "they were living in a fool's paradise."

Yet in his 12 months of freedom Nelson Mandela has not lost the capacity to disappoint either supporters or critics. His bizarre threat this week that the ANC will sabotage the economy to spite the European Community, for example, will anger reformist whites — let alone rightists.

Perhaps the most noteworthy thing is that Mr. Mandela has survived. That, in itself, is a triumph over the doomayers who expected instant assassination at the hands of right-wingers or radicals within his own organisation (perhaps, brutal as it is, there is still

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

11P

By Brian Pottinger

hope for the nation). Neither has he been sidelined.

The sentiments he holds have survived, at least so far. At the ANC's consultative conference in December last year he was faced by an unexpectedly bitter attack by the rank-and-file over the leadership's alleged elitism, isolation and secrecy.

### COMPROMISED

It was his moment of truth. "Some comrades have insisted that we take no action without consulting the membership. Such a statement can only be made by people who have no idea of the problems we face as a leadership," he said.

He was not merely defending his position: he was insisting on his right to share with President F W de Klerk, as between two civilised men, certain intrigues and confidences in the search for common ground. Mandela has also compromised.

This is hard for many whites to believe, tougher still to accept. Mandela is not white: he is black and has endured stoically in defence of his people. He seeks to speak for the poor and dispossessed and powerless under-educated.

Yet, his grip is tenuous: when he told his supporters last year to throw their pangas into the sea, it was a sea of blood that followed; when he ordered pupils to return to their classrooms, the teachers departed them. Visiting the Transvaal townships after the battles of last August and September, he was confronted by chants from a section of the crowd: "Where were you, father, when we needed you?"

If Mandela cannot keep the trust of these importunate, he will lose them for ever. It is this balance between the support (or at least indulgence) of whites and the clamour of blacks that is the hardest to keep.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, became known as Dr No for his resistance to all reform. Mandela might well become known as Comrade Yes-But — yes, this is all very well, but what about so-and-so...?

Much of this is just politics: the ANC's attempts to keep the dory boat ahead of the waves unleashed by De Klerk. But there are more serious problems with Mandela, brought with him from his cell and all those years of contemplation.

### HISTORIC

The events in SA are part of a much broader historic moment in this last decade of the 20th century: communism's eclipse, the implosion of the Soviet Union, the decolonisation of central Europe, the democracy movement in China (aborted) and Africa (unformed), the birth of a militant multilateralism now deployed in the Gulf and so on. The American intellectual Francis Fukuyama has proclaimed, prematurely, the absolute triumph of Western liberal democracy and thus the end of history as ideology.

Yet, if apartheid was indeed one of the great moral issues of the 20th century, its passing should surely be commemorated most memorably by its prime victim — Nelson Mandela himself.

The record fails to reveal it: compare his Cape Town city hall or Soccer City speeches with, for example, the grandeur of Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel's address to a joint sitting of the US Congress when he spoke of every nation's long march to the unattainable, yet limitless, horizon of democracy.

It is not just a question of words. Mandela's close adherence to his prepared speeches, his tactical answers to strategic questions (why, for example, must every response to a current problem proceed from the assumption that an external conspiracy of some sort is to blame?), suggest a lack of an informing, universal vision.

Laurens van der Post described Mandela's discourse as "slogans and clichés that were already outworn in the 19th century." Perhaps the vision is there, awaiting its invocation, but people grow cynical in expectation of it.

From this lack of vision flows contradictions in ANC tactics for example: the demand for the state to end violence, accompanied by a rhetoric that fuels it; an insistence on the creation of a climate conducive to negotiations, together with support for campaigns aimed at terrorising elements (like black councillors or Inkatha) out of negotiations; a clamour for redis-

tribution of wealth and a simultaneous insistence on the retention of measures like sanctions, boycotts and stayaways designed to hamper that wealth's creation.

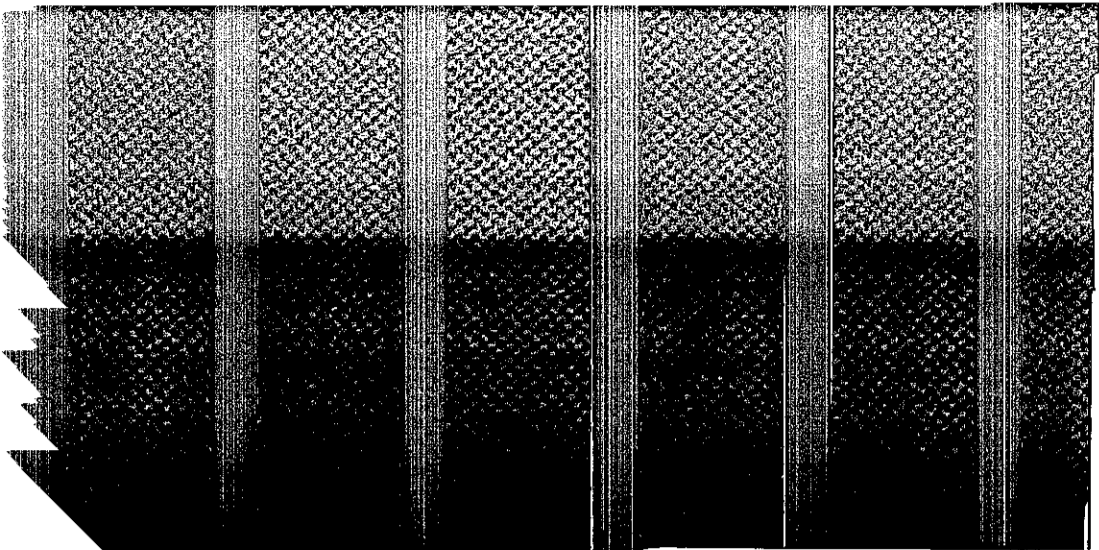
But Mandela's real Achilles heel, ironically, is his deep sense of loyalty. He showed it when he embraced Arafat, twice visited Gadafi and courted Castro.

He has, understandably, great loyalty to his wife, Winnie, whom he has promoted to senior positions within his organisation and against the wishes of elements in the movement. The press, it now appears, must not even question him about her.

### BUMBLING

How much further does this blind loyalty extend? Does it stretch to pre-incarceration economic and political ideologies, to support for dogmatic tactics (like sanctions), to trusted yet bumbling old associates who currently preside over an organisation of often stunning incompetence, to old allies like the SA Communist Party which might wish to hijack his movement? Twelve months on, we still don't know.

If people regard me as a Messiah, they're in a fool's paradise.



# President's sanctions victory 'backfired'

STATE President FW de Klerk's international triumph against sanctions has backfired badly by rekindling the internal conflict between the government and the ANC, possibly creating a grave new impasse.

Threats by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that the movement would launch massive economic disruption to deter any businessman from investing in South Africa is seen as a reversal of the progress symbolised by De Klerk's opening address to Parliament on February 1.

One direct result has been renewed efforts at a Johannesburg meeting on Monday to unite the ANC and PAC. A joint committee was established to put into effect Mandela's call at the ANC-Inkatha summit the previous week for a united conference of movements in conflict with the government. It is now likely the ANC will seek the broadest possible front to cooperate in mass action.

The ANC's mass action threat was an almost predictable reaction to President De Klerk once more seizing the initiative and removing the last major bargaining chips from ANC hands.

This was a view expressed by three leading Cape academics and political analysts who have intimate links with the organisation.

Stellenbosch University economist Prof Sampie Terreblanche, and executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, both regretted the apparent lack of prior horse-trading between Mandela and De Klerk to ensure there were no losers after his landmark announcements.

Both felt the two leaders were now painted into corners with little room for manoeuvre.

Head of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, Prof Herman Giliomee, took a less pessimistic view, but agreed that Mandela's harsh words were "surprising".

Terreblanche, a known critic of the government, described Mandela's threat as "extremely harsh, coming from him. The sort of language one expects from Chris Hani..."

He felt it was not fair of the government to have placed so much pressure on the ANC, which was in a vulnerable position after having undertaken to suspend the armed struggle with internal unrest being the only hand left to play after sanctions were lifted.

"De Klerk should have known you can't have a winner and a loser," said Boraine. "He should know that the minute sanctions go, Mandela is the loser."

Terreblanche found it strange there had been no bargaining, perhaps offering the ANC some form of election to establish the extent of support the participants in the talks had.

"There are dangers inherent in De Klerk's fine political footwork. He is still operating in terms of his constituency and has not yet shown

himself to be the national leader with the interests of 38 million people at heart," said Terreblanche.

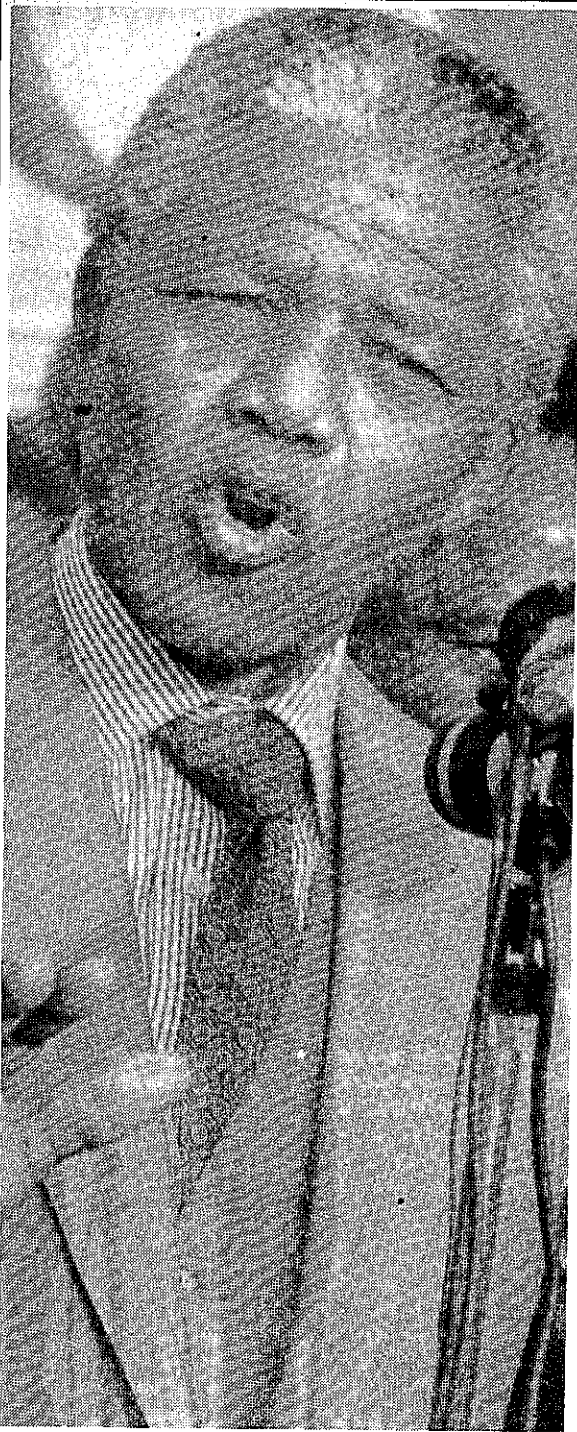
De Klerk had not demonstrated by his speech that he grasped the full dimensions of South Africa's problem as created by apartheid - that massive upliftment has to come about "irrespective of whether we can generate economic growth".

Giliomee said that unless it was possible to regain the ANC's involvement it was back to square one.

It was necessary for De Klerk to announce the repeal of the last apartheid laws in order to keep the ANC negotiating. Now the ANC would have to run harder to catch up in gaining the higher moral ground.

"Now De Klerk comes out looking good and Mandela comes out fighting. I don't see how it can be resolved, because they're both backed into corners." - Sapa





**Nelson Mandela ... open about the ANC's losses and gains in the past year.**

# I AM NO MESSIAH, SAYS MANDELA

11A

CIP res 10/2/91

**T**HREE days to the year since his release from Robben Island after serving 27 years of a life sentence, Nelson Mandela on Friday gave a frank review of the past year.

He was happy to be back with his wife Winnie and his friends. But he was unhappy that apartheid laws - which he got a life sentence for fighting - are still on the statute books.

While it is commonly believed that the ANC has lost both the political initiative and the armed struggle to the ruling party, Mandela paints a different picture.

He gave State President FW De Klerk high praise but acknowledged there were several obstacles ahead. He said the negotiations process would not be completed overnight and there were problems which might even derail the process.

He defended his wife's election to the head of the ANC's welfare department and also indicated that there was greater thawing of relations between the ANC and its main rival, the PAC.

Mandela was in jovial mood as he charted the roller coaster path the ANC has led in the past 12 months. He parried questions from a strong contingent of local and foreign journalists about his expectations when he was released from jail, the people's expectations of him and the achievements and failures of himself and the ANC.

He dismissed those who expected him to achieve the feats of a Messiah as "living in a fool's paradise".

He reiterated that he considered De Klerk a man of integrity but also stated that the poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, lack of housing and hospital facilities were worse than before.

In fact, the situation has deteriorated. Baragwanath Hospital, the biggest hospital in the Southern Hemisphere, was like a "shack".

Mandela also warned the European Com-

It is now a year since ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was released from prison. *City Press* political editor SEKOLA SELLO was there when he spoke to the Press about his achievements and disappointments in a momentous year of South African history.

munity and Australia not to lift economic sanctions against South Africa, saying such a decision would be an error of judgment and that it would lead to "turmoil".

He said this was not a threat to the EC and Australia. He added that if the EC and Australia, which had recently stated they might review their stand on sanctions, went ahead and lifted sanctions without considering the feelings of the majority of the people, mass action would be the order of the day.

"It will be difficult for us (ANC) to control the feelings of our people if they believe they have no friends outside. If the EC wants the country turned upside down, then they must lift sanctions. The people won't hold back their anger."

He said in such a climate of political turmoil, it would be a "very stupid businessman" who would want to invest or trade with this country.

While acknowledging the need for economic growth, which could be boosted by foreign investment, the ANC leader said economic sanctions are one of the organisation's "primary weapons against apartheid".

This was "the price we are prepared to pay to be in parliament".

The ANC deputy leader also said the ANC would in future work with its main rival, the PAC, to persuade the international community to continue applying sanctions.

"In future, ANC/PAC missions may act together. We are likely to go together to Brussels (Belgian capital and EC headquar-

ters) to impress upon the EC the continued need for applying sanctions."

While personal relations between Mandela and De Klerk were good, in the final analysis they were dealing more with the government than personalities, said Mandela.

Therein lies, the problem. Some people question whether all government officials are committed to De Klerk's initiatives. Civil servants may sabotage the envisaged changes. But a greater worry is the security forces whose position is not clearly defined.

These people argue that a majority of security force personnel and bureaucrats are opposed to change and may engage in activities to block it. It is also believed the official opposition, the Conservative Party, and most rightwing members draw their support from these organs of State.

Although Mandela was not specific about future problems, he admitted that De Klerk's bold initiatives had lost him part of his constituency. He might not have said it, but he is aware of the problems posed by the security forces and rightwingers.

Mandela came out of prison at the height of fighting between his supporters and those of Inkatha. The fighting has continued and has now been imported from Natal to the Reef. There are also sporadic fights between the ANC against the PAC and the ANC against Azapo.

It took Mandela more than a year before his symbolic meeting with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Had they met earlier, a lot more lives, especially in the PWV area, might have been saved. Why he delayed this meeting for so long will remain a blot on his statesmanship.

There is also the problem of the youth in the ANC. There are many unruly elements doing the organisation a lot of damage. He is still to bring these youngsters to order.

# Democracy stressed at PAC talks

By Joe Openshaw

Staw 11/2/91

The urgent need for the democratisation of South Africa and a non-racial constitution on the basis of one person, one vote elections, were stressed in three-day talks between the PAC and the Consultative Business Movement of South Africa (CBM) which ended in Harare yesterday.

It was jointly stressed that a successful political transition would be threatened unless it was underpinned by a solid socio-economic and developmental foundation, the two parties stressed in a communique from Harare.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu headed the PAC delegation which met members of the Consultative Business Movement, including its chief Dr Simon Brand.

The PAC, which has spurned

invitations to negotiate with Pretoria, told the business leaders the creation of a Constituent Assembly, one of the major demands of the ANC, should be speeded up.

PAC stressed the urgent need for the creation of a common voters' role in a unitary state.

Democratic political order should be put in place soon.

"This should include the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unhindered return of exiles," said the communique.

Economic challenges facing politicians and business in South Africa are the land issue, economic growth, restructuring of the economy and addressing inequality.

The two sides agreed the imminent repeal of the Land Act was not enough to change the pattern of land ownership.

Greater access to land should

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be encouraged for the repeal to be meaningful particularly in urban areas where rapid urbanisation will place immense pressure on the economic and social life.

It was also agreed the economy would need to be restructured to meet the needs of all citizens.

Growth, distribution and democratisation were stressed as core components of this restructuring.

The CBM stressed the need for a balance of policies and structures which facilitated rather than inhibited growth and wealth creation.

CBM contended that, in pursuing this goal, a balance should be struck between the roles of the state and the market.

It was agreed that further discussions would be held to explore matters of mutual concern.

11A

# Business, PAC call for democracy

HARARE. — Three-day talks between the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) of South Africa ended yesterday with both sides agreeing that a democratic political order was needed as soon as possible in South Africa, according to the national news agency, Ziana.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu headed the PAC delegation which met members of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), including its chief Dr Simon Brand.

A statement issued after the meeting said mechanisms to achieve a democratic order were debated, with the PAC stressing its position with regard to the urgent need for a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote — one of the major demands of the African National Congress (ANC).

“Both delegations stressed the urgent need for the democratisation of our country and the creation of a non-racial constitution,” the statement said.

The CBM contended that in pur-

suings this goal, a balance should be struck between the roles of the state and the market.

“The PAC said the need for growth must be coupled with mechanisms for redistribution of wealth,” the statement said.

“Delegates also stressed the need for both the normalisation of the political process and its democratisation on the basis of one person, one vote elections,” it said.

The PAC emphasised that this should include the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unhindered return of all exiles.

It was also stressed that a successful political transition would be threatened unless it was underpinned by a solid socio-economic and developmental foundation, the statement said.

“It was recognised that the country’s economic future would remain bleak unless all our people combined efforts to achieve maximum economic growth through the involvement and participation of all potentially productive resources.” — Sapa

spab's Seven Brides for Seven Brothers, Anne of sweeping floors, the Big Clean committee, mass clean-up of Table Mountain in March.

versity for his entry, a *Circle of Identity*, and Mr Lesego Rampolokeng won third prize with *Rap Century*.

# 104 000 have joined youth league — ANC

*11/2*  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Youth League (Ancyl) has recruited 104 000 members since the launch of an intensive membership drive three months ago, it has been claimed.

At a Press briefing at the organisation's headquarters in Braamfontein, Ancyl's organising committee said it was satisfied about the progress made so far.

But the head of the organising committee, Mr Kgaokgele Lekgoro, said they hoped to reach a target of 200 000 before April 6 when the organisation's inaugural congress would be held.

## LOCAL COMMITTEES

Mr Lekgoro said 14 regions and 446 local youth committees had been formed since last November.

In spite of communication and demarcation problems, compounded by violence in the PWV and Natal regions, the youth league had moved with considerable pace in setting up local youth committees, Mr Lekgoro said.

Minor hiccups, including delays in setting up structures and signing up members, were encountered in the Western Cape and Border regions, he said.

Since its launch last October the youth league set itself the following tasks:

- To establish regional structures, branches and presence wherever it

*ARGUS 11/2 191*  
found the youth, including churches, factory floors and institutions of learning.

In each region a committee of 10 had been formed to recruit members from house-to-house, set up registration centres, or organise cultural activities.

The committees would later launch a branch meeting, where the local members would "democratically" elect leaders.

The members would pay R1 joining fee and 50 cents monthly subscription.

## MAJOR CITIES

Also Mr Lekgoro maintained that a code of conduct, constitution, and discipline was spelt out to the new members.

He added that membership included white youths who were recruited from major cities, and tertiary institutions. However, he could not give the figures.

Here is a rundown of membership and local committees supplied by the youth league in various regions:

Northern Natal (2 000) (13), Southern Natal (3 000) (9), Midlands (7 000) (20), Northern Free State (200) (8), Southern Free State (7 000) (20), PWV(20 000) (45), Northern Transvaal (20 000) (114), Western Transvaal (5 000) (27), Eastern Transvaal (25 000) (100), Transkei (15 000) (33), Eastern Cape (1 600) (26), Western Cape (1 000) (11), and Northern Cape (2 000) (20).

# Missing Mandela accused: Police react

PRETORIA. — The lead article in a Sunday newspaper describing the sneak appearance at the Rand Supreme Court last Tuesday of one of Mrs Winnie Mandela's co-trialists (who has jumped bail) allegedly makes a joke of calls by the police for social responsibility, according to an SAP spokesman.

In a statement from Pretoria yesterday, Col Johan Mostert said the police were "shocked and dismayed" at the article, which describes how a press photographer snapped Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, one of the accused, on the steps of the court.

"The cheeky runaway moved brazenly among the court crowd, making no attempt to hide his presence or his identity. That was where the Sunday Times photographed him on Tuesday morning," the report said.

In his strong reaction, Col Mostert said: "The article makes a joke of the call to responsible newspapers... that community members should assist police to maintain law and order," the colonel said.

Asked for his comment, the editor of the newspaper involved, Mr Ken Owen, said: "I don't see that it calls for any comment." — Sapa

CMA-Tuit 11/2/91



Mr Nelson Mandela

# ANC halo is growing tarnished

11A

By PETER TAYLOR

THE apotheosis of Mr Nelson Mandela is enshrined in anonymous council-estate cul-de-sacs throughout Britain. But in South Africa, a year after the messiah's release from prison, there are reservations, even doubts.

He cuts a tremendous figure, of course: pencil-thin, confident. But youthful militants are unhappy with his moderation, white reformers fret about his leadership qualities and some people in the rural areas have never heard of him.

For a 73-year-old, the globe-trotting of the past year has been punishing, but the Mandela name means money and the ANC is short of cash. So Mr Mandela, accompanied by the exotic Winnie, traipses round a string of fashionable cities accepting First World plaudits, trying to tap his hosts for a few readies, and hoping to persuade them not to drop sanctions just yet.

In the latter task he has been fighting a losing battle.

As President De Klerk has proceeded with his reforms, even anti-apartheid stalwarts like Australia's Mr Bob Hawke have begun to hum a different tune. International solidarity for the

beleaguered black nationalist movement has been replaced by impatience that the ANC cannot get its act together. The ANC's disorganisation is not wholly Mr Mandela's fault. The transition from a clandestine protest movement to a political party is not easy.

But the qualities that make Mr Mandela such an international hero count for little in the maelstrom of black politics. When he tells the "young lions" to throw their weapons into the sea, no one takes a blind bit of notice; and when he instructs children to go back to school, the teachers strike.

## Leadership

He is open-minded and flexible; he bears no grudges. To the fiercely certain young militants, this smacks of appeasement.

The question of whether Mr Nelson Mandela is the leader or the led has been elevated to almost metaphysical status by pundits and analysts.

At the ANC's "consultative conference" in December the signs were ambiguous. "The leadership has grasped the principle that they are the servants of the people, and that they must seek

guidance from the masses," Mr Mandela said.

But repentance has its limits, especially for a Tembu prince. When conference insisted that his negotiations with President De Klerk be conducted in public, he called the demand "totally unreasonable". And he went on to attack "men and women who use the platforms of organisations for unprincipled discussion, who play to the gallery, whose aim is to prove how revolutionary they are". His unscripted irritation was directed at the militants — people like Mr Peter Mokaba, leader of the ANC Youth Wing. It was Mr Mokaba who urged last year that the "struggle" be taken into white areas.

He remains South Africa's best hope for a negotiated transfer of power, but can he deliver those ANC cadres who threatened to "throttle him" just for talking to the Zulu leader, Chief Buthelezi? Cruellest of all, perhaps, the world has new preoccupations. Apartheid is as good as dead, so the citizens of Hampstead and Georgetown can sleep easy. Anyway, South Africa is a long way from anywhere, and life must get back to normal. Just how good are those Springbok cricketers? — Sunday Telegraph

**Press got Winnie's speech wrong - ANC.....**

# 'Kill whites' report denied

11/11  
Sowetan 11/2/91

THE ANC yesterday denied reports by a London newspaper that Mrs Winnie Mandela incited Bekkersdal residents to kill whites who entered the township.

Mrs Mandela is alleged to have said this during a historic peace initiative addressed by Azapo, PAC, Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC in Bekkersdal last Thursday.

According to the *The Times* newspaper, Mrs Mandela warned whites to stay out of the township or face being killed by residents.

*The Times's* Johannesburg correspondent, Ray Kennedy, quoted Mrs Mandela as saying: "Any white person who comes here to interfere with us or who comes to preach peace - that person must not leave Bekkersdal alive.

"Their wives and mothers will have to fetch them as corpses."

However, several people who attended the rally, said the interpretation was not precise.

ANC publicity and information director Pallo Jordan, said the report was "totally untrue and provocative".

"What Mrs Mandela said was that there are lots of policemen who have been coming into the township 'ukuzo-sithelekisa', which means to incite one group against another or to stir up trouble."

He said they entered the township under the pretext of restoring peace,

By NKOPANE  
MAKOBANE

and Mrs Mandela told the people that they should not allow that to happen.

Mr Chris Hani, the ANC's *Umkhonto we Sizwe* chief of staff, said he repudiated the alleged statement.

He said what Mrs Mandela said was that people should be vigilant and not allow agents of the regime to sow seeds of disruption.

He said spokesmen of the different organisations, including Mrs Mandela, called on residents to display maximum unity, political tolerance and refuse to be used against one another.

"I take strong exception to attempts by the media to denigrate, villify and single out Comrade Winnie.

"I categorically deny that she ever made a statement calling on whites to be murdered.

"It is surprising that although the local papers as well as the SABC were present, none of them carried this mischievous report," he said.

This was also echoed by Jordan who said it was strange that while there were black journalists at the rally, not a single report in South Africa quoted Mrs Mandela as having made the chilling remarks.

Trade unionist Mike Yengwa said: "I think the journalist grabbed the nearest black person and asked him to translate Winnie's speech and he got it all wrong."

Treading a thorny path on the road to freedom

11A.

Soweto 11/2/91

# Mandela - separating the man and the myth

MR Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, today celebrates his first year as a free man after spending 28 years incarcerated in South African jails.

Mandela (72), the world's most well-known political prisoner, had sacrificed his life and all the joys that go with it by his vigorous and unwavering pursuance of the struggle to liberate the oppressed and voteless masses of South Africa.

During all the years he spent in prison, Mandela continued to be a powerful symbol of the oppressed as he refused to sell his soul by declining conditional offers for his freedom.

He was elevated, rightly or wrongly, to the status of omnipotence and demi-god by multitudes of his supporters and freedom fighters the world over.

But when he finally walked out through the gates of Pollsmoor Prison on the afternoon of February 11 1990, Mandela did not only taste freedom for the first time in nearly three decades, but he was to come under careful scrutiny from all the people who have been following his fight for the emancipation of the oppressed.

It was the beginning of a separation of Mandela the man and Mandela the myth.

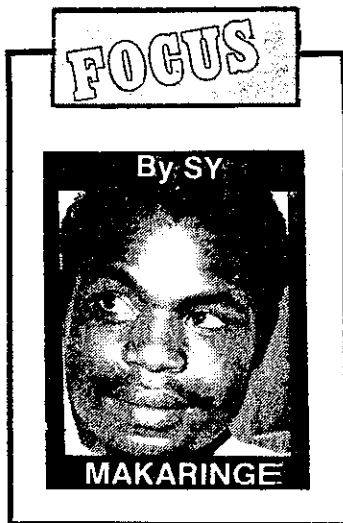
## Release

At his first international media conference a day after his release, Mandela not only showed the world that he was a statesman and diplomat of phenomenal stature, he also fielded questions in a charismatic and fascinating fashion.

But it was at the same conference that he infuriated militant members of the organisation when he referred to State President FW de Klerk as "a man of integrity."

The members tried very hard to conceal their disenchantment.

Their anger surfaced at the ANC's national consultative con-



ference in December last year when delegates pointed out in no uncertain terms that they detested that description of the State President.

Less than a week after his release, Mandela fell out of step with the mood of his militant followers again.

## Education

Addressing more than 150 000 people at the First National Bank Stadium, near Crown Mines, Mandela told pupils to go back to their classes, rightly emphasising the importance of the education in a new South Africa.

You may agree that there was nothing wrong in his appeal for children to return to classes, but somebody did not like it.

He had hardly resumed his seat when an activist grabbed the microphone and reminded all teachers about a march that was going to take place the following day.

This meant that if there were no teachers in the classrooms, there was no point in pupils going to school.

What happened afterwards is now history. For several weeks, no effective teaching took place in Soweto and Alexandra schools.

The pupils also decided to support the teachers by staging their own march.

Mandela later defended the pupils and the teachers for their actions by saying they could not go back to school when conditions there were not conducive to effective learning and teaching, citing overcrowding and lack of stationery as his reasons.

## Same level

While in jail, Mandela was reported as saying he would live in his modest four-roomed Orlando West home if he were to be released.

His statement was interpreted as meaning that he wanted to be at the same level as his oppressed followers so that he could be in a position to clearly understand their hardships and sufferings.

This did happen. But it was not for long before he moved into what has been dubbed "Winnie's Folly", an imposing mansion which dwarfs a cluster of four-roomed structures which pass for houses in Orlando West.

Whether the move was wise or not is debatable. But the most important thing is that Mandela broke a promise.

On the international front, Mandela was not that good either.

## Rebuked

On his European tour a few weeks after his release, Mandela was reported to have been rebuked by the Swedish government, one of the main funders of the ANC, when he called for the intensification of sanctions and the isolation of South Africa.

He, however, denied that he had been rebuked.

One, however, cannot fault Mandela for what he told the Swedes, even if he risked creating enemies. Apartheid was, and still is, in place, so sanctions must also remain in place.

But the big crunch came when he was on a tour of Britain. The ANC leader angered the British people when he suggested that the Margaret Thatcher government should resolve its differences with the Irish Republican Army through peaceful means.

He was given the rap on the knuckles by the patriotic British tabloids which said there was no way in which they would forgive the IRA as, unlike the ANC, it had a right to fight its cause through the ballot box.

In Australia, the man who was regarded as a symbol of the oppressed all over the world disappointed many Aborigines when he refused to be dragged into a discussion over their plight.

Brushing them aside, Mandela told them he was not in a position to involve himself in "internal matters of another country."

## Force

The same went for the Canadian Indians. Mandela dodged the issue of the plight of the indigenous people of that country.

At home, many people thought Mandela would rise above ideological differences and become a unifying force among the oppressed masses of this country. Perhaps they were expecting too much from the man, but the political intolerance that stemmed directly or indirectly from his release left a horrifying tale that the less said about it, the better.

This intolerance was demonstrated when Mandela, on a tour of trouble-torn East Rand townships organised by the South African Council of Churches, was called names when he and other dignitaries tried to get into an East Rand hostel inhabited mostly by members of Inkatha.

Mandela may have made a couple of mistakes - after all, to err is human - but there is no doubt that he is a great leader who has the capabilities of lifting the country from the rut it is in today..



# Call to close House of Delegates

~~2/8~~  
11/18  
S. Overman  
11/21/91

## SA Press Association

THE Transvaal Indian Congress on Saturday called on the state president to close down the House of Delegates immediately.

The TIC also asked President FW de Klerk to withhold all payments of salaries and pensions of MP's in the House.

In a statement, it rejected the call for another election in the House of Delegates, claiming the House was not recognized by the Indian community. Its continued existence, said the TIC, was merely a drain on tax-payers.

"The power struggle between two discredited individuals, Mr Rajbansi and Mr Reddy, continues to disgrace the people of South Africa and shows up once again the irrelevance of the House to the new politics of SA," TIC secretary Ismail Momoniat said.

### Credibility

"Not a single MP in the House of Delegates has the credibility to make any meaningful contribution to the coming negotiation process," he said.

The TIC said it believes that all political parties in the House of Delegates should be excluded from the coming multi-party conference and discussion on a new constitution, as should the National People's Party and Solidarity.

Those parties do not have the support of any significant constituency, it said.

It added that money used for MP salaries and pensions should be used instead to uplift black education.

The TIC also condemned a new alliance between the Democratic Party and Mr Rajbansi's NPP, and called on the DP's Zac de Beer to explain his party's stand on corruption in the House of Delegates.

# Discussions on changing South Africa held in Harare

*Sowetan* (1/2/91)  
HARARE - The PAC and the Consultative Business Movement of South Africa began a two day meeting on Saturday to discuss their views on changes in South Africa.

Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reports that leader of the CBM delegation Mr Simon Brand said his

delegation was concerned about the process of economic change in South Africa, which it hoped would take place in a constructive manner.

He said Saturday's meeting with PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu had centred on the PAC's position on the constitutional negotiation process in South Africa.

This meeting, he said, was one of many meetings being planned by the movement in an effort to understand the position of all parties involved in the negotiation process.

"We believe that these meetings will help pave the way for the processes that are going on in South Africa," he said. - *Sapa*

ANC, Govt

meet to iron  
out problems

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC are scheduled to meet in Cape Town today to discuss hitches in the activities of their joint working group on the armed struggle and related activities.

Neither group was prepared to say yesterday whether ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk would attend the crucial meeting to iron out differences on matters related to the indemnity of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are the principals to which matters were referred last week after an apparent breakdown in the activities of the working group on Tuesday.

ANC publicity and information head Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC delegation would comprise its members on the joint working group, established in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

Dr Jordan expected Government representatives to the working group to be present at the meeting as well.

He said at this stage it was not certain that Mr Mandela would attend the meeting.

In reply to whether Mr de Klerk would be present, he said: "We are meeting the Government."

The meeting could be vital in getting the tasks of the working group back on track.

In terms of the Pretoria Minute, April 30 has been set as the deadline for the completion of the task of the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The ANC warned in December that it might reconsider its participation in the negotiation process if this was not met.

Own Correspondent

**MARITZBURG.** — Two weeks have passed since the Durban meeting between Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela, but ongoing violence has raised questions over the ability of leaders to resolve conflict in problem areas like Maritzburg.

Another 17 people were killed in the Edendale "valley of death" at the weekend, after unknown men fired a fusillade of shots at a bus returning from an Inkatha rally.

A number of explanations are being advanced to explain the failure of the Inkatha-ANC peace process to make an impression among the grassroots supporters of the organisations:

● The most commonly advanced thesis is that the ANC leadership in Maritzburg is out of step with the mainstream of the ANC.

The ANC's Maritzburg leader, Mr Harry Gwala, failed to attend the Durban peace talks between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, despite being invited to do so.

His absence is interpreted as a sign of his opposition to ANC-Inkatha détente.

● Mr Gwala was also reported to have opposed earlier local level peace initiatives, on the grounds that "membership and supporters had not

# Dissident ANC man scuppers Natal peace

CAP 712 A 12/2/91  
117 (12/2)

been consulted" before senior ANC leaders met Inkatha officials.

● A university-based political scientist suggested that Mr Gwala may be under pressure from a radicalised membership who would not accept compromise with Inkatha.

● Academic studies have also pointed to the rigid traditional value system among Inkatha chiefs and indunas, which sanctions the revenge killings which have claimed 3 000 lives in Maritzburg.

● A large number of unemployed youths who dabble in petty crime sympathise with the ANC, but will not accept organisational discipline.

● Poverty, unemployment and poor education also play a major role in the unrest in the area.

# UDF men on murder charge: State witness 'contradictory'

By JOHN VILJOEN *M.C. 12/2/91*  
Supreme Court Reporter

EVIDENCE by a State witness in the trial of two United Democratic Front supporters charged with murdering two men on a Namaqualand farm contradicted his statement to the police, the Supreme Court heard.

This emerged during cross-examination of the State witness, who may not be named in terms of a court order, in the trial of UDF supporters Mr Gamlakhe Elliot Ngwegwe and Mr Lindemna Lawrence Dada.

They allegedly murdered Mr Mxolisi Herman Sibeku and Mr James Charlie at Koelenhof farm in the Koekenaap district on March 16 last year after accusing them of being members of Azapo.

## CUT THROATS

Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada are alleged to have beaten the men, tied them up with wire, cut their throats and buried them in a quarry.

According to medical evidence, the men were almost decapitated. Police found their bodies in shallow graves.

Pleas of not guilty have been entered for Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada after the State refused to accept the men's pleas of guilty with extenuating circumstances.

Yesterday, Mr D Potgieter, for the defence, read the State witness a statement to police which contradicted parts of his evidence in court.

The witness earlier described watching Mr Dada use an iron pole to force a cloth into Mr Charlie's mouth.

When Mr Potgieter showed the witness a photograph of Mr Sibeku's body he said he had confused the identities of the two men, and that Mr Charlie had not had a cloth forced into his mouth.

Earlier Mr Justice D M Williamson said he had difficulty understanding aspects of the witness's evidence.

If the witness could make "such a big mistake" about the men's identity, the court was faced with the problem of whether to accept the rest of his evidence, the judge said.

Mr Potgieter said the witness's evidence "was so contradictory" there was no basis for using it to get to the truth.

The hearing continues today.

The assessors are Mr C H van Gend and Mr A H de Villiers. Mr M Stowe appears for the State. Mr Potgieter is instructed by C E MacDondald, Papier and associates.

# Mandela: we <sup>11A</sup> will accept any election verdict

By Julienne du Toit

Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, last night said his organisation would accept and obey the verdict of an election — even if the results went against it.

However, he took considerable trouble to stress that the ANC represented most of the nation.

Mr Mandela was speaking to TVI's Agenda presenter Harald Pakendorf about his first year of freedom, a year to the day since he was released from almost three decades of imprisonment.

## Hopeful

And despite the fact that President de Klerk recently rejected the option of an interim government and a constituent assembly, Mr Mandela announced himself very hopeful that his organisation and the Government would reach an agreement on these issues.

Remarkable progress had been made during the two summits even though "we start from different positions" and problems had cropped up which could have disrupted the peace process, he said.

The European Community had made a grave mistake in reviewing its stand on sanctions, he said.

"There will be more mass action in the country. With widespread instability, the environment will not be conducive to investment."

He admonished the press for having portrayed him as threatening the EC on this issue.

Mr Mandela condemned right-wing projects to "dismember the country", but added that if they held discussions with the ANC, "most fears would be removed".

Mr Pakendorf needled Mr Mandela on the organisation's apparent reluctance to end the bitter four-year conflict by talking to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela shrugged this off, saying he and Chief Buthelezi had been in almost constant contact since his release from prison.

"Bad blood" between the organisations had made it difficult "to do the spadework" and soften hard attitudes, he said.

Also, after only one meeting it was unrealistic to expect conflict to end.

"Until the machinery is set up and working efficiently, you must expect more clashes."

When questioned about his health, Mr Mandela said: "What dominates is a feeling of well-being, but I am not a young man any more and the work load is heavy."

On February 26 he was going to take a holiday. "It will be a highly guarded secret and not even the National Executive of the ANC will know where I am, since the last time I took a holiday, they called me back after only three days."

Mr Mandela twice admonished Mr Pakendorf for interrupting him.

# 'Mr X' denies role in death of Azapo men

Supreme Court Reporter

A FARM worker yesterday denied in the Supreme Court that he was trying to "exonerate" himself from being implicated in the murder of two Azapo supporters on a Namaqualand farm.

The witness — who may not be identified in terms of a court order — was giving evidence in the trial of Mr Gamalakhe Ngwege and Mr Lindemna Dada, who are charged with murdering Mr James Charlie and Mr Mxolisi Sibeku in a shed at Koelenhof farm, Koekenaap.

The men, self-confessed UDF supporters, pleaded guilty to both charges, but in a statement Mr Ngwege pleaded guilty to murdering Mr Charlie only and Mr Dada pleaded guilty to murdering Mr Sibeku. The state refused to accept their pleas and decided to lead evidence.

In reply to Mr Denzil Potgieter, for the men, Mr X (the witness) denied he had taken part in the murders.

## Mandela T-shirt

His evidence coincided with a statement he had made to police after the incident and he had not incriminated himself, Mr X said.

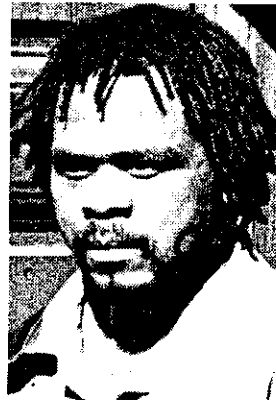
Mr X last week denied he belonged to any political organisation but yesterday, when asked about a T-shirt bearing a photograph of Mr Nelson Mandela, he said he supported the ANC and the UDF.

Almost all the workers in the shed that night were UDF supporters, but he was not aware at the time that the murdered men were members of Azapo, Mr X said.

He agreed that a conflict in an Eastern Cape town — from which the accused and the murdered men came — had carried over to the farm.

The trial continues today.

Mr Justice D M Williamson was on the Bench. Mr C H van Gend and Mr A H de Villiers were the assessors. Mr Mike Stowe appeared for the state. Mr Potgieter was instructed by Mr Charles MacDonald of C E MacDonald, Papier and Associates.



ON TRIAL... Mr Gamalakhe Ngwege.



ACCUSED... Mr Lindemna Dada

Pictures: RONNIE MORRIS

# Azapo outlines its plans to end schools crisis

11A

Source from  
12/2/91

THE Sibasa branch of the Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday announced its proposed remedial actions to the education crisis looming in schools in the area.

Azapo executive member Mr Enos Nephawe said the resolutions were taken during a seminar near Thohoyandou at the weekend.

The resolutions include that discipline should be reinforced in schools to prevent anarchy, student representative councils should be independent from political organisations, and student organisations should exercise political tolerance and should abstain from intimidation and provocative acts.

Additionally, boycotts should be discussed with community organisations before being called,

parents should assist teachers to prevent drug abuse, pupils should never take over the administration of schools and uniforms should be worn "to obscure social imbalances".

"Although many problems like overcrowding and lack of facilities are government-created, class disruptions contributed to a large extent to the high failure rate," Nephawe said.

"As Azapo, we know that there cannot be an effective change in education for as long as the political system does not change," he added.



Lashing out at the opening of some schools to all races, Nephawe said "reforms only produce better slaves who look down on their fellow blacks". - Sapa.



The ANC is pursuing a lost cause on sanctions, says an Africa expert

# Hardline policy spells defeat

Star 13/2/91

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**T**HE African National Congress would have improved its international credibility if it had supported the selective lifting of sanctions, says the veteran Africa specialist Colin Legum.

Writing in the latest issue of the London news magazine *New African*, Mr Legum says that in the crumbling of sanctions the ANC has suffered its most notable defeat so far.

"If the ANC had read the signs correctly it could have gained greater international credibility by taking the initiative in advocating a policy of selectively lifting sanctions, instead of persisting in the

hardline advocacy of keeping up economic pressure," he says.

"In fact, many of the ANC's leaders — notably Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela — currently foresaw the irreversible crumbling of sanctions and sought to change the party's hard line. But they failed to persuade key elements in the movement to accept the political wisdom of placing less reliance on international than national pressures."

The rejection of their advice was overwhelmingly demonstrated, says Mr Legum, by the recent decision by the ANC's consultative conference to pursue "the lost cause of a pro-sanctions policy".

He says sanctions are crumbling at a rate that already casts doubt on their credibility and effectiveness.

This is an undoubted triumph for President de Klerk as he wrests the initiative from his opponents in the opening phase of the negotiating process over a new constitution.

One reason for this is the difficulty the ANC has had in establishing itself as a disciplined and coherent political party with a proven mass following.

Mr Legum, a respected commentator on African affairs, was for many years publisher of the authoritative annual survey, *Africa Contemporary Record*.

He notes that the ANC is laying much of the blame for the eroding of sanctions on the European Community's decision to begin phasing them out.

"But while the West Europeans are a convenient scapegoat, the reality is that the East Europeans, including the Soviet Union, and especially African governments, have done more to erode sanctions over the last six months than the European Community."

Mr Legum recalls that Pretoria was invited to send an observer to recent meetings of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which was formed partly to lessen dependence

on South Africa, and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA). And SADCC members have agreed to begin integrating their power systems with Escom's.

"The opening of trade and cooperation links between South Africa and the rest of the continent are potentially far more important than the putative ending of sanctions with Europe.

"In a very real sense, therefore, it can be argued that the most serious breach in sanctions has been the result of the changing policies of African governments."

The ANC is unlikely to be more successful in persuading the Europeans and North Americans to

maintain sanctions than it was with the Africans, Mr Legum says. However, the crumbling of sanctions is unlikely to help South Africa's economy in the near future, he says. Investors are deterred by political uncertainty and this will be the case while there is no positive outcome to negotiations for a new democratic constitution. "This still gives the ANC the whiphand in the negotiating process. The bottom line is that there can be no meaningful progress towards achieving stability in South Africa without agreement between the Government, the ANC and other opponents of apartheid." — Star Africa Service □

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# Success at Govt. ANC meeting

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In a major breakthrough, the ANC and the Government yesterday resolved major differences over the ANC's armed struggle which have held up negotiations for seven months.

Agreement was reached at a secret venue in Cape Town after a marathon 11-hour meeting between delegations led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

The agreement will be released once approved by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). The Cabinet is expected to ratify the agreement today and the NEC before the end of the week.

Informed sources said the way had now largely been cleared for the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles by the April 30 target date.

This had, in turn, raised hopes for an early launch of the proposed multiparty conference to discuss the next phase of negotiations.

Yesterday's emergency meeting was called to try to resolve major disagreements in the so-called Paragraph Three joint ANC/Government working group.

The group has been meeting since the Pretoria summit of August 6 last year to try to agree on the meaning of the ANC's commitment in the Pretoria Minute to suspend "armed actions".

The ANC insisted this meant only that it should suspend actual armed attacks and the infiltration of men and arms.

The Government demanded a wider definition which also included an end to the recruitment and training of ANC cadres, the surrender of weapons inside the country and an end to mass action.

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# UDF witness dug grave for slain Azapo pair

CHIEF JUSTICE 13/2/97  
Supreme Court Reporter

A SECOND witness has described how an Azapo member pleaded for mercy while his friend's throat was cut by a United Democratic Front member on a Namaqualand farm.

Mr X1, who may not be identified, was arrested as an alleged accomplice in the murder of Mr James Charlie and Mr Mxolisi Sibeku on Koelenhof farm at Koekenaap last March 16.

Like an earlier witness in the trial of Mr Gama-lakhe Ngwegwe and Mr Lindemna Dada, Mr X1 was told he would be exempted from prosecution if he answered all questions truthfully.

Mr X1, a UDF member and one of 46 seasonal grape-pickers who shared a shed, said that on the night of March 16, Mr Ngwegwe and Mr Dada looked for Mr Sibeku, accused him of being an Azapo member and beat him.

Mr Dada pinned Mr Sibeku's shoulders down while Mr Ngwegwe cut his throat. Mr Sibeku's arms had been tied behind his back with wire.

Mr Charlie, whose arms also had been tied behind his back, pleaded for his life but was told to speak the truth because his turn would come, Mr X1 said.

Mr X1 was among the men ordered by Mr Ngwegwe to dig a hole. Mr Sibeku and Mr Charlie's bodies were covered in sacks and buried.

The trial continues today.

# Sanctions are crumbling

THE African National Congress would have improved its international credibility if it had supported the selective lifting of sanctions, says veteran Africa specialist Colin Legum.

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"If the ANC had read the signs correctly it could have gained greater international credibility by taking the initiative in advocating a policy of selectively lifting sanctions instead of persisting in the hardline advocacy of keeping up economic pressure," he says.

## Tambo

"In fact, many of the ANC's leaders - notably Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela - currently foresaw the irreversible crumbling of sanctions and sought to change the party's hard line.

"But they failed to persuade key elements in the movement to accept the political wisdom of placing less reliance on international than national pressures."

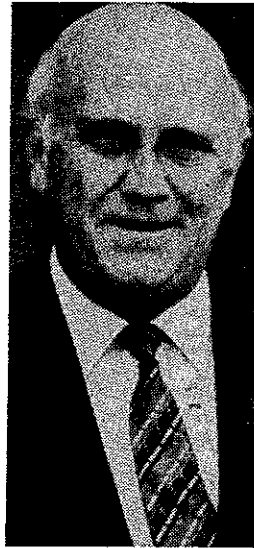
Consultative

13/2/91 Sowetan  
The rejection of their advice was overwhelmingly demonstrated, says Mr Legum, by the recent decision by the ANC's consultative conference to pursue "the lost cause of a pro-sanctions policy."

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This is an undoubted triumph for President FW de Klerk as he wrests the initiative from his opponents in the opening phase of the negotiating process over a new constitution.

One reason for this is the difficulty the ANC



FW DE KLERK

## So ANC should face the facts

has had in establishing itself as a disciplined and coherent political party with a proven mass following.

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mentators on African affairs, was for many years publisher of the authoritative annual survey, *Africa Contemporary Record*.

He notes that the

ANC is laying much of the blame for the eroding of sanctions on the European Community's decision to begin phasing them out.

## Scapegoat

"But while the West Europeans are a convenient scapegoat, the reality is that the East Europeans, including the Soviet Union, and especially African governments, have done more to erode sanctions over the last six months than the European Community."

## Dependence

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ments.

11A  
The ANC is unlikely to be more successful in persuading the Europeans and North Americans to maintain sanctions than it was with the Africans, Mr Legum says.

## Economy

However, the crumbling of sanctions is unlikely to help South Africa's economy in the near future, he says.

Investors are deterred by political uncertainty

and this will be the case while there is no positive outcome to negotiations for a new democratic constitution.

"This still gives the ANC the whiphand in the negotiating process.

"The bottom line is that there can be no meaningful progress towards achieving stability in South Africa without agreement between the Government, the ANC and other opponents of apartheid." - *Sowetan Correspondent*.

# Mandela is confident of reaching agreement

*Soweto 13/2/91*  
ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said he was optimistic his organisation and the Government would be able to resolve the questions of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Speaking on SABC's late night current affairs programme, "Agenda" on Monday night, he said though the ANC and the Government had started "talks-about-talks" from different positions, remarkable progress had been made and agreements had been reached at the end of their previous two summit meetings.

"And that is why I am very optimistic that even on the question of a constituent assembly and an interim government, we will be able to reach agreement.

## Problems

"There have been some problems which have cropped up, and some of them are so serious that they can even displace the peace process...I consider them to be very grave mistakes, but on both sides (the ANC and the Government) there are men and women who require peace, and that gives us confidence."

On the question of continued political intolerance and violence among supporters of the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the Pan Africanist Congress, despite recent peace initiatives, Mandela said it would be unrealistic to expect that a single meeting between the ANC and the IFP would resolve the question of violence.

"We require to do much more ground work," he said.

## Clashes

"Until a machinery has been set up and that machinery begins to work efficiently, you must expect that there will continue to be clashes."

He reminded that a "joint-machinery" had been set-up with Inkatha providing for joint tours of strife-torn areas by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and himself, while a joint ANC/PAC-liasion committee was being established to address problems of political intolerance.

Mandela said the ANC had proposed that a so-called patriotic front meeting, a congress of the "oppressed" people, take place prior to a multi-party conference, in order for such organisations to pool their resources.

## Conflict

"We want to eliminate all conflict and differences of view in order to arrive at a peaceful resolution of our affairs," he said.

He stressed that IFP would be included in such a patriotic front, but added: "We may phase it, because we will first want an agreement with people we have worked a little bit closer with than Inkatha."

He said the ANC would persuade other organisations in the proposed front to accept Inkatha in their midst.

Concerning the recent peace meeting between ANC/IFP leaders, Mandela said it had been essential for the ANC not to "come out weak" from any meeting with Inkatha. - Sapa

# No quick fix after apartheid is scrapped

Sowetan 13/2/91

11A

HOLLIS Rula sees no reason to celebrate the imminent repeal of apartheid laws. He will still live in a one-room shack on the sand flats outside Cape Town, with no voice in his own future.

"You can scrap apartheid on paper, but when will it be scrapped here?" he asked, gesturing at the maze of shacks under flat-topped Table Mountain.

In the comfortable city on the other side of the mountain, President FW de Klerk announced on February 1 that South Africa's remaining apartheid laws will be repealed within months.

In black townships like Khayelitsha, it will

take generations to erase apartheid's legacy.

Even if the last segregation laws are abolished this year, blacks will not have the vote immediately or be represented in the national government.

## Election

De Klerk is not required to call an election until 1994, the target he has set for negotiating a new constitution that will give voting rights to the black majority.

"There's much talk of change, but we still don't have the vote, and that is what our people demand," said Walter Sisulu, a leader of the African National Congress, the leading black opposi-

tion group.

Apartheid, which segregated the races by law, built inequities and inefficiencies into almost every facet of life. From schools to housing to health care, South African institutions will have to be restructured to end white domination and erase black poverty based on economic apartheid.

Black townships are far from the downtown areas of major cities. Commuting can take hours and a huge part of black earnings.

Rula, a 33-year-old delivery man, spends R25 a week from his R125 wages, on bus and taxi fares.

The Government deliberately built inferior

schools for blacks. Now the country is in a recession and desperately short of the skilled workers its diversified economy needs.

"I want to learn computers because it is a computer world," Rula said.

## Reading

He reads as much as possible - several magazines were open on his bed - but has no high school diploma.

The limited educational opportunities available are beyond his means.

Under De Klerk's reforms, about 200 white schools in major cities began in January to accept a few black students.

Ten times that number still are segregated and will remain so unless white parents at the schools vote for integration.

Outside liberal neighborhoods in large cities, there is little chance of that.

De Klerk says his Government will not im-

pose integration or affirmative action programmes, such as those in the United States.

Voluntary association and market forces will determine the pace of integration in all fields, the government says. Blacks say this will, in effect, give whites veto power over integration and continue to limit black opportunities.

For many blacks, the most immediate concern is improving their own facilities. Many students are turned away from black schools because classes already have 60 or more students.

## Children

"I don't really want my kids to go to white schools," said Nelson Mqeke of Khayelitsha, who has six children. "I want them to have good schools here."

Housing is critically short in black areas, and for years Government housing policy included sending bulldozers to flat-topped shacks erected illegally on vacant land.

The Government has begun supplying water taps, bathrooms and other services in shantytowns, but concedes the squatter

problem will get worse. About 7 million of the country's 30 million blacks live in shacks.

It is common for 10 or more people to live in a four-room house. Such overcrowding and poverty breed crime, violence and political instability that could threaten De Klerk's reform effort.

Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, a moderate anti-apartheid group in the mixed-race chamber of parliament, says the Government owes reparations to blacks who were forcibly removed from their land.

During a forced removal near the southern city of Port Elizabeth in 1972, his family lost a plot of land on which their home, a school and a church stood.

The family received R76 000 worth of compensation, but the buildings were torn down and it now would cost about R45 000 just to buy the vacant plot.

Hendrickse, a minister in the United Congregational Church, says he is determined to rebuild the church on its original foundation. - Sapa-AP

# Azapo seeking indaba before ANC meeting

*Soweto 13/2/91*

11A

AZAPO yesterday said it is seeking a consultative conference of extra-Parliamentary organisations before the ANC-organised

meeting scheduled for March 21.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said it was his organisation's view that a consultative conference of the

oppressed had to be held before the ANC-convened meeting of the liberation movements to discuss the formation of a united front.

"We don't believe

that on March 21 a patriotic front can emerge. Our proposal to them (the other organisations) is that we should start with the consultative conference first before moving on to discussions on the united front,"

Nefolovhodwe said.

He said Azapo wanted the consultative conference - the third since the first such conference was held at Funda Centre, Soweto, in September last year - to be held as soon as possible.

This could be either before the end of February or early next month.

The Funda Centre meeting was followed a few months later by a similar peace conference organised by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town last year.

All major extra-Parliamentary organisations except Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) attended the historic meeting.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo would soon hold talks with leaders of the other liberation movements to discuss the next conference.

# FW and Mandela thrash out an agreement

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday thrashed out an agreement on what constitutes related activities to armed action in 12 hours of crisis talks.

In a joint statement the two principals said: "The problems experienced by the working group dealing with paragraph three of the Pretoria Minute were resolved and agreement was reached with regard to the most pertinent points." But they agreed there was a need for further consultation within the working group.

De Klerk and Mandela said once the Cabinet and the ANC national executive committee approved the agreement a full

BIPay 13/2/91.

BILLY PADDOCK

text would be made public.

The agreement appears to pave the way for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles to proceed at a much faster pace since government had linked this to resolution of discussion in the armed action working group.

The two parties differed on what constituted a related activity of armed action, which the ANC had pledged to suspend during the summit leading to the Pretoria Minute's draughting.

Government claimed the recruitment of cadres for military training outside the

country and the retention of arms caches constituted related activities to armed action. The ANC denied this and said they had not abandoned armed action.

In September the working group charged with resolving the conflict drew up an interim report on what they had agreed to and referred the major obstacles to their principals to thrash out.

A sub-committee for final agreement reported back on February 5, but ANC representatives apparently wanted to renegotiate on the September agreement.

It was then decided to refer the issue back to De Klerk and Mandela for resolution.





British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick, British Development Minister Lynda Chalker and PAC president Clarence Makwetu after holding discussions at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Chalker meets PAC president

11A

TIM COHEN

VISITING British Development Minister Lynda Chalker met PAC president Clarence Makwetu for an hour yesterday to discuss the return of exiles, violence and political developments. 13/04 13/2/91

The talks, held at Jan Smuts Airport on Chalker's arrival from Cape Town, were attended by PAC general secretary Benny Alexander and British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

Chalker, who met government officials, including President F W de Klerk, yesterday, will meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela today.

She also met members of the National Education Crisis Committee yesterday, and visited British-aided projects in Soweto.

During her visit to the Self Help Association for Paraplegics in Soweto, Chalker announced Britain would give R93 000 to the campaign of Disabled People of SA (DPSA) this year.

CH-  
Tempt  
14/2/79  
11A

# Winnie 'witness' phones from Harare

JOHANNESBURG. — A man claiming to be Mr Gabriel Mekgwe — a key witness in the kidnap and assault trial in which Mrs Winnie Mandela is a co-accused — allegedly phoned Sapa from Harare yesterday.

"I am Gabriel Mekgwe. I have a message which I want to have published in newspapers," the man told Sapa reporter Mr Andrew Lefoka.

Mr Lefoka, who reported on the murder trial of Mandela United football club coach Jerry Richardson last year, in which Mr Mekgwe testified, said the voice of the caller was similar to Mr Mekgwe's.

Asked what the message was, the caller said: "I am prepared to meet Swanepoel anywhere in the world except in South Africa. I am in Harare now and I feel very safe."

Mr Jan Swanepoel is the state advocate in the trial.

Mr Mekgwe said he preferred not to meet Mr Swanepoel in South Africa "because I believe in South Africa I'm not safe...I know if you don't want to give evidence in South Africa you can be detained."

But Mr Mekgwe said

To page 3

From page 1

he was not prepared to give evidence in Mrs Mandela's trial because he would not like to betray his fellow "comrades" CH- Tempt 14/2/79

Asked how he reconciled this with earlier reports in which he was quoted as saying he was prepared to testify in the "Winnie trial" because what he had said in the Richardson trial was the truth, he said most of the things that appeared in the newspapers were "from the state and not from me".

However, Mr Mekgwe urged other witnesses to proceed with giving their evidence in the trial. CH- Tempt 14/2/79

He said he left South Africa on Sunday night at about 10.30pm. Before he left he had been at the Soweto home of the Rev Paul Verryn of the Methodist Church, he said.

Mr Verryn had not been at his home at that time and he had found "some boys" there.

He refuted reports that he had been abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church by alleged ANC officials, saying he left the country voluntarily and went straight to Harare.

Mr Mekgwe hung up midway through the interview.

On Tuesday afternoon Mr Swanepoel was quoted in news reports as saying he had been led to believe that Mr Mekgwe had telephoned from outside South Africa and said he was well.

However, as far as the police were concerned there was a prima facie case of kidnapping, he said. — Sapa

● Two won't testify —  
Page 4

CAP 714 14/2/91 (11A) ~~708/2/91~~ X

# Winnie trial casts doubts over future of justice in SA

**Own Correspondent**  
LONDON. — The proceedings at Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial have cast doubt over the future of South Africa's judicial system, according to commentators in two leading British newspapers.

The Johannesburg correspondent for The Times said attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau's claim that any attempt to intimidate witnesses would be dealt with by "the

fullest vigour the law can command", had been "ignored with impunity".  
"The law's response has been negligible, and a mockery is being made of the South African judicial system."

The Daily Mail said the trial had "dangerous ramifications for the whole country".

"And the truly awesome aspect of the whole situation is that the mighty power of the old regime cannot and will not act against it," the Mail added.

"Increasingly, the ordinary people of South Africa — both blacks and whites — are asking why everyone in power seems to be turning a blind eye.

"And the answer is that President FW de Klerk, with his dreams of a new, united South Africa, cannot afford to upset the applecart, however rotten.

"Whatever the anathema of apartheid, and the need for it to be destroyed, there will be no easing of racist attitudes if a future black

government fails to replace it with true democracy and an impeccable judicial system.

"ANC behaviour in the Winnie Mandela case holds out little hope that justice will emerge unscathed in this trial. The events of the last few days signal that South Africa under black rule might be no better than it is under white rule.

"The nightmare ahead is that it could conceivably be a great deal worse ..."



**JUSTICE FOR ALL . . .** Mrs Winnie Mandela arriving at court yesterday with Mr Nelson Mandela at her side. Events at her trial are causing British commentators to question the future of justice in South Africa.  
Picture: REUTERS

## Two won't testify against Winnie

**Own Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — Two young men allegedly kidnapped and assaulted by Mrs Winnie Mandela and three co-accused yesterday refused to testify against her, saying they feared for their lives if they did so.

Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Bar-end Thabiso Mono said they had decided not to testify following the apparent kidnapping of another key witness, Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, on Sunday night.

Mr Justice M Stegmann will rule today on whether the two have a justifiable excuse for not giving evidence.

The three witnesses, together with teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, were allegedly kidnapped from a Methodist manse in Orlando-West and taken to Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof Extension home, where they were allegedly assaulted in December 1988.

Mrs Mandela and her co-accused have pleaded not guilty to

the charges.  
Deputy attorney-general Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, told the court yesterday that the state's case rested on the evidence of the three.

Mr Mono and Mr Kgase, like Mr Mekgwe, are under subpoena and face prison if they refuse to give evidence.

Yesterday they told the court that despite having fears they had given evidence at last year's trial of former Mandela United football coach Jerry Richardson about the alleged kidnapping and assaults.

### 'Lives at risk'

Mr Mono and Mr Kgase said they had been prepared to give evidence in the present trial until the disappearance of Mekgwe. Both said they believed Mr Mekgwe had been kidnapped.

They both said they realised they could be sent to jail for refusing to give evidence but faced the risk of losing their lives after the trial was over if they did.

Asked by Mr Swanepoel under

cross-examination if he had implicated Mrs Mandela in the assaults during evidence at the Richardson trial, Kgase replied he "won't talk about that".

Mr Paul Kennedy, who is acting for both, argued that in the circumstances his clients had a "justifiable excuse" in law for refusing to testify.

Their residual fears, he said, had now been heightened to an unbearable degree.

Mr Swanepoel said he had great sympathy for the two but they had not established a justifiable excuse for failure to testify, he submitted.

Referring to Mr Kgase earlier, Mr Justice Stegmann said the matter threatened the very foundations of the system of justice and could not be tolerated.

He also asked the media to adhere to the spirit of the sub judice principle after an objection from Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, about "speculatory" reports linking "an organisation of which his client was a leading member" to Mr Mekgwe's disappearance.



**IN SEARCH OF EDUCATION** ... These Transvaal pupils were brought to Mitchells Plain by a Hanover Park businessman to get a better education.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

## Kids live out ANC dad's schoolboy dream

*CAIT TILB 14/2/91* (10) (114)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.** — The children of a senior ANC executive member have been enrolled as boarders in two of the country's oldest and most prestigious formerly white-only schools here.

Mr Steve Tshwete has entered his children into Dale College and Kaffrarian High School, saying he had long admired the two schools.

The Tshwetes live in Johannesburg but they regard the Border as their home and wanted their son Mayihlome, 8, and daughter Yonda, 10, to go to Dale Junior and KHS respectively.

"I have always admired the two schools," Mr Tshwete said.

"While I was a student at Forbes Grant Secondary in Ginsberg there was always a good rapport between

ourselves and Dale.

"Of course, I would always admire the Dale guys when I saw them in town with their beautiful uniforms.

"The students of Dale and KHS are always well-disposed towards the traditions of the schools. I yearned to be a student there and share all those beautiful facilities," he said.

Commenting on the voting system to open white schools, Mr Tshwete said: "Even if it was negative in the beginning, the mere appeal of parents was quite positive.

"Fortunately at Dale and Kaffrarian it was an overwhelming decision to open up, which means we should begin to try and find one another, laying down the building blocks towards a South Africa of our dreams."

# ANC: exiles think twice about SA

TIM COHEN

ABOUT half the ANC exiles living in neighbouring states no longer wanted to return to SA because of concerns for their safety and job prospects, a senior official of the organisation said.

ANC chief representative in Sweden Billy Modise said in an interview this week about 80% of exiles in neighbouring states wanted to come home last year. This had now dropped to about 50%.

The majority of the estimated 20 000 ANC-aligned exiles are believed to be living in neighbouring states and elsewhere in Africa.

Modise said many exiles were uncertain about what they would be coming home to. "There is now a reluctance to rush into SA before people think they have some sort

of skill which would make them employable and before they can be sure of some sort of security inside SA."

This meant the ANC would have to continue providing housing, education and food for these people, which would place additional strains on its budget.

Since February last year an additional 1 500 South Africans had joined the ANC's overseas missions and camps, mostly because they thought the ANC could provide them with education.

Modise said the return of exiles was one of the main topics of discussion at an international conference of ANC donors held in

□ To Page 2

## Exiles

Arusha, Tanzania, last week.

He said the ANC's financial needs had increased more than tenfold since its unbanning. This was mainly due to costs involved in setting up the organisation in SA and the cost of returning and resettling exiles and political prisoners.

Political violence and the fact that more and more people were approaching the ANC for assistance had placed extra burdens on the organisation, he said.

The ANC had been able to increase its funding over the past year, but not nearly to the extent it required, he said.

The conference was attended by about

150 delegates of which about 50 were members of the ANC or ANC-affiliated organisations.

The other delegates represented either government or non-government agencies from a range of countries, mainly from Europe.

Modise said delegates were most interested in supporting the establishment of the ANC on the ground in SA because they realised the necessity for the development of a strong movement which would educate people about democracy.

Delegates were also interested in ways of ending violence in SA.

□ From Page 1

# ANC warns government on obstacles to talks

THE ANC this week delivered a blunt message to the government at their Cape Town talks: No All Party Conference (APC) until there is a "meaningful compliance" with the removal of the obstacles to negotiations. *South* 4/2 - 20/2/91

ANC sources said while most of the discussion focused on the functioning of "Working Group 3", established in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute to look at the activities of the movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), a broad range of issues were raised.

The ANC's delegation included deputy president Nelson Mandela, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, foreign affairs

spokesperson Thabo Mbeki, the head of information and publicity, Pallo Jordan, security chief Jacob Zuma and ANC Western Cape executive member, advocate Dullah Omar. (11A) ~~20/2/91~~

The government's delegation was headed by president FW de Klerk and included Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Gerrit Viljoen.

Agreement was reached at the talks on "most of the pertinent points", according to a statement by both parties.

Sources said the government apparently expressed its dissatisfaction about the activities MK which it claimed continued to mobilise and train cadres.

It also felt that the ANC's programme of mass action was not in compliance with the "spirit and letter" of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

A source said while certain matters were resolved and undertakings given by both sides, the ANC conveyed it "loud and clear" that it would not participate in the proposed APC if the government failed to remove the obstacles to negotiations.

"The general expectation that the ANC will participate in the APC, no matter what, is totally wrong.

"The scrapping of security legislation like the Internal Security Act will no doubt be the next major issue which 'will make or break this peace process,'" an ANC source said.

**FICS**

# Chalker expects no mass action

Bl Day 14/2/91

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BRITISH Development Minister Lynda Chalker said yesterday she did not agree with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that spontaneous mass action would follow the lifting of EC sanctions.

Chalker told a news conference at the end of her three-day trip to SA that she had a very positive meeting with Mandela yesterday, during which the EC's decision to lift sanctions had been discussed.

She said she explained to Mandela the EC decisions to lift bans on new investment and imports of iron, steel, coal and gold coins were specifically linked to progress in abolishing apartheid.

Chalker welcomed Mandela's statement that the ANC would send a delegation to the EC, as this would enable the two sides to discuss the sanctions issue.

But she added the EC would not adopt an "all-or-nothing" position on change and sanctions, adding the community believed in encouraging reform.

"As there is progressive normalisation in SA, there will be a response from the Community."

Chalker was asked whether she could tell British companies it would be safe to invest in SA in the light of Mandela's statement that there would be unrest if the EC lifted sanctions.

TIM COHEN

She replied: "I do not think that the sort of anxieties that Mandela was expressing are in fact going to occur."

Chalker said she congratulated Mandela on the agreement he reached with President F W de Klerk on Tuesday on activities related to armed action.

She said this would pave the way for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and to a multi-party conference on negotiations.

Chalker said she believed the SA government's commitment to change was irreversible.

She also invited Mandela to visit Prime Minister John Major in London as soon as it was convenient for him to do so.

Asked if Major intended visiting SA, she said the visit would fall into place as soon as substantial changes had been effected.

Chalker also disclosed that the British government would increase its development aid to SA by R5m to R65m in the next financial year.

She said she was pleased with the management of the approximately 250 projects funded by her government.

She said that as she had gone around the townships, she had become deeply aware of the urgent need for jobs and job training.



British Development Minister Lynda Chalker and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday after their meeting.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

81ev 14/2/71.

## PAC names new office bearers

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

The PAC yesterday announced changes in its national executive council.

The changes, coming only two months after the organisation's national congress in December, are of immediate effect, according to PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai.

People affected are former finance secretary Ahmed Matsobane, who

becomes secretary for religious affairs, and former economic affairs secretary Thomson Gazo, who succeeds Mr Matsobane as finance secretary.

Mr Desai said former Robben Islander Henry Molefe of the PAC's Kagiso branch had been appointed director of finance. The position of secretary of economic affairs was expected to be filled shortly.

Mr Desai also announced that the head of

the Organisation of African Unity's Africa Desk, A O Akiwumi, and the head of the United Nations Emergency Unit, Roger White, yesterday paid a visit to the PAC and were received by himself and the organisation's foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille.

He said the two men had discussed the return of exiles and the unconditional release of political prisoners.



# The Mandela and De Klerk act works again

B/day 14/2/91

## BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town

TUESDAY's breakthrough in negotiations between government and the ANC on the terms of suspending armed struggle represents another milestone on the inevitably bumpy road to peace.

The work of the armed action working group also provides a useful illustration of how negotiations tend to get bogged down but, more optimistically, how a way out can usually be found.

The so-called armed action working group was set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute to clarify the ANC's suspension of armed action and, most critically, "related activities". The minute also set out procedures for the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners.

The working group set out its agenda in an interim report on September 15.

It included matters like the presence of arms caches inside the country, the recruitment of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members for training outside SA, the status of trained cadres in the country, and mass action.

While agreement had been reached on the release of prisoners and the return of exiles, the process

ran into difficulties late last year when government started linking progress on releasing prisoners and indemnifying exiles to resolution of the "related activities" question.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee made the linkage official when he announced the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, scheduled to be completed by April 30 in terms of the agreement in the Pretoria Minute, could not proceed until the armed action working group had resolved its problems.

The ANC in turn said government was renegeing on its commitment by dragging its feet on prisoners and exiles.

It said government's interpretation of "related activities" would be tantamount to the ANC abandoning, rather than merely suspending, armed struggle.

Government claimed the recruitment of cadres for military training outside the country and the retention of arms caches and certain forms of mass action were activities covered by the disputed definition.

The working group deadlocked on these issues and referred them to the principals — President F W de Klerk

and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. After several meetings between the two, the working group met and progress seemed to have been made. A two-man sub-committee made up of state constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and ANC security chief Jacob Zuma was appointed last month to pave the way for final agreement.

The two, sources say, made substantial progress. They reached agreement on compromise scenarios such as: cadres inside the country would hand in weapons at specified gathering points; there would be no infiltration of men or material; there would be no armed action against government.

In this scenario, the SAP would be entitled to arrest and prosecute offenders of these terms.

The two reported back last Tuesday, February 5. At that meeting, government sources say, ANC information director Pallo Jordan (at-

tending a working group meeting for the first time) and MK chief of staff Chris Hani sought substantially to redefine the terms of the group's work in a way which would imply a "renegeing" of the September accord.

Government sources said they were shocked by the turnaround and "whereas the discussions used to be amiable they now turned openly aggressive and at one stage we had to call a halt to the meeting to cool temperatures".

ANC leaders also complained that police were arresting members who had not applied for nor been granted indemnity. "There was an apparent belief that because they were members of MK or the ANC they automatically could not be touched," one government source said.

However, Mandela told a media conference last Friday he had been forced to intervene more than once with senior police officers to get innocent or indemnified members — including, on one occasion, his own security guard — freed after they had been arrested by over-enthusiastic policemen.

International affairs head Thabo Mbeki and Zuma, who usually led the

talks and kept them on track, reportedly remained silent almost throughout the meeting.

Sources said Jordan and Hani appeared to come to the meeting with an entirely new brief. This is what led to the crisis meeting on Tuesday between Mandela and De Klerk.

It was left to the two to pull their respective teams in line and keep the negotiations on track.

The compromise reached between the two now paves the way to a major breakthrough to a multiparty conference.

It is understood the deal, to be announced once the Cabinet and the ANC NEC have approved it, includes ANC undertakings not to carry out armed attacks; infiltration of men and weapons would cease immediately, as would recruitment of cadres for military training; and that mass action would be conducted peacefully — although this has issue has not been finalised.

Government, in turn, will undertake to speed up procedures for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and to review security legislation.

LETTERS

## NEGOTIATIONS

## GLASS HOUSES

FIM 15/2/91

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Just who is putting obstacles in the way of negotiations? The ANC has been hammering government for dragging its feet on indemnity for exiles and political prisoners — but the ANC itself is forwarding applications at a snail's pace.

Only 3 854 applications had been received by the Department of Justice by last Friday and there are an estimated 45 000 exiles and political prisoners, most of them linked to the ANC (but also to the Communist Party, Pan Africanist Congress, Black Consciousness Movement and others.)

The first major airlift of 500 exiles will arrive in about two weeks' time and the first batch of political prisoners (some on Death Row) is expected to be released on March 15. But sheer logistics make it impossible to get all the exiles home before the April 30 deadline agreed to by the ANC and government.

Certain ANC members believe there is a degree of fear among some of the leadership that the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners will mean that some leaders will be voted off the ANC's National Executive Committee in the elections scheduled for June. Among the more unpopular NEC members are secretary-general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

NEC member Jackie Selebi, who is in charge of repatriation, left this week to finalise details for the return of the first batch of 500. Last Friday he and other ANC officials and government representatives visited Jan Smuts airport to finalise details.

Selebi says it is "absolute nonsense" that some people in the leadership are delaying the return of exiles. "The ANC has members in 35 countries, it is not easy to get documents to all of them and to explain sufficiently the process. Some members got their documents only after the international representatives returned after the December 16 consultative conference. I'm working day and night.

"I have boxes of applications. The (Operation) Vula people were among the first to apply for indemnity and yet they are still going on trial. Why does government need individual applications? People don't want to fill the data bases of the security police.

"The government is criminalising everyone. It is because of apartheid that people left the country in the first place," says Selebi. "They have a responsibility to indemnify these people and help us repatriate them, but they are doing nothing. They want to deal with sanctions via exiles." This is an oft-heard ANC complaint: government is allegedly using exiles and political prisoners

as "hostages" to force the end of sanctions.

Despite Selebi's anger and that of other ANC members, it was the ANC that agreed to the controversial indemnity terms announced by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on November 2, after nearly three months of haggling following the Pretoria Minute.

The Pretoria Minute — from which government has deviated — said that "indemnity can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis." The process was supposed to have been completed by "not later than the end of 1990." The release of political prisoners was supposed to have



been dealt with "administratively" but government froze this process early in October and all releases now have to be indemnified. Only 127 political prisoners, or just over 3% of the total, have been released since the Pretoria Minute on August 6.

Many political prisoners' indemnification has been delayed: some lawyers have been slow or ignorant, and the ANC has failed to communicate details of the process to prisoners until early this month.

Government has indemnified 1 781 people — out of a total of 40 000 exiles, 3 622 political prisoners (ANC only), 111 detainees and 1 731 political trialists. Many more have received indemnity for leaving the country illegally — but if they committed other offences they still have to be indemnified for those.

Johan Grobbelaar, chief liaison officer at

the Department of Justice, says there is unconditional indemnity for those who "become or continue to be office bearers, members, or are in possession of articles of previously unlawful organisations, or contributed or solicited or gave anything as a subscription to benefit an unlawful organisation." And "this could be tens of thousands of people," says Grobbelaar. However, if they were members of, say, Umkhonto we Sizwe and committed offences in that capacity, they would have to apply for additional indemnity.

There are thousands of ANC members outside the country who could return, but have to wait for the repatriation process to get into gear. In addition to the inefficiency of the ANC, the process has not been helped by government's refusal to allow the UN High Commission for Refugees to become involved. But negotiations are now under way between government and the UN commission.

The UN repatriated Namibian exiles for about R1 500 each compared to the R15 000 each the ANC reckons each repatriation will cost. There are still no homes available for returning exiles nor any employment schemes.

Charlene Smith

# STERILISING THE GOOSE

**THE UNBREAKABLE THREAD** by Julie Frederikse (*Ravan, 284pp, R29,90*).

This book is the product of monumental historical research. It preserves, in their own words, the thinking and sentiments of many people who have been in the ANC or movements such as the PAC which grew out of it.

The ANC originally consisted largely of teachers, clergymen and professional people. When workers, students and other elements became politically conscious they tended either to be communist or anti-white. To its credit, the ANC has stood out more firmly against the latter tendency.

The first challenge to the ANC's non-racialism came from its Youth League, which was founded in 1944. The second arose from a reaction against the opening sentence of the Freedom Charter of 1955. This stated that SA belonged to all its people, black and white. In the Transvaal a section of the Youth League led by Robert Sobukwe planned to storm the platform at an ANC Congress in 1958. They were excluded from this congress and founded the PAC the following year.

The PAC admitted whites only with great misgivings; Patrick Duncan was the first to kick down the door. After the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960, and the setting up of rival organisations to keep these alive in exile, some time elapsed before the emergence of the third challenge: Black Consciousness (BC.) In 1973 the South African Students' Organisation was founded as the vehicle of BC.

Unlike the PAC, BC in its first policy manifesto acknowledged the place of whites in words which echoed those of the Freedom Charter. While expressly disclaiming "anti-whitism," they nevertheless excluded whites from their struggle for freedom. Frederikse comments: "Though supporters of Black Consciousness claimed political non-alignment, the rhetoric associated with the new ideology was derivative (sic) of the American Black Power movement and reminiscent of the PAC."

After the banning of BC in 1977, its members gravitated towards the ANC. More BC activists who left SA joined the ANC than

the PAC.

In general, workers showed themselves better disposed than students towards non-racism. This went back to the Forties when



Lenin ... not keen on spontaneity

James Phillips, a coloured leader in the Garment Workers' Union, was ahead of Solly Sachs in recognising that racial antagonism in the union was dissolving.

A considerable number of the contributors to the book are white and find themselves genuinely at home in the ANC. We are invited — for example by Albie Sachs — to join in this homecoming. Sachs is clearly one of the boys — an outgoing, gregarious person who is attracted by black political and cultural activities.

## Whites and rights

Most whites who have outgrown the youth culture share Lenin's antagonism towards spontaneity. In any case, a general goodwill, though more reassuring than actual hostility, reaches but a little way. Whites want account to be taken of their actual interests. They must see any threat to individual rights, including property rights, as specific to them and to their ability to contribute to such little things as financial stability, economic growth and the competitiveness of our exports.

They will not be reassured by the bill of rights produced as a working paper by the ANC's constitutional committee. Here the protection afforded to individual property seems to be inadequate in the first instance; it is also overridden by a provision that nothing in the constitution shall prevent the enactment of legislation to procure the advancement of those who have been discriminated against in the past. As 17th Century radical Irish judge Sir Stephen Rice, said: "I will drive a coach and six through the Act of Settlement." This working paper seems to envisage a constitution expressly provided with the coach and six to drive through it,

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and through whatever protection it offers to property.

The book contains 11 references to Marxism. This is seen as a vague something out there to which the righteous owe a spontaneous allegiance. Marx himself is mentioned only twice: by a speaker who unashamedly confesses to never having read him and by one who has the honesty to report having waded through *Das Kapital* Volumes I & II before concluding that she would not understand the class struggle any better by reading further.

Many of the Marxist asides contained in this book were uttered before the crash of Soviet communism or before the news got through here. It is possible, too, that communism has been little more than a crutch on which the ANC leadership has leaned in opposing anti-white challenges. The paradox is that this could just end up by protecting the goose at the cost of its ability to lay the eggs on which depend the prosperity of all.

There is a parallel which may offer some comfort. At the end of World War 2, the Italian Resistance was almost certainly more hostile to capitalism than the ANC is now. But capitalism survived to enrich Italy and here, too, it may prove to be the unbreakable thread that links us to future prosperity.

Radford Jordan

# ANC's image at stake in trial - paper

Star 15/2/91

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Star Bureau

LONDON — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has been urged to distance himself from the goings-on surrounding the trial of his wife in order to save his organisation's reputation.

In an editorial yesterday, the liberal Guardian newspaper, which has traditionally supported the anti-apartheid struggle, said "the reputation at stake in the Rand Supreme Court is not that of Winnie Mandela — but of the ANC".

## Scandal

Friends abroad, not just enemies, have been appalled by the evidence of intimidation of witnesses against Mrs Mandela," The Guardian warned.

Referring to the decision by anti-apartheid groups to criticise Mrs Mandela and her "Mandela Football Club" when the scandal first broke two years ago, the Guardian said "it was both right and sensible to ensure that the cause of freedom for all was not entangled

in the case of a single flawed individual".

Mr Mandela, said the newspaper, had been understandably unable, on his release from prison, to distance himself from "the woman who had supported him so passionately and loyally for 23 years".

"Instead he upset many supporters by arranging her appointment as social welfare head of the ANC, a particularly dubious position in view of the charges against her. Her critics within the ANC have now apparently been silenced — some going abroad to avoid having to declare their positions.

"The allegations of kidnapping and intimidation were given added credibility on Wednesday by the behaviour of the witnesses in court. It is a disaster for the ANC just at the moment when Mr Mandela appeared to have taken the political initiative.

"For the sake of South Africa's future, and the ANC's, Mr Mandela and his advisers need to distance themselves, very fast, very openly, from this deeply disturbing affair," urged the editorial.

# Committee to support Winnie set up

*Spent  
15/12/91*

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

*11/19*

A group of ANC-aligned activists have established "a forum for the expression of groundswell support spontaneously shown by our people" for Winnie Mandela.

It was announced yesterday that the Winnie Mandela Support Adhoc Committee (WMSAC) had been formed to give "unqualified support" and demonstrate solidarity with Mrs Mandela and her family "during these trying times", compile an update of the trial for the public, receive messages of support for the family and ensure orderliness during the trial, according to WMSAC secretary Joan Fubbs.

In a statement issued yesterday, Ms Fubbs thanked "the thousands" of people who had so far supported Mrs Mandela here and abroad, and apologised for WMSAC's inability "to cope adequately with the flood of messages and telephone calls".

The committee, she said, would be formally launched at a press conference next week where questions from the press would be answered.

Ms Fubbs said the ANC was committed to orderliness at the court, and its marshals were doing everything possible, including co-operating with "reasonable requests (from) the police", to ensure this happened.

# 'I don't blame Mrs Mandela' — Stompie's mother

PARYS. — In contrast to previous statements expressing bitterness towards the ANC, Mrs Manaki Seipei yesterday displayed her apparent solidarity with the organisation, and condemned the government for her son Stompie's murder in 1988.

"We in Tumahole (the township near Parys in the Free State) blame his death on the racist regime and we say the people shall decide the fate of this racist regime that rules our country through the barrel of the gun," according to a statement reporters were told was compiled by Mrs

Seipei and the ANC.

It was read out at a press conference in the Parys township, with Mrs Seipei present.

She is apparently a member of the ANC and posed with her membership card after the conference.

Answering questions about the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela, she said: "It has been painful, but her (Mrs Mandela's) pain won't relieve mine. I do not blame Mrs Mandela as a person."

Mrs Seipei allegedly contacted the ANC

because she was being harassed by the press.

"She felt that we (the ANC) should always be present at an interview so that she cannot be misquoted," the joint statement said.

"We in the ANC and other community structures feel that the death of our comrade Stompie is being used by the media to try to harass our comrade Winnie Mandela, her husband comrade leader Nelson Mandela, and ultimately the ANC." — Sapa

# Mbeki to brief ministers

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, will brief Commonwealth foreign affairs ministers tomorrow on the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Mbeki will be the only outsider addressing the foreign ministers' meeting, a Commonwealth spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The Commonwealth foreign ministers are expected to offer warm encouragement to President F W de Klerk.

Although the meeting has no power

to take binding decisions, its recommendations will carry significant weight.

Commonwealth heads of government will hold a summit in October, but British Prime Minister Mr John Major and his Australian counterpart Mr Bob Hawke have called for a relaxation of sanctions before then.

The ANC, however, has convinced the Organisation of African Unity ad hoc committee on South Africa — which includes a number of Commonwealth countries — that sanctions should continue until blacks have the vote.

# 'ANC reputation on trial'

ANC Times 15/2/91  
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Guardian newspaper, torch-bearer of the liberal left in British politics, yesterday urged Mr Nelson Mandela to distance himself "very fast, very openly" from the "deeply disturbing" Winnie Mandela affair.

The newspaper said in an editorial: "The reputation at stake in the Rand Supreme Court is not that of Winnie Mandela — but of the ANC."

Friends of the ANC abroad had been "appalled by the evidence of intimidation of witness against Mrs Mandela", it said.

"When the original scandal broke two years ago, leading anti-apartheid

11A  
activists in South Africa condemned the Mandela United Football Club and criticised her for complicity in a 'reign of terror'."

Since then, however, her critics in the ANC had been silenced and she had been promoted to leading positions in the organisation.

Allegations of kidnapping and intimidation were given "added credibility by the behaviour of the witnesses in court".

"For the sake of South Africa's future, and the ANC's, Mr Mandela and his advisers need to distance themselves, very fast, very openly, from this deeply disturbing affair," the Guardian said.



# Chief slams 'loose cannon'

*CAD*  
*11/12/91*  
*(11/12)*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised the Natal Midlands leadership of the ANC for not joining an inspection of the scene of last week's ambush in which 17 Inkatha members were killed.

Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC's regional leader, Mr Harry Gwala — whom he described as "a loose cannon on the deck" — of attempting to halt the ANC-Inkatha peace process.

Meanwhile, seven residents of KwaShange near Maritzburg have claimed in sworn statements that they were assaulted and almost set alight by six policemen who were seeking information on Sunday's bus attack.

## Tuck shop

Police are investigating the charges but no arrests had been made, a spokesman said yesterday.

The men said they were woken in a tuck shop on Sunday night by eight policemen who assaulted them while demanding to know the identities of those involved in the bus attack.

They alleged that the police stole food from the shelves, spread paraffin on the floor and left a burning candle against the door.

NELSON MANDELA ONE YEAR ON

FM 15/2/91

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# IN A HUMAN FRAME

## DESPITE INCONSISTENCY, HE REMAINS THE MAN PRETORIA CAN TALK TO

When Nelson Mandela stepped out of Victor Verster prison on February 11 last year, he became a man again.

In prison his mythical status snowballed over the years — and then took on the proportions of an avalanche. He emerged to impossible expectations among his supporters and a deep uneasiness among whites.

Yet he remains a commanding figure, with various distinctions that make his political role vital; certainly the only ANC leader that the rest of the world has heard of, probably the only man who can unify black liberation politics and possibly the only black politician with the clout to deliver a constitutional settlement broadly acceptable to whites.

Judging by his performance in his first year out of prison, what can we expect of him in 1991?

There are signs that Mandela, after some early vacillation, is more confident of his abilities to lead. Though he often talks as if he is merely a player in a team, the team increasingly follows its star player and rarely contradicts him.

This enables him to rise above liberation bureaucracy and jargon, but negotiations should not rest exclusively on one man. There is a remarkable rapport between Mandela and State President F W de Klerk, for which the country must be grateful — but it would be dangerous to place too much faith in that rapport.

Mandela's first year can be mapped into four phases:

Firstly, there was his release and the euphoria of mass meetings and foreign adulation. Mandela generally handled himself with aplomb in this period and minor gaffes (such as informing President George Bush that he had been badly informed) did not sabotage a public relations success. The most significant aspect about the first period was Mandela's support of the policy of nationalisation, which began a furious debate in SA business and industry. The ANC has not yet formulated a clear programme of its intentions — and Mandela remains equivocal.

Secondly, the two major summits with government, which re-

sulted in the Grootte Schuur Minute in May and the Pretoria Minute in August, when the ANC suspended "armed action." Here Mandela displayed qualities of great statesmanship and human warmth.

Thirdly, the violence that erupted in Reef townships on July 22, and within five months saw 4 000 people dead — the bloodiest sequence of events in SA history. This period was marred by Mandela's inability to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. During this time, Mandela at times seemed incapable of rising above partisan grandstanding. It was in this period, too, that his normally easygoing relations with the press became most strained. Many experts began to doubt that he was in touch with what was happening in the townships.

Fourthly, from the end of the ANC Consultative Conference in December to where we are now. At the conference, Mandela gave possibly his finest speech. Off-the-cuff

and not recorded for posterity by the ANC, this hour-long speech came at the end of three days of political bloodletting. The leadership had been dragged over the coals by an angry and militant membership which clearly did not understand or know about the intricacies of negotiations. Mandela made it clear that he could not consult members on every issue, but managed to convince the delegates that he had not gone soft on the NP government.

Mandela admitted: "Delegates expressed serious reservations about the way in which we handled issues like negotiations, the suspension of armed action, the violence in which thousands of our people have been slaughtered, the neglect of our soldiers on whom the future of our country depends, on the homeland system and other matters."

Certainly, the ANC is hard put to quell threatened mutinies in its foreign camps, particularly in Angola and Uganda, because

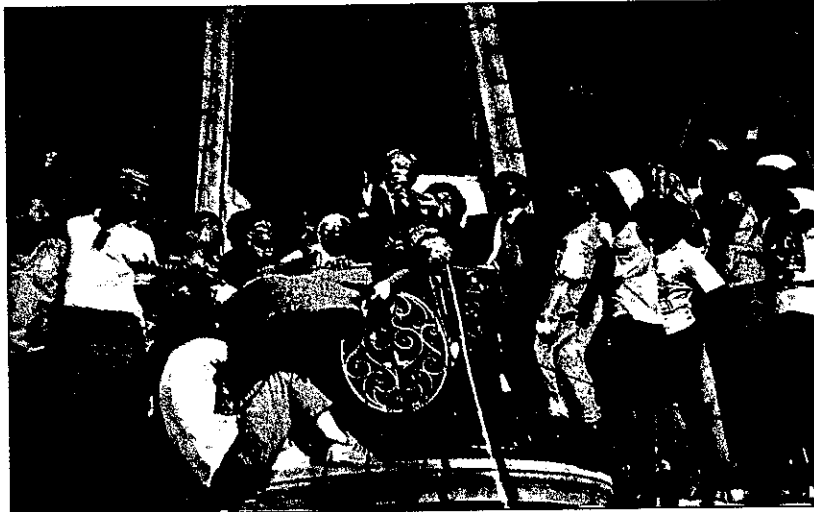
of the lack of information and supplies channelled their way.

Now an elegant 73, Mandela remains physically imposing (he was once a boxer), charming and sharp witted. He has a remarkable knack for remembering names and faces. But he can also show impatience and an iron will, with a capacity to cut people down to size with a single phrase.

Even members of the ANC admit that Mandela's Achilles heel is his wife Winnie, whom he adores. Her trial on charges of kidnapping and assault began last week in the Rand

Supreme Court. After virtual excommunication by liberation politicians when the ANC was still banned, she has risen rapidly since Mandela's release. She holds three senior positions and there is little doubt that she will be elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee in June. Mandela will brook no criticism of her.

Whites who expected the "struggle" to end with the release of Mandela, or after the scrapping of apartheid laws, are sure to be disappointed. A hint of this came with Mandela's threat to the European Community that a lifting of sanctions would cause increased mass action ("the people of this country



Release night in Cape Town ... the people's messiah



Meeting the press ... staying in the centre

## Varsity criteria barrier to blacks, say radicals

JOHANNESBURG. — A radical student movement claims the criteria for admission to white liberal universities have barred many blacks this year.

The Azanian Students Convention, a Pan-Africanist Congress-aligned movement, said yesterday that many students had been refused entry to the universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Natal and Rhodes.

Wits denied the claim. Spokesmen for the other universities could not be reached for comment.

"There will be something like 5 000 black students this year," said Wits vice-chancellor Professor Robert Charlton. "We make every allowance for the inadequate school experience of black applicants and select according to our assessment of potential, not merely matric symbols."

Mr Siphon Maseko, spokesman for the students' organisation, said there was a need for a non-partisan liaison committee to devise admission standards acceptable to blacks. — Sapa

# Split looms in Azanyu

A CONSTITUTIONAL row within the Azanian National Youth Unity is threatening to split the PAC's youth wing down the middle.

The rift stems from constitutional procedures followed by delegates at Azanyu's national congress held at Cala in the Transkei last month.

Last weekend 17 Azanyu branches in the

Transvaal held an emergency consultative meeting in Soweto to discuss the crisis within the organisation.

The branches questioned the "unconstitutional conduct" followed in calling the national congress, the election of a new national executive committee and the decision by conference to "expel" four national executive mem-

bers.

The four are Ntsie Mohloai, Mpuka Radinku, Mawanda Jack and Vuyani Mbinda.

They were accused of tribalism, sectionalism and co-operating with the Bureau for Information.

Mr Pat Dooms, the steering committee's publicity secretary, said they did not recognise the Cala congress.

15/2/79  
Soweto

11A

# But no deal on weapons

PETER FABRICIUS  
and PAT DEVEREAUX

THE Government has agreed to allow home the bulk of ANC exiles, in exchange for an ANC undertaking to abandon the training of military cadres inside the country and to stop "war talk".

This is the essence of the agreement reached between the ANC and the Government this week and released yesterday.

The two sides did not agree on the thorny issue of what to do about ANC arms inside the country.

The ANC has clearly not agreed to hand in its arms — and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has made it absolutely clear that police will continue to arrest ANC cadres for illegal possession of arms.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee indicated at a press conference that the Government had agreed to speed up the process of releasing prisoners and indemnifying exiles.

But the Government's major quid pro quo for concessions by the ANC on the armed struggle, was an agreement on unqualified indemnity for exiles who had received military training — but had not put it into practice recently.

He said that he was liaising with the ANC to find a formula for granting indemnity to exiles who had received military training "but who for a considerable time have not been militarily involved".

This could benefit about 80 percent of the ANC's estimated 40 000 exiles.

## Target

Mr Coetsee said that as a result of the agreement the target date of April 30 for the release of all political prisoners and return of exiles was still attainable — provided the Government got the necessary co-operation from the ANC.

He said he thought the Government would get this co-operation.

It was possible that further categories of political offenders could be released and indemnified.

In a statement Mr Coetsee said that in view of the progress made this week towards finalising the ANC's agreement to suspend armed actions and related activities, it was now possible to proceed with the release of political prisoners and indemnification of exiles "in a phased manner" as agreed in the Pretoria Minute.

He pointed out that: ● That 282 "security" prisoners had already been released administratively since February 1 last year.

● TO PAGE 2.

## Accord

● FROM PAGE 1.

● A further 780 applications for release from prison were now in an advanced stage.

● Some might be released because they fell clearly within the guidelines for political offences.

● The State President had confirmed yesterday that he had granted a special remission of sentence to seven such prisoners on Robben Island who would be released within the next few days.

● 2 092 exiles had already received indemnity for leaving the country unlawfully.

● In addition tens of thousands of people who had merely belonged to previously unlawful organisations, qualified for unconditional indemnity.

● Although it had been rumoured that large numbers of people required indemnity, only 3 500 applications had been received.

● The indemnity and release provisions were available not only to the ANC but also to other organisations and individuals — depending on their "involvement with the negotiation process" and with seeking peaceful solutions.

● Mr Coetsee said that a committee chaired by the Department of Home Affairs was co-ordinating efforts to smooth the return of exiles and would provide the ANC's exile committee with a welfare number so it could raise public funds for re-settling exiles.

He said the Government was still holding discussions with the United Nations High Commission of Refugees about a possible role for it in the return of the exiles.

"I think we are making progress towards negotiation and removing excuses for people not to obey the law.

"We are moving towards a situation where the obstacles to negotiation are being removed one by one.

"We need a total and complete submission to the law."

No further armed actions by the African National Congress and its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe will take place, said the ANC at a Johannesburg press conference last night.

In a statement released simultaneously with the Government's, the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Dr Pailo Jordan, said: "The ANC has agreed to

suspend all attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices and the suspension of all acts of infiltration of men and material."

He could not say whether this move had cleared the air for full scale negotiations. "But each step gets us closer," said Dr Jordan.

The ANC has also undertaken not to create any new underground military structures and to cease all military training of combatants inside South Africa, he said.

But he added that MK training would continue outside the country "in order to transform an army made up of guerrillas into a more conventional army".

Dr Jordan said that the army in a future democracy would draw its personnel from all quarters.

Asked what would become of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, he said the ANC believed that a phased process would be initiated in order to enable ANC cadres to resume their normal lives and to facilitate and legalise control over arms.

"Our understanding is that the security forces will now cease to ferret out underground people in keeping with the spirit of the agreement," said Dr Jordan. But he declined to comment on how this would affect the ANC's "red pimples", Ronnie Kasrils.

On the question of footdragging with respect to agreements already reached, he said according to the Human Rights Commission there were up to 3 226 political prisoners but the Government has only released 10 percent of those — most of whom had completed most of their sentences.

Asked what the ANC had gained in this round of talks he said: "On its part the Government has accepted that the use of force to gain greater leverage over the transition process is illegitimate and that it shall henceforth respect the right of all South Africans to peacefully assemble to express their views, their grievances and their political or social aspirations, through various forms of mass action."

He added: "In recognition of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, the Government has undertaken to instruct its security services and counter-insurgency units, in keeping with the spirit of this agreement, to desist from harassment of ANC members and supporters and members of Umkhonto weSizwe."

# Govt, ANC agree on 'war talk' and exiles

Star 16/12/91

# Agreement brings talks step closer

W/t ARGUS 16/2/91

11A

# ARMED ACTION WILL END — ANC

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— There will be no further armed action by the African National Congress and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC said at a Press conference last night.

In a statement released simultaneously with the government, the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan said: "The ANC had agreed to suspend all attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices and the suspension of all acts of infiltration of men and material.

## Training outside country

The ANC has also undertaken not to create any new underground military structures and it will cease all military training of combatants inside South Africa, said Dr Jordan.

But he said MK training would continue outside the country "in order to transform an army made up of guerrillas into a more conventional army".

Asked what would become of Umkhonto We Sizwe cadres he said that in keeping with the working group's report of the Pretoria Minute the ANC believed that a phased process would be initiated to enable ANC cadres to resume their normal lives and also facilitate and legalise control over arms.

He said according to the Human Rights Commission there were up to 3 226 political prisoners but the government has only released 10 percent of those, most of whom had completed most their sentences.

Concerning political exiles, he said it was the organisation's hope that every political exile would have the right to be in the country if they so desired.

By TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

when there was goodwill and a desire to find solutions and common ground.

Mr Coetsee said progress had been made to remove excuses for all and sundry not to obey the law.

He said the April 30 deadline for the resolution of the issues of violence and the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles was attainable but that it was an ongoing process.

In National Party circles the feeling is that the government can now aim for May for the start of exploratory moves towards negotiations.

In terms of the agreement the government and the ANC have taken bold steps towards resolving obstacles surrounding violence, the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

The two sides have entered a new phase of co-operation, creating an additional liaison forum and committing themselves to follow-up meetings.

The ANC made significant concessions. In return, the government agreed to hasten the

return of exiles and the release of prisoners.

Releasing the agreement reached at talks with the ANC in Cape Town on Monday, President De Klerk said last night this would stimulate negotiations.

"If there is implementation according to the letter and spirit of the agreement, we will be moving rapidly towards the commencement of multi-party negotiations," he said.

In terms of the agreement, the ANC committed itself to ensure that the following would cease:

- Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices.

- Infiltration of men and material.

- Creation of underground structures.

- Statements inciting violence.

- Threats of armed action.

- Training inside South Africa.

The government affirmed the right of Umkhonto we Sizwe to exist as it "is no longer an unlawful organisation".

MULTIPARTY talks on negotiations on constitutional reform have been brought a significant step nearer by an agreement reached between the government and the African National Congress.

President De Klerk said that the agreement would serve as a stimulus to the negotiation process. Matters which stood in the way of the further unfolding of the process had been resolved.

Dr Pallo Jordan, publicity chief of the ANC, said that a significant step towards the attainment of a democratic system in South Africa had been achieved.

## Victory for peace

While the ANC especially has made concessions on violence, government spokesmen played down suggestions that any side had been the victor.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said it was not a question of victory for one side. The agreement had in fact been a victory for peace.

Mr Coetsee said it was not necessary to make concessions



**TOP TALKS . . .** Mr Adriaan Vlok (left) and Mr Kobie Coetsee at last night's press conference where details of the agreement between the government and the ANC was disclosed.

# ANC agrees to end violence

*Cape Times 16/2/91 11A*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE ANC has agreed to end all violent and underground activities in South Africa in return for government pledges to widen indemnity provisions and speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

These are the major components of a far-reaching pact for peace and democracy thrashed out in secret between the two sides during a marathon bargaining session earlier this week.

The breakthrough agreement — details of which were released at a press conference last night — should serve as a major boost to negotiations and is certain to hasten the end of sanctions.

The six-page agreement paves the way for closer co-operation between the government and the ANC across a wide front and envisages progressively transforming Umkhonto we Sizwe into a paper tiger of little more than symbolic significance inside the country.

The ANC said in a statement

released last night that the agreement "marks another significant step on the road to peace and democracy in our country and is a portent of improved possibilities of arriving at our goal without the need for further bloodshed".

Government ministers last night described the pact as "a victory for peace and stability over violence and unrest" in which neither the ANC nor the government could claim victory.

However, the agreement required significant concessions from both sides, particularly the ANC, which has now effectively acknowledged that there can be no return to armed action.

Paragraph 5 of the agreement, which has been approved by both the South African cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee, commits the ANC — with specific reference to its organised military groups and armed cadres — to end:

- Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or in-

centary devices.

- Infiltration of men and material into South Africa.
- The creation of underground structures.
- Statements inciting violence.
- Threats of armed action.
- Military training inside South Africa.

The two parties also reached agreement whereby MK cadres would come into the open and identify their weapons caches to ensure their "vital control" by both the ANC and the government.

No agreement was reached on proposed ANC self-defence units, but government ministers stressed last night that individuals would not be allowed to register assault rifles like the AK-47.

Provision is also made for the immediate start of a "phased process" to enable these cadres "to resume their normal lives and also facilitate and legalise control over the arms".

A joint government-ANC work-

To page 2

From page 1

ing group will thrash out details on how MK cadres will be re-integrated into normal civilian life inside South Africa.

The agreement states that the principle was accepted that "in a democratic society no political party or movement should have a private army".

However, the ANC emphasised last night that training for MK members would continue outside the country in countries like Uganda and the USSR, with a view to upgrading MK from a guerrilla force "to something resembling a conventional army".

The ANC added that it would be unfair to expect any new army to just comprise soldiers who had gone through the SADF.

For its part the ANC managed to extract a number of significant concessions from the government.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the April 30 deadline set by the ANC for the return of exiles and release of political prisoners was "attainable".

Provided the government received the necessary co-operation.

The agreement confirms the right of parties like the ANC to express their views through mass action and peaceful demonstration — with the proviso that it was "urgent and imperative that violence and intimidation from whatever quarter accompanying mass action should be eliminated".

The agreement also stipulates that any attempt by the security forces to engage in unlawful acts or activities that breach the spirit of the new accord will have to be investigated and redressed by a joint government-ANC liaison group.

The ANC said last night that this meant that "the government has instructed its security services and counter-insurgency units . . . to desist with the harassment of ANC members, supporters and members of MK".

In a separate statement, President F W de Klerk last night described the agreement as being of "essential significance".

He said the negotiation process would be stimulated because matters standing in the way of the process had been dealt with.

He said the agreement provided a clear framework within which the ANC could demonstrate its commitment to strive for peaceful solutions and desist from all actions that conflicted with this goal.

"I wish to strongly emphasise that agreements like this do not deviate from the necessity that effective law enforcement must take place at all times," he said.

Mr De Klerk added that the spirit in which the crucial February 12 meeting between the ANC and the government took place was positive and indicative of a desire on both sides to resolve vexing problems in a sensible fashion.

"This bodes very well for the road ahead," he concluded.

# Government-ANC deal smooths the road ahead

THE Government and the African National Congress at a secret meeting at DF Malan Airport this week failed to agree on key issues of surrendering arms and demobilising Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres.

However, the two parties removed most obstacles preventing a multi-party conference and the agreement reached was hailed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as a "victory for peace" and by the ANC as a "significant step on the road to democracy and peace".

The meeting was hastily convened after a bust-up involving ANC information head Dr Pallo Jordan and the deputy Constitutional Development minister, Roelf Meyer, at a working group meeting the previous week.

The Government was also being pressured by the United States and Britain to resolve the release of prisoners and return of exiles.

After months in which little sig-

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

By Mike Robertson  
Political Correspondent

Significant progress was achieved by the working group, matters came to a head during a meeting in the first week of this month when Dr Jordan and Mr Meyer angrily clashed over what activities the ANC would have to forgo if its decision to suspend armed action was to have any meaning.

Despite the special relationship existing between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, no agreement could be reached this week on the ANC surrendering arms, identifying arms caches and demobilising its cadres. Nor was there agreement on ANC plans to set up self-defence units.

Instead, it was agreed to appoint yet another committee to oversee a phased process to hand over or licence ANC weapons in terms of existing legislation.

The functioning of the committee will be governed by a key clause in the DF Malan agreement in which the ANC agreed it was not above the law of the land.

The clause reads: "It is understood that nothing in or omitted from this agreement will be construed as invalidating or suspending the provisions of any law applicable in South Africa."

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said he regarded this as the most important breakthrough in the meeting as it was a "commitment to honour the law of the land".

In contrast to the acrimony which prevailed at the previous meeting, both sides said the atmosphere at DF Malan was very co-operative.

In the end, the ANC agreed that in

terms of its decision to suspend armed action and related activities it would forgo:

- All violent attacks;
- Infiltration of men and material;
- The creation of underground structures;
- Statements inciting violence;
- Threats of armed action;
- Training inside South Africa.

The ANC has, however, emphasised MK members would continue to undergo training outside South Africa, in places such as Uganda and the Soviet Union, with a view to upgrading MK from a guerilla force to "something resembling a conventional army".

At Friday's ANC meeting, concern was expressed about the leadership's ability to get more militant members to comply with the agreement if the Government did not expedite the

return of exiles and release of prisoners.

For this reason, an ANC NEC member welcomed as "excellent" Mr Coetsee's announcement that exiles who had undergone military training but who had not been involved in military activities recently could soon receive indemnity.

Mr Coetsee said if a suitable formula could be worked out with the ANC, up to 80 percent of exiles could receive indemnity.

Since Mr De Klerk's opening of parliament speech, the Government has come under pressure from both the US and UK to speedily resolve differences over the release of prisoners and the return of exiles.

There have been suggestions from other government members that Mr Coetsee's department has been dragging its heels, and it was perhaps for this reason that he reacted angrily to suggestions, supposedly emanating from the ANC, that only 10 percent

of 3 226 political prisoners had been released.

Mr Coetsee said not even Mr Mandela had put the estimate that high. The most liberal estimate of political prisoners numbers was less than 1 000.

He said that since February 1 last year, 262 prisoners had been released. The processing of 760 other applications was in an advanced stage.

Mr De Klerk, he said, had announced that seven such prisoners would soon be released from Robben Island.

The difference between these prisoners and those previously released was that they were receiving remissions of up to seven years on 10 year sentences.

Those released previously had received remissions of between six months and a year.



# KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY



chance of a peaceful transition would be lost.

Kasrils is not alone. His comrade, Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner, has published in the latest issue of the South African Journal on Human Rights an extraordinary attack on a free press, in which he displays a similar majoritarian hostility to dissent.

**S**OME views, he argues, are "good", others are not, and of the latter he says: "In suppressing them one is not suppressing a freedom, but a threat to that freedom."

Suttner begins by putting on the term "democracy" his own, narrow definition: "Democracy refers, basically, to a state form where the majority rules."

He then proceeds to deny the right of free speech to anybody who may dispute his definition: "Does 'logic' require that the same freedom be extended to opponents of democracy, even if their views foster social divisions, animosity, racism, and threats to democracy? By no means! It is not intolerance to suppress such views."

"The undemocratic suppression of democratic views, to protect apartheid, cannot be equated with the suppression, in the interests of democracy, of pro-apartheid, pro-fascist or warlike sentiments."

There we have it: the basis is laid for the totalitarian post-apartheid state. Had the United States adopted Suttner's views instead of the First Amendment that guarantees free speech, Martin Luther King would

never have been heard, except in *Samizdat* like the Russian dissidents.

Apart from the quaint echoes of Animal Farm, Suttner (previously famous mainly for his promise that the ANC would not nationalise barber shops) provides exquisite confirmation of John Harrington's famous lines:

"Treason doth never prosper: what's the reason? For if it prosper, none dare call it treason."

**I**T does not seem to strike him that he has taken over, unadulterated, the National Party's argument for his own long incarceration without trial. Nor does it seem to strike him that he is legitimating violent, IRA-style resistance by minorities in

his "people's democracy", on exactly the same grounds as the ANC's resort to armed struggle.

Suttner and Kasrils, for all I know, may be as gentle as kittens but they are propagating views which must, if they prevail, plunge South Africa into violent conflict.

What is difficult to understand is why they think that, given the power of the state, they will be more successful in suppressing dissent than the National Party has been or that they will not end up using the same obscene methods which characterise all dictatorships, Stalinist or fascist.

However, it is clear that their views constitute a threat to the negotiation process. The ANC's moderate faction, led by Nelson Mandela, had a narrow escape in December when the consultative congress resolved to engage in mass action, including a campaign around the opening of parliament to highlight the demand for an interim government and constituent assembly.

That vote was carried by a coalition of hard left-wingers, communist trade union leaders, and the violence-prone youth leaders.

However, the hardliners' victory was not complete. The leadership won a mandate to continue negotiations and has since agreed to insert an all-

party congress into the process. The way is clear, once exiles have been repatriated and "political" prisoners released, for the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party to begin drawing up a list of participating parties.

Soon afterwards, the all-party congress will start to define the principles on which the new South Africa may be built, among them whether we shall have a free press that lets people speak or a free press that gags them unless they parrot "the will of the people" as determined by the commissars.

**I**N the wings waits Kasrils, ready to launch "mass action" if Nelson Mandela dares to suggest that free speech is not a matter of suppressing unpopular views, nor liberty a matter of putting people in chains, no democracy a matter of reducing the entire polyglot, diverse, cantankerous population to a chorus of praise singing.

And over the entire process hangs the prospect of another bid to dominance at the ANC leadership elections in June when, no doubt, the SACP, the communist unions and the youth will again try to turn negotiation into a series of street battles. Only Nelson Mandela, I suspect, can hold them at bay.

**A** YEAR after That Speech things are going about as well as anybody has a right to expect, but some danger signals are flashing.

The National Party preaches democracy with the zeal of converts, the right wing is plainly demoralised, the ANC is talking to Inkatha, and "the process is on track". But part of the ANC is looking for trouble.

That we have fallen into a new jargon is evidence of progress. The Nationalists, having decided to shed the gobbledegook of apartheid — "separate freedoms", "other coloured", "group rights" — are struggling to recover the lost terminology of democracy: universal rights, one man one vote, proportional representation and so forth.

The ANC, with rather less success, is trying to shed the terminology of revolution — "armed struggle", "people's democracy", "nationalisation of the means of production" — and to come to terms with notions like economic growth, investment, and efficiency.

That both sides have shifted towards the centre ('convergence' is the jargon) is evident to everybody. Equally evident, however, is that some factions of the ANC front remain bitterly hostile to compromise.

SACP fugitive Ronnie Kasrils,

writing "from underground" in the left-wing Journal Work in Progress complains that negotiations take up the time and energy of the ANC leaders and may "come to eclipse other forms of struggle".

He wants mass action which, he says, "can transform the political negotiation process into a democratic transfer of power to the people".

Kasrils specifically denies that he sees mass action as an alternative to negotiation. On the contrary, as a leader of the "revolutionary vanguard movement" (jargon for the SACP), he sees negotiation as merely another form of struggle and mass action is intended to enable the ANC to triumph in negotiations.

The aim, for Kasrils, is majoritarian rule, in which 50 percent-plus-one wields total power. The central government, presumably, will be as free as the Soviet government to control the citizens, nationalise assets, override minorities and dissidents, and establish totalitarian socialist rule.

Mass action is the bludgeon with which President F W de Klerk is to be beaten back whenever he tries to lay down any democratic limitation of power. The result, of course, must be the collapse of negotiations and a return to a test of brute force. The

# ANC regains lost initiative

THE ANC this week regained some of the initiative it lost to President FW de Klerk after his announcements on February 1. *CP Press 17/2/91*

After the latest meeting to thrash out details of the ANC's undertaking to suspend the armed struggle, no explicit agreement was reached to satisfy the government's demand that weapons be surrendered.

According to the ANC, the mass campaign to force town councillors to resign was now accepted as legitimate political expression.

These issues were central pillars of the government's refusal to release political prisoners and to indemnify exiles.

Government relaxation on these issues, even if

temporary, is seen as a victory for the ANC.

Prisoners and exiles will now be dealt with.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok conceded that the agreement had not dealt fully with the weapons problem. *(11A)*

Accord had been reached only with regard to ANC-held weapons which could be legally licensed.

Another issue passed on for further attention was the creation of self-defence units.

Vlok stressed the government's absolute opposition to self-defence units: "I don't want them, not in the ANC or the AWB."

However, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said the establishment of self-defence units had been approved in principle.

The ANC claimed the government was obstructing the release of prisoners and return of exiles to force agreement on the arms, intimidation and mass action issues.

Some analysts fear De Klerk has overplayed his hand by leaving ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela with an insurmountable loss of political face.

The latest agreement is viewed as representing a substantial concession by the government and it may well have been paid for by an ANC undertaking not to declare war on foreign investors.

Whether these settlements and concessions came by tacit agreement or not, observers agree the ANC has managed to regain much of the initiative it had lost. - Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by K Naidoo, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# Govt extends indemnity

11A

C/P 17/2/91

STATE President FW de Klerk has extended temporary indemnity from prosecution to ANC president Oliver Tambo, SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

The names of the three leaders appear in a list of 194 people who have been granted temporary indemnity until April 30 this year. - Sapa

# In search of the real PAC

By SEKOLA SELLO

TRYING to unravel the mystery of the Sobukwe Forum, what it is, who it represents or what it hopes to achieve politically is like searching for a needle in a haystack.

The Forum speaks in many tongues. Its chairman Makhaola Bolofa told *City Press* at the beginning of this year it is a pressure group within the PAC.

But the Forum's Abednego Bhekabantu Ngcobo was last year reported to have said he is back in the country to re-launch the original PAC. Whereas Ngcobo served as treasurer general when the organisation was launched in 1959 after it broke away from the ANC, little is known about Bolofa.

He has admitted to *City Press* that he has never held a PAC membership card.

But, he says, he was always "close" to the leadership of the PAC.

Bolofa, 73, claimed he taught the organisation's founding president, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.

He also claims that it was a poem he read out in class which changed Sobukwe's political outlook.

The other mystery is that whenever Ngcobo is in the country, he operates from Ulundi, the KwaZulu homeland capital.

It is also claimed that he uses an office belonging to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

I phoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly twice asking for Ngcobo and another Forum member, Velekhaya Shange, and on both occasions I was told Ngcobo was away in London while Shange was "not available".

Both Ngcobo and Shange have also addressed Inkatha rallies.

Knowing the PAC's attitude towards matters related to the homelands and homeland politics, these activities of the Forum have become very difficult to fathom.

While the claims of the Forum in general and those of Ngcobo in particular that he is the "real leader" of the PAC are questionable, a clear picture seems elusive.

This confusion is compounded by the fact the PAC was banned less

## Has Sobukwe's dream turned into a nightmare of rivalry and infighting?

than a year after its formation. Thereafter the organisation was riven by divisions between exiled factions while its leaders were in jail.

While the ANC leadership has largely stayed intact throughout its 30 years of being banned, the same cannot be said of the PAC.

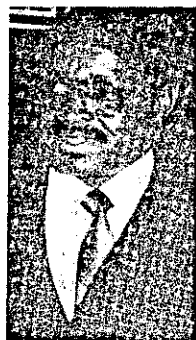
Much of the information which managed to filter into the country was negative. All we heard about was divisions and the killing of some of its top leaders, like David Sibeko.

The claims of the Forum should be seen against this background of division, particularly during the reign of Potlako Leballo. The Forum could be the remnants of PAC members who were dissatisfied with that leadership.

Such an argument is weakened by the fact the PAC leader from 1981, John Nyathi Pokela, managed to bring together



David Sibeko: did he die in the crossfire?



Johnson Mlambo: worked for unity.



Makhaola Bolofa: close to founders?



Zeph Mothopeng: revived the PAC.

er opposing factions after he was released from a 13-year prison term in the late 1970s.

Pokela had urged those who had left to come back under his call to go "back to the basic documents of the PAC - to African Nationalism and Pan Africanism".

Johnson Mlambo who took over in 1983 after serving 20 years on Robben Island for Poqo activities, preached the same gospel and consolidated Pokela's efforts.

The leadership of Pokela and Mlambo once again put the PAC on a sound footing, making it internationally respected by bodies like the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and the Non Aligned Movement. The late Zeph Mothopeng is also credited with reviving the organisation internally.

ZB Molete - who was a member of the 1959 National Executive Com-

mittee and later acted as the movement's acting President when most of its leadership was in detention - rejects Ngcobo's claims to the presidency of the organisation.

He also rejects claims by the Forum that people who took over the leadership of the PAC following Sobukwe's death were not constitutionally elected.

The Forum has recommended that "all assistance be given to the original national executive committee" elected in 1959.

In short, the Forum does not recognise the leadership of Leballo (deceased), Vusi Maake, Pokela (deceased), Mlambo and Mothopeng who died last year.

Molete said in terms of the PAC constitution, the organisation had to hold elections every three years and it was through such elections that these leaders were chosen for

leadership positions.

Molete asked the Forum whether the PAC should have remained "leaderless" and taken a rest from the struggle for 30 years.

PAC sources claim Ngcobo was expelled from the organisation because he and other senior members could not account for certain funds donated by Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah.

An investigation led by JD Nyaose was instituted. This commission, PAC sources allege, implicated several people including Ngcobo and even the head of the commission himself.

Although defections and splinter groups had in the past crippled the organisation, the PAC was more stable when Pokela took over.

The recent election of Clarence Mlamli Makwetu was also warmly received by the general

membership internally.

Chances of Ngcobo taking over the leadership of the PAC seem to be nil.

The Forum claims to have launched branches in Durban and KwaZulu, but some observers doubt this, saying they have only campaigned in Inkatha circles.

Apart from the present Makwetu status quo being internationally recognised, even the South African government recognises them.

The PAC position on the Forum and Ngcobo is simple. They must come back to the organisation and if members feel they are entitled to senior positions, they will be duly elected.

This option seems unlikely. It is also unlikely the Forum will steal the limelight by wearing the revered Sobukwe's clothes.



Robert Sobukwe... challengers to the PAC leadership are using his image to boost themselves. The dispute began with the elections held while the original leaders were in jail.

# 'Watchdog' growls at the Constituent Assembly call

By SEKOLA SELLO *Apr 17/2/91*

WHEN the Azanian National Youth Unity's (Azanyu) "Revolutionary Watchdog" called a serious Press conference the other day it turned out rather funny.

Only two journalists attended the conference. The convener and deputy publicity secretary of this new organisation, Khulu Vusimuzi Rashama, pointed out he was expecting "several" other journalists.

Rashama cuts a serious image in his green and yellow Afro shirt and matching pants. He justifies his cause with the zeal of a religious convert.

The Press conference was held at the entrance of a building in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Rashama was seated on the chair usually occupied by a friendly security guard.

He was all by himself. He said the other five Africanists on the steering committee of the Watchdog were not present for one reason or the other. Rashama gave us only their surnames. He did not know their first names.

The Revolutionary Watchdog, which was launched last Sunday at Funda Centre in Soweto, is not a splinter group from the PAC, said Rashama. It is also not part of the Sobukwe Forum. But, like the Forum, he added, it wants to put pressure on the PAC.

The Watchdog is opposed to the PAC's participation in a Constituent Assembly and the current cordial relationship between the PAC and ANC.

It says a Constituent Assembly will not return the land to the masses, and accuses the ANC of "selling out" by having talks with the government.

The Watchdog is defiant of the PAC and does not recognise the new Azanyu leadership which was elected last month in Cala, Transkei - even though the PAC recognises the new Azanyu leadership.

It is also defying the PAC ruling that none of its formations must in future call themselves Revolutionary Watchdogs. The official Azanyu has accepted this ruling and is now a component of the PAC.

Rashama said his group recognises the present PAC leadership, adding that it is not a component of the PAC, but an autonomous "affiliate" which is deliberately and defiantly calling itself the "Revolutionary Watchdog".

His group also does not recognise Azanyu's expulsion of its four senior officials - Ntsie Mohloai (former vice president), Mpuka Radinku (former publicity and information secretary), Mawanda Jack (former national organiser) and Vuyani Mbinda (former secretary for labour). The PAC endorsed the expulsion of these four.

Rashama emphasised that his body had no connections with the expelled four, and only wanted to challenge the "unconstitutional" manner in which they were booted out.

Whether these shenanigans in the youth wing are a storm in a teacup or point to some deeper problem within the PAC is difficult to judge at this stage.



Khulu Rashama ... "Revolutionary Watchdog" not a splinter group.

# Peace knocks on the door

11R  
17/2/90

THE way has been cleared for the return of an estimated 40 000 exiles and the release of 700 political prisoners by April 30 following this week's agreement between the ANC and government.

The agreement reached on Tuesday was made public on Friday.

State President FW de Klerk said: "If there is implementation according to the letter and spirit of the agreement we will be moving rapidly towards multiparty negotiations."

Other significant undertakings contained in the pact were that there would be no armed attacks by the ANC, infiltration of men or material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action or training inside South Africa of Umkhonto weSizwe troops.

Both sides agreed the population had a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations but it was imperative that violence and intimidation from whatever quarter be eliminated.

However the ANC and the government failed to resolve the dispute over the surrender of Umkhonto weSizwe's stockpiled weapons.

ANC executive member Matthew Phoswa said the organisation objected to the surrender of weapons: "We made it clear we were not going to surrender our weapons now or in the future. Those structures, arms and men must remain where they are."

Parties involved in the struggle would only reveal weapons when a new army was formed, Phoswa said.

It was agreed that owners of weapons which may be licensed - pistols, revolvers and rifles - would be allowed to own them legally.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok made it clear AK-47s could not be licensed by private owners. Police would still seek these weapons and prosecute owners.

The ANC said sanctions would remain an invaluable form of International pressure to complement the "struggle of the South African people".

The maintenance of existing sanctions would help the process of peaceful transition and accelerate movement towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said there were 3 226 political prisoners when the working group began negotiations but the government had only released 10 percent of them - those who had completed two-thirds of their sentences.

On the return of exiles he said by April 30 every exile would have the right to return to South Africa.

He said the agreement did not pave the way for full-scale negotiations because there were still obstacles which the government had to remove.

Justice Minister Koble Coetsee said the processing of 760 applications for the release of political prisoners was at an advanced stage.

Seven held on Robben Island are to be released within days.

The Minister said 2 092

■ To Page 2

# Peace knocks on the door

From Page 1 (17/2/90) This may benefit up to 40 000 people had received indemnity after leaving the country unlawfully.

He said it had been rumoured that large numbers of people would require indemnity but so far only about 3 500 applications had been received. He was liaising with the ANC to find a suitable formula to indemnify those who had undergone military training before the cut-off date of October 8, 1990.

Facilities for indemnity and release were not confined to the ANC only but were available to other individuals and organisations "depending of course on the status of their involvement in the negotiation process and the process of seeking peaceful solutions".

Meanwhile, Defence Minister Magnus Malan

But he welcomed the ANC's decision to abandon the training of military cadres in South Africa and the cessation of all "war talk" in exchange for the government allowing ANC exiles home.

"The ANC now has the opportunity to demonstrate its seriousness in seeking peaceful solutions."

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The maintenance of existing sanctions would help the process of peaceful transition and accelerate movement towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

11111  
Police bar ANC  
from bomb inquiry

POLICE yesterday ruled out any ANC involvement in investigations into the killing of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in a bomb blast on Friday.

Mlangeni died at his Jabulani, Soweto, home when a miniature bomb exploded in a portable cassette player's earphone.

The cassette player was posted to self-confessed hit squad member Dirk Coetzee but was sent to Mlangeni, whose name was on the parcel as the sender, after Coetzee refused to pay extra duty to receive it at a Lusaka post office.

SAP spokesman Maj Reg Crewe said yesterday permission had been granted for an ANC representative to be present when police investigated the incident at the

Mlangeni home on Saturday night.

Asked if the ANC would be represented at subsequent investigations, Crewe said: "The investigation is a police matter, and there is no question of any other party getting involved."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus asked yesterday: "What harm would the presence of our lawyers have?"

She said the ANC would ensure that there was a full exposure of death squads, which it believed to be responsible.

Crewe said police had no evidence linking Mlangeni's death to any hit squad.

16/12/81  
16/12/81  
16/12/81

# Inkatha, NP group back FW on Manifesto

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk's Manifesto for a new South Africa was given the thumbs up by a National Party/Inkatha Freedom Party working group which met here at the weekend.

In a joint statement after the meeting, both parties described their meeting as "fruitful" and added that the working group or 'think tank' will continue to meet on a regular basis.

The NP/IFP group, which has met five times since last year, agreed that the meetings have had an effect on national policy and the reform process.

A wide range of subjects were dealt with, including political events in Natal, the socio-economic needs of the region, the violence in Natal's and the general political issues in the wider South African context.

At the meeting held here on Saturday, the working group gave its unanimous support to the Manifesto for a New South Africa as enunciated by Mr De Klerk earlier this month.

The statement said: "The working group will continue to meet on a regular basis and will continue to refer matters, on which agreement is reached, but which require ratification by the respective policymaking structures of each party."

The IFP delegation was headed by the party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, and the NP delegation was led by Transport and Public Works Minister Mr George Bartlett.

# Talks bring fall in Natal violence

Political Staff

UNREST incidents in Natal have dropped sharply since the meeting last month between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Police figures show that in the 18 days after January 27 there were 39 incidents of unrest in Natal — 20 fewer than the 18 days preceding it.

The leaders met on January 29, and the figures seem to illustrate that the sentiments of reconciliation expressed in their peace agreement have begun to filter down to their supporters.

However, police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellett said that the figures for deaths in the province would almost certainly be higher in the period following the meeting.

That was because of two incidents in particular — the fierce fighting in Umgababa the day after the meeting when seven people died and last weekend's "bus massacre" near Maritzburg, in which 17 people were killed.

The agreement effectively outlawed violence, intimidation and political intolerance among their followers.

However, the violence that has ravaged Natal for several years is deep-rooted and government officials had not anticipated any improvement in the situation for some time yet.

The incidents at Umgababa and Maritzburg were taken as clear signals that the message had yet to get through to Inkatha and ANC supporters.

● A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg, Miss Jill Marcus, said the question of the peace process is very important.

She said, however, that the peace efforts could not be achieved in one go, adding that peace should come from all sides.

The Inkatha Freedom Party could not be reached for comment.

## Mass meeting washed out

PRETORIA. — A mass meeting, scheduled for yesterday to discuss the rent crisis in Mamelodi, was washed out by a downpour.

Residents in Mamelodi, near here, have been boycotting rent and other service charges since the early '80s.

Mr Pasty Malefo, of the Mamelodi Civic Associa-

## TV TODAY

TV1

- 5.15: Larry King/Gulf war update
- 6.00: Good Morning South Africa
- 8.25: Showbiz
- 1.00: Headline News
- 1.30: Business Day
- 2.00: Telerama
- 2.30: Teleschool. A career in Music — discovering string instruments
- 3.00: Opleiding en Ontwikkeling
- 3.20: On the Move
- 3.30: Hattytown Tales. Simon and the Grand Hattytown Fete.
- 3.45: Pumpkin Patch
- 4.00: Bible Story
- 4.05: Santa Barbara



# Suspension of the armed struggle - full agreement

Soweto 18/2/91

2

8/11

11A

THIS is the text of the agreement reached on the armed struggle by the Government/ANC working group on February 12 and released on Friday:

1. The Working Group was established under paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, which reads as follows:

In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe will take place. It was agreed that a Working Group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by 15 September 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible.

2. Having decided it would not have been possible to submit a final report by the 15th September 1990, an interim report was brought out on 13 September 1990.

3. Since then a number

of meetings took place. This report was finalised at a meeting on the 12th of February 1991.

4. With reference to the word "suspending" as used in paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, the Working Group reiterated what was said in paragraph 4 of its Interim Report, namely that suspension occurred as a step in the process of finding peaceful solutions, with the presumption that the process would lead to the situation where there would be no return to armed action.

## Attacks

5. (a) Under the terms of suspension of "armed action" and "related activities" by the ANC, with specific reference also to Umkhonto We Sizwe and its organised military groups and armed cadres, it was agreed that the following will not take place:

(i) Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices;

(ii) Infiltration of men and material;

(iii) Creation of underground structures;

(iv) Statements inciting violence;

(v) Threats of armed action.

(vi) Training inside South Africa.

(b) The Working Group



DE KLERK



MANDELA

(i) Agreed that the democratic process implies and obliges all political parties and movements to participate in this process peacefully and without resort to the use of force;

(ii) Therefore accepted the principle that in a democratic society no political party or movement should have a private army;

(iii) Noted that the ANC had, in good faith and as a contribution to the process of arriving at a peaceful settlement, announced the suspension of all armed actions and related activities, with the presumption that the process would lead to the situation where there would be no return to armed action;

(iv) Noted that by virtue of the fact that Umkhonto We Sizwe is

no longer an unlawful organisation, membership thereof is not in violation of any of the provisions of paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute and the letter and spirit of the whole;

(v) Noted the historical fact that the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe had placed arms and cadres within the country;

(vi) Agreed that in the context of paragraph 5 (b), (ii), (iii) and (iv) above, a phased process be initiated in order to enable these cadres of the ANC to resume their normal lives and also facilitate and legalise control over the arms and the process to ensure such legality will immediately be taken further by the Working Group;

(vii) Agreed that

where applicable, individual weapons shall be licenced in terms of existing legislation;

(ix) further agreed that the security forces take cognisance of the suspension of armed actions and related activities and that the parties hereto will remain in close liaison with one another according to the procedure prescribed in 6(a) of this document with a view to ensuring prompt and efficient reporting, investigation and redressing, where applicable, of all allegations of unlawful activities or activities contrary to the spirit of this agreement, by the security forces.

(c) The Working Group--

(i) Agreed that the population at large has a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations;

(ii) Further agreed that it is urgent and imperative that violence and intimidation from whatever

quarter accompanying mass action should be eliminated;

(iii) Further agreed that peaceful political activities and stability must be promoted;

(iv) Further agreed that to this end joint efforts should be made to implement the intentions contained in paragraphs 5 of the Groote Schuur and of the Pretoria Minutes to ensure that grievances and conflict creating situations are timeously addressed.

## Liaison

6. The Working Group agreed that designated members of the ANC would work with government representatives in a Liaison Committee to implement this agreement, and that the existing nominated SAP and ANC liaison officials appointed in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Groote Schuur Minute shall serve as supporting structures

of the Liaison Committee.

(b) It is agreed that this agreement will be implemented forthwith and its objectives attained as speedily as possible.

(c) It is further agreed that in view of the above, the process of attaining the objectives contained in paragraph 2 of the Pretoria Minute will be realised according to the procedures contained in that Minute.

7. It is understood that nothing in or omitted from this agreement will be construed as invalidating or suspending the provisions of any law applicable in South Africa.

8. It is recommended that this Working Group be continued to supervise the implementation of this agreement relating to paragraph 3 and the activities of the Liaison Committee and to give attention to further matters that may arise from the implementation of this agreement, such as proposed self defence units. - Sapa

# Winnie warning <sup>611A</sup> <sub>1829</sub>

LONDON - Winnie Mandela could take over the ANC or even South Africa in the manner of Isabelita Peron of Argentina were her husband to die or become too ill for office, a British newspaper correspondent claimed. *Sowetan 18/2/91*

Reporting from Johannesburg in *The Independent* yesterday, John Carlin said: "Mrs Mandela is a forceful, ambitious and ruthless woman who shares the instincts of powerful hardline elements in the ANC and who, because of her hold over her husband's mind, has a tremendous potential for political influence."

He added: "There are moves afoot within the ANC to rein her but the outcome remains in doubt."

# No bases in Namibia, SA assures Angolans

Business Day Reporter

ALLEGATIONS that SA was still maintaining military bases along the Angolan-Namibian border are believed to have featured prominently at a weekend meeting between a high-level Angolan government delegation and President F W de Klerk.

Political Affairs Minister Ntoko do Nascimento conveyed a personal message from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, but no details of the meeting were released.

But government sources said it was believed that the Angolan claims of a SA military presence in northern Namibia were discussed, but that these were unlikely to seriously sour SA-Angolan relations.

The Angolan embassy in Windhoek claimed on Friday that SA was maintaining bases and installations which were being used for covert operations and to shelter rebels.

Sapa reports the Angolan ambassador to Namibia Albert Ribeiro was summoned by Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab on Thursday to explain Angolan bombing in the Bagani area between Kavango and Caprivi, close to the Angolan border.

Four people were injured on Wednesday when two MiG-23 jets dropped two cluster bombs.

SA government sources yesterday dismissed the allegations of SA military bases out of hand, and said Angola had been assured this was not the case.

# Talks gave ANC 'tactical victory'

Business Day Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The ANC this week regained, internally at least, some of the initiative lost to President F W de Klerk's sanctions-busting announcements to Parliament on February 1.

After 10 hours of secret negotiations to finally thrash out the full meaning of the ANC's undertaking to suspend the armed struggle and "related activities", no explicit agreement was reached to satisfy the government's demand that weapons of war be surrendered or its rejection of the establishment of self-defence units.

According to the ANC the mass campaign to force town councillors to resign was now accepted as legitimate political expression.

All three issues were central pillars of government's motivated refusal to expedite the release of political prisoners and the indemnification of exiles. The government's relaxing on these issues, even temporarily, is seen as a tactical victory for the ANC.

The applications from prisoners and exiles will now be processed, probably in time to meet the April 30 deadline.

The lengthy, minutely detailed legalistic agreement reached after Tuesday's airport summit was released at separate news conferences held by two Cabinet ministers in Cape Town and by the ANC information chief Pallo Jordan in Johannesburg on Friday night.

In their accompanying comments and

answers to questions, clearly differing interpretations were attached to the agreement.

Both sides said the agreement promoted the negotiations process. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said no compromises needed to be made.

However, at the end of the day Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had to concede that the agreement had not fully dealt with the weapons problem.

Agreement had been reached only with regard to ANC-held weapons which were legally licensable.

A liaison group would still seek a method "to gain control over" other weapons such as AK-47s.

He reiterated the government's urgent need "to get the guns out". This matter could not, however, be finalised at Tuesday's meeting, he said.

Another issue not finalised, and passed on for the further attention of the liaison committee, was the creation of self-defence units.

Again Vlok stressed government's absolute opposition to self-defence units being created by any organisation. "I don't want them," he said emphatically, "not with the ANC or the AWB".

Jordan's view was diametrically opposed. He told his news conference the establishment of self-defence units had been approved in principle.

Comment: Page 8

# Two killed in AK-47 hold-up on the Reef

Business Day Reporter

TWO men died in one of two robberies involving AK-47 automatic rifles on the Witwatersrand at the weekend.

A Fidelity Guards security guard died in a gunfight with robbers who attacked his van, carrying hundreds of thousands of rands, on Saturday.

One of the four robbers died in hospital after being wounded. The other three fled without the money.

Sapa reports two men

one armed with an AK-47 rifle, held up an Alberton construction company employee on Friday and escaped with a R10 000 payroll.

And in another armed robbery, police shot and arrested one of a gang of six who robbed the Rosslyn, Pretoria branch of Trust-Bank on Saturday.

Police said the six men

held up the bank manager and demanded the safe be opened. Staff raised the alarm and police arrived at the scene while the thieves were collecting the money.

One robber was wounded and arrested in a shoot-out that followed, but the remaining five managed to drive off in a getaway car.

A police statement said the robbers had fled "without the major part of their booty".

# PAC rejects pact, vows to intensify 'struggle'

Political Staff ARGUS 19/2/91  
THE peace pact reached last week between the government and the ANC has been rejected by the Pan Africanist Congress, which has vowed to intensify its armed struggle "in the absence of the ballot".

In a statement, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said neither the ANC nor the government had any right to decide or prescribe the method used by broad liberation movements to achieve freedom.

He said: "They can bind themselves only. The PAC remains committed to all forms of struggle. In the absence of the ballot, the bullet cannot be abandoned and we remain committed to the intensification of the armed struggle."

The demand for a constituent assembly had opened the way for a democratic resolution, but this option has been rejected out of hand by the regime, he said.

Last Friday's pact was based on the assumptions that:

● The oppressed were the guilty party and had to make the major con-

cessions for a solution;

● The oppressed suspend their right to revolt in favour of hand-out liberty; and

● The process of change remains firmly in the hands of white people with the African majority hopeful spectators.

Referring to the position of exiles and political prisoners, he said that once more agreements affecting only ANC members had been made.

"This is a clear departure once more from both the UN consensus declaration and the Harare Declaration demanding the unilateral release of all political prisoners. The agreement confirms once more the words of a senior government official that the PAC will have to negotiate before prisoners who are their members will be released.

"This is clearly unacceptable pressure and political blackmail to which we will not succumb."

He said the PAC reiterate its call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unhindered and unconditional return of all exiles.

# Bullet can't be abandoned *Star 19/2/91* without vote, says PAC (11A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress has criticised the ANC's concession on the use of force contained in last week's Government-ANC agreement.

"In the absence of the ballot, the bullet cannot be abandoned," general secretary Benny Alexander told a Johannesburg press conference yesterday.

Neither the Government nor the ANC could prescribe the methods used by broad liberation movements to achieve freedom, he added.

The PAC said the agreement had been reached on the assumption that blacks were the guilty party and had to make the major concessions; that "the oppressed" should suspend their right to revolt; and that the process of change remained firmly in white hands with the black majority the hopeful spectators.

The agreement had served to reinforce the PAC's opposition to an all-party conference.

"If this agreement is meant to remove obstacles to an all-party congress, we reiterate our opposition to a constitutional talk-shop without a democratic mandate on the part of the participants," the PAC said.

It called on the ANC to seriously review its support for an all-party conference which, Mr Alexander said, was designed to sidetrack the demand for an elected constituent assembly.

However, the PAC remained committed to a conference of all liberation movements.

The PAC further criticised the Government-ANC agreement on the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, saying the deal excluded the PAC's estimated 8 000 to 11 000 exiles and estimated 50 to 60 political prisoners.

# Hani says he will never serve under Malan

TIM COHEN

119 (25)

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday he would refuse to serve under Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Reacting to Malan's comment that MK would never be part of the SADF, Hani said a future government would decide on the make-up of the armed forces. He also did not think he would be in a position in a future government where Malan would be working under him.

He said the government/ANC working group on the armed struggle would continue to meet to thrash out issues not fully resolved by last week's accord.

The ANC announced on Friday it had agreed to halt the infiltration of MK cadres and equipment, while government agreed to recognise its members' right to belong to MK and the ANC's right to peaceful protest.

Hani said yesterday the "paragraph three" committee established in terms of the Pretoria Minute, would continue meeting. It would primarily discuss two of the as yet unresolved issues: the possible arrest of MK members for possession of unlicensed firearms, and the ANC's defence units. B1004 1912 91

Hani said the ANC, which would not tolerate intimidation, was forced to organise defence units because of the actions of the security forces.

# Blacks replace whites, but poor get poorer

*South Africa 19/2/97*

**MATIGARI** has a pertinent message for the liberation movements in colonised South Africa.

The story is set in Kenya, which went through a bloody freedom struggle that failed to deliver the fruits of freedom.

It is a memorable satire on the betrayal of human ideals and relates the bitter experience of the post-independence Kenyan society.

No wonder President Daniel arap Moi's government has banned the book.

*Matigari* tells of a man with superhuman qualities who rises to renew the freedom struggle through the use of arms.

The parallels with Jomo Kenyatta and his Mau Mau is too obvious to miss.

The post-colonial society established in Kenya with the help of the British imperialist government did not change the structures of oppression in colonial Kenya.

The structures remained the same while the aspirations for freedom of the masses of Kenyans were left hanging.

The lesson for South Africa is that we must guard against mythical heroes with perceived superhuman qualities emerging in our struggle for liberation.

We must also jealously guard against our efforts going down the drain as has happened in many parts of Africa.

White skins were replaced by black skins but no changes in socio-economic conditions for "the wretched of the earth" came about.

FOCUS



**MOKGADI PELA** reviews the novel *Matigari* by Ngugi wa Thiongo, published by Heinemann.

It is therefore the duty of the masses to analyse and observe cautiously the actions of political organisations such as the Azanian Peoples Organisations, the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and their leadership - represented respectively by Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Oliver Tambo and Clarence Makwetu.

It is the duty of the masses to call these leaders to order where they go wrong because no individual or organisation is greater than the people's struggle.

These days when there is so much talk about "negotiations" and a "constituent assembly" it is clear that people should understand and scrutinise these concepts.

And leaders should remember the words of Amilcar Cabral, who led Cape Verde

Islands and Guinea Bissau to independence from Portuguese rule: "Tell no lies, claim no easy victories and hide nothing from the masses."

Kenya went through a negotiated settlement in the early sixties after a bloody war.

Only after independence in 1963 did people realise that their leader Kenyatta was to become an instrument of imperialism.

Kenyatta agreed to a neo-colonial sellout solution and betrayed the cause.

In one part of the book, the Kenyan government is dealing with a worker dispute.

Before the workers can speak a government official says:

"The ruling party is our party, therefore this company has given shares to the nation."

"This is capitalism with a socialist face - or socialism with a capitalist heart."

He said: "Now even if you were the one arbitrating between the company and the factory workers, you would see that the dispute has now been resolved more or less."

"From now onwards, anyone who goes on strike against this company will actually be striking against the government."

He orders workers back to work and asks that everyone except the ringleaders be rehired.

In reply to this, *Matigari*, the protagonist, says:

"The house is mine because I built it."

"The land is mine too because I tilled it."

"The industries are mine because my labour built and worked for them."

"I shall never stop struggling for all the products of my sweat."

"One day the land will return to the tiller and the wealth to those who produce it."

"Poverty and sorrow shall be banished from our land."

*Matigari* pointed at the company directors and said: "And you imperialist and your lackeys, ministers and leaders of the police force, the army and the courts - your days are numbered!"

*Matigari*'s is declared insane and is hospitalised with other leaders.

There he remembers that justice comes from a sharpened spear and not from words alone and he escapes.

In his classic, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dr Walter Rodney, a Guyanese academic and Black Consciousness exponent, wrote:

"The presence of African sell-outs is part of the definition of underdevelopment."

"Any diagnosis of underdevelopment in Africa will reveal not just low per capita income and protein deficiencies, but also the gentlemen who dance in Abidjan, Lusaka, Kinshasha when music is played in Paris, London and New York."

This message is well illustrated in *Matigari* and anyone interested in understanding how imperialism uses blacks against the black revolution should read it.

11/9

# PAC rejects ANC's pact, seeks strategy review

119

The PAC yesterday called on the ANC to review its strategies for constitutional negotiations.

The agreement - concerning the armed struggle and mass action, among others - between the Government and the ANC, announced on Friday, was rejected by the PAC at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said the agreement meant the

process of change remained "firmly in the hands of white people with the African majority hopeful spectators".

The agreement was also rejected on the basis that the Government and the ANC were prescribing how liberation movements "could achieve freedom from oppression".

The PAC said the exiles and political prisoners referred to by the agreement did not include PAC exiles and prisoners. The PAC also rejected the

Government demand that it would have to join negotiations before its prisoners were released.

However, both Alexander and PAC information chief, Mr Barney Desai, stressed that although they disagreed with the ANC's accord with the Government, this would not jeopardise the prospects of a "united front" meeting of liberation movements.

A joint committee had been established with the ANC to investigate setting up a "united front".

- Sapa.

Sowetan 19/2/77



# Freedom still not in sight yet - ANC 11A

FREEDOM of association and the right to assemble are still not in sight, despite Government's undertaking to loosen up the political process in South Africa, according to the ANC.

In the eight months between June last year and

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN  
Political  
Correspondent

February this year, almost a thousand gatherings around the country have been dispersed by police.

There were 31 gatherings at Merafe Hostel on August 16, 17 and 18 which were broken up.

"This is a clear indication of how far we are

from a climate of free political action which Government should have delivered by now," the ANC's spokesman for information Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

According to the Ministry of Law and Order, on February 1, when movements around the country staged protest marches around the country in protest against the

opening of Parliament - 87 marches were allowed and only eight were refused.

The next highest figure of marches or gatherings that were dispersed on any single day are: eight at the Tladi squatter camp on September 9; seven in Port Elizabeth on August 6 1990; seven in Kutloanong on November 4 and six at Jabulani on August 8.

19/2/91  
Soweto

# ANC, PAC relations sour after agreement

RELATIONS between SA's leading liberation movements soured yesterday when the PAC denounced the ANC's armed-action accord with government and announced the postponement of a "patriotic front" conference.

At a news conference yesterday PAC general secretary Benny Alexander called on the ANC to review its decision to participate in the all-party conference with government and other groups.

Alexander said the government/ANC agreement, announced on Friday, on the armed struggle and mass action meant the process of change would remain firmly in the hands of "white people, with the African majority hopeful spectators".

Neither the ANC nor government had any right to decide or prescribe the method used by broad liberation movements to achieve freedom from oppression, he said.

"In the absence of the ballot, the bullet cannot be abandoned," he said.

The accord only made reference to prisoners and exiles who were ANC members, which was a departure from the UN Consensus Declaration and the Harare

TIM COHEN

Declaration which demanded the unilateral release of all political prisoners, he said.

In spite of the agreement, the "obnoxious" indemnity terms still remained.

"A senior government official" said the PAC would have to join negotiations before its members would be released from jail, Alexander claimed.

This was confirmed by the government/ANC agreement and was "unacceptable political blackmail", Alexander said.

It was "necessary for the ANC to review its decision to participate in an all-party congress which was clearly designed to sidetrack the people's democratic demand for an elected constituent assembly".

A recent Organisation of African Unity meeting had asserted that a prerequisite to future talks was a "conference of the oppressed". The ANC had announced that such a conference would take place on March 21, but it could not be organised by that date.

Despite the clear difference between the ANC and PAC positions, he said, such a conference should still go ahead.

**ANC, Nafcoc  
agree on link  
with Sacob**

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) yesterday held two important meetings with the ANC and the National-African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) in Johannesburg.

In a statement issued after the meetings, Sacob said it had "a friendly and frank exchange of views" with the two organisations on key economic and political issues.

The meetings led to agreements that Nafcoc and the ANC would each form "joint mechanisms" with Sacob to address specific economic issues and problems on an ongoing basis, the statement said. — Political Staff.

114 (circled) (circled)

# UDF bodies vie for power

By DANIEL SIMON

A POWER-PLAY by one UDF-linked community organisation against another for the control of a part of Khayelitsha, was the alleged cause of violence which left two dead and at least 15 shacks gutted on Monday.

Mr Gladstone Ntamo, a spokesman for the Western Cape United Squatters Association (Wecusa), claimed "some members" of the Khayelitsha Civic Association (KCA) were behind the violence, which was seen as an attempt to wrest control of an area of Site C from Wecusa.

The KCA could not be reached for comment at the time of going to press.

As a result of the violence the ANC yesterday initiated a meeting between the two organisations to resolve the crisis.

Police arrested two men, aged 18 and 20, in connection with one of the petrol bomb attacks.

"We don't know what kind of violence this was, factional, political, territorial, or maybe even criminal," a spokesman said.

Lingelethu West town clerk Mr Graham Lawrence said feedback from the community was that the violence emanated from a dispute between the KCA and Wecusa.

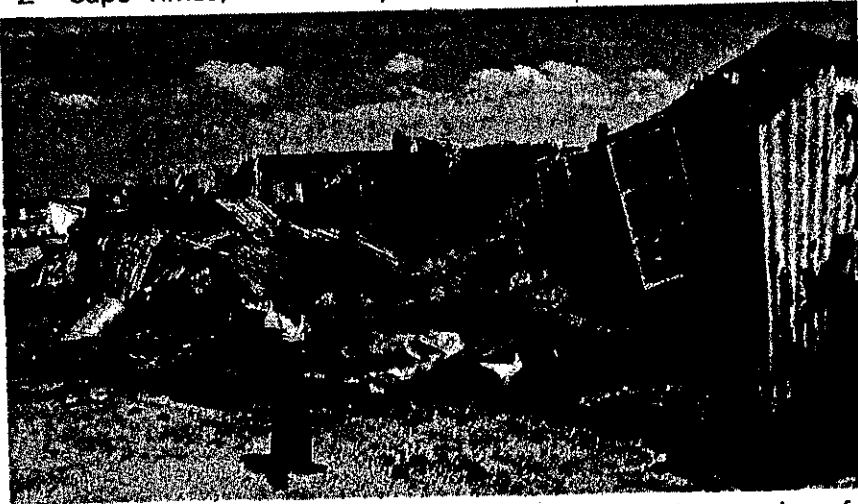
"It appears a power clique is encroaching and exerting its influence on the territory of the other."

Police yesterday reported that 15 shacks were burnt in Khayelitsha between 2pm and 10pm on Monday.

The tightly-packed shacks caught fire when petrol bombs were lobbed at them. Two people were burnt to death in one of the attacks and three were injured during skirmishes.

Mr Ntamo said he had been told that more than 31 shacks, all belonging to Wecusa members, had been destroyed.

Mr Ntamo claimed it was not the KCA as an organisation which was responsible for the violence, but only "three or four KCA members" who were bent on usurping Wecusa's authority in the area.



**PETROL-BOMBED** ... Liyanda Mlandu, 7, surveys the remains of squatter shacks destroyed on Monday when violence broke out in Site C, Khayelitsha.

# Anti-apartheid groups plan new strategies

South 14/2-20/2/91

By Chiara Carter

THE Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in Europe has begun an international campaign in support of ANC proposals for peace in South Africa.

The campaign will culminate in an

International Day of Action on April 6, scheduled to tie in with the ANC's programme of mass mobilisation inside South Africa.

A special strategy meeting of the liaison group of national anti-apartheid movements in European Community countries in Brussels last month agreed on a programme of international action after a briefing by the ANC on develop-

ments in South Africa.

The meeting agreed to campaign for international pressure on the South African government to remove all obstacles to negotiations and to stop violence and repression.

The meeting agreed to promote international support for ANC proposals for an all-party congress, an elected constituent assembly and an interim gov-

ernment.

It also agreed to continue to support sanctions.

As part of the campaign, the anti-apartheid movements intend calling on the US government to maintain sanctions through sending delegations to US ambassadors, getting parliamentarians to appeal to the US congress and circulating a discussion paper in the US.

11A



# From prison cell to a top advocate

119

Smuts 20/2/91

**DIKGANG Moseneke** relaxes on a burgundy leather coach in his chambers and talks about his experience in detention in 1963.

Moseneke, now 43, was 14 years old at the time.

"If you tapped on your cell wall you could tell if there was someone in the cell next door."

He demonstrates.

"You go boom, boom, boom and remain silent. If there was someone there, he would reply boom, boom, boom."

"Then you would say 'hi' at the cell window."

This was his first experience behind bars and not his last. He would spend 10 years on Robben Island for sabotage.

His association with the Pan Africanist Congress goes back to primary school in Atteridgeville, where he was taught by Jafta Masemola, the PAC stalwart who died last year.

## Stronghold

Moseneke attended Kilnerton Training Institute in Pretoria, which was closed down because of the Group Areas Act and which was a PAC stronghold.

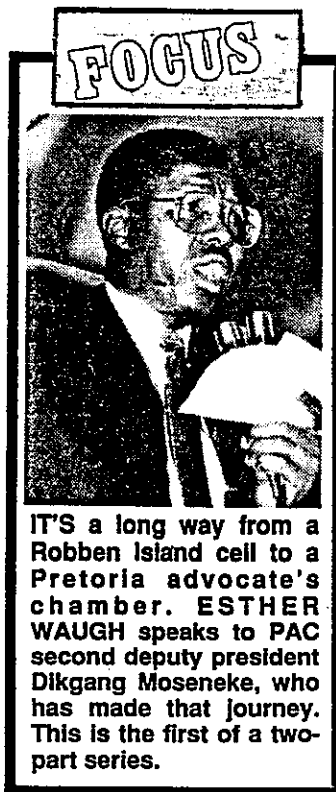
In 1962, Moseneke joined the African Students Union of South Africa, a PAC organisation.

"I signed up at Masemola's house with a number of friends including Mark Shinnars, who is on the PAC National Executive Committee."

On March 21 1963 Moseneke - nearly 15 - was arrested.

"I was picked up at my parents' home at night. Ten or 12 policemen knocked loudly, kicked down the door and covered the windows."

"Many people were arrested that night across the country. The



IT'S a long way from a Robben Island cell to a Pretoria advocate's chamber. ESTHER WAUGH speaks to PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, who has made that journey. This is the first of a two-part series.

90-day detention clause had just come into operation with BJ Vorster as Minister of Justice."

Was he surprised by his arrest?

"We had been quite active, holding PAC meetings and recruiting students at Kilnerton and Hofmeyr schools."

"In Atteridgeville the PAC was growing very fast and with the usual enthusiasm of young people there was ample activity."

"So when I heard the police knocking I realised it was in connection with the PAC because I had done nothing else that warranted the attention of the police."

"They arrested almost every known member of the PAC that night."

"I was taken to Erasmia Police Station, near my home, where I

was kept under the 90-day detention clause in solitary confinement until June when we went to court."

His neighbour in the cells was Masemola.

"Jafta was as steadfast as ever and very supportive. He made me understand that if you wage a struggle you must expect casualties."

"The interrogation was vicious. I mean very vicious."

"I still have the marks from the handcuffs. They have gone black but you can still see them," he says rolling up his sleeves.

"The more you try to wrestle with them, the tighter they become."

"It was so bad, I had blood flowing down to my armpits."

"They were big guys and I was a tiny fellow. With handcuffs on you can't fight back."

"They also made me run on the spot singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika."

## Undress

"First they undress you. You feel naked - psychologically completely exposed. Then they ask you questions."

In June 1964, 16 PAC members went on trial at the Old Synagogue in Pretoria for sabotage, with Masemola as accused number one.

In August Moseneke was convicted of sabotage and jailed for 10 years.

"I was not convicted for any acts of violence. I was convicted for attending meetings where there was conspiracy to overthrow the State."

"I came before Justice Cilliers. Sydney Kentridge was our counsel but could not stay for the whole trial. Jack Unterhalter then appeared for us and ultimately we

had to conduct the trial on our own.

"That was my first taste of what to do in a trial in court - and I vowed to come back."

What were his feelings when he arrived on Robben Island?

"I was terrified, but you have the support of so many political prisoners. At least 95 percent of the guys were PAC members."

"We were some of the first rookies at the prison. There was actually no prison building. We had to build it first, before we were locked up."

Was he bitter?

"I was at first, but I understood that the ruling class has a duty to protect its own interest. If you have power you seek to protect it."

"I understood it was a racist undemocratic government that sought to protect its existence and that was the way."

"I was young. I had no wife or even a girlfriend. I was in Standard 8 when I was arrested."

"I did not have the usual psychological problems the other guys had. Also I knew quite clearly nothing was going to stop me from studying."

"I did not have much respect for the law left after my own trial."

What about his jailors?

"You can't begin to understand the level of hatred and anger emanating from your captors."

"At the time it intrigued me that the PAC's policy is that there is only one race and that is the human race. I was surprised that the founders of the PAC were prepared to go that far and say even these guys were human."

"They take you, lock you up, get you through some process undefended, get you out and throw you in a bloody dungeon."

"Are they human?"

Continues tomorrow

## Mandela to answer radio questions 11A

*20/2/91*  
ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will be the guest in today's phone-in programme to be broadcast on nine SABC radio stations. phone during the programme and direct questions to Mandela regarding the ANC's future role in South Africa.

The programme will start at 6.03pm and end at 6.50pm. Telephone numbers to be used during the programme are: 714-2252/3 or 714-2239.

~~Mr. Geritz Maritz of the SABC in~~ The programme's presenters are Mr vited listeners and interested parties to Eddie Molokwane and Mr Steve Nkosi.

# Confidence in ANC law 'is on trial'

6/10/91  
LESLIE LAMBERT  
CAPE TOWN 20/2/91  
A high-ranking ANC official conceded yesterday that the outcome of the Winnie Mandela trial could determine SA's confidence in a future legal system if the ANC came to power.

Responding to questions about the disappearance of one trial witness and the refusal of others to testify in the case of alleged kidnapping and assault, ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Trevor Manuel said: "We take a very serious view of what has happened.

"I am not prepared to comment on the disappearance of a witness and there is nothing to suggest that the refusal of two witnesses to testify is any different from other political cases where this has happened.

"But we stand by our view that anyone guilty of excesses and abuses of power should be brought to justice."

## 'Tampering'

Manuel, a speaker at a meeting in which the ANC and PAC aired their views on President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament address on February 1, said the outcome of the trial would "affect South Africans' confidence in a legal system under an ANC government".

Responding to a suggestion that the activities of the witnesses allegedly amounted to "tampering with the legal system", Manuel said the television appearance of Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau to discuss the trial could also be regarded as "most irregular".

"I would suggest that cou'd also be interpreted as tampering with justice," he said.

"The SA judicial system should be allowed to return to its heritage.

"The people of SA should be instilled with confidence in the legal system and know they will be equal before the law and that the law will protect them," he said.

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Looking for a home . . . Exiled singer Miriam Makeba returned to South Africa yesterday with Nelson Mandela. They were welcomed by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo (left) at Lanseria Airport.  
Picture: Alf Kumalo.

## Mandela returns with Makeba in tow

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
and Robin Drew *SA 20/7/91*

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday arrived back in South Africa after a short visit to Gabon and the Congo and a brief stopover in Zimbabwe.

Mr Mandela, looking fit and relaxed, was accompanied by a small delegation including world-renowned exiled singer Miriam Makeba.

The ANC team arrived at Lanseria Airport in Gabonese leader Omar Bongo's presidential plane.

Mr Mandela was met by senior ANC officials including secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and publicity head Pallo Jordan.

It is understood that Mr Mandela briefed the African leaders on progress in the negotiations process, the internecine violence and efforts to forge black unity.

He held a two-hour meeting with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Ms Makeba, who speaks French fluently and had joined the delegation from France,

said she had returned home briefly to "find out details" about a possible concert in April.

"I'm working on coming back permanently. I now have a permanent visa to stay here if I want, but since I have been away for 31 years I have to come home and look for a place to stay," she said.

Mr Mandela told reporters in Harare there were a large number of "shady organisations" in South Africa, one of which could have been responsible for the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni on Friday.

# New SA 'cannot be left to politicians alone'

By Esmaré  
van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

Star 2/1/91

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made an emphatic plea to ordinary South Africans to become involved in the process of creating a democracy — a task which could not be left to politicians alone.

"We do not see the resolution of our conflict happening without public activity.

"In actions supporting the demand for a free democratic process, an end to violence, and the need for peace, all people of goodwill will have to play a role in securing this result," he told about 4 000 students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

He delivered the keynote address at the Students' Representative Council's official ceremony to welcome first-year and returning students.

Metal detectors were used to search the large audience.

## Decisions

Mr Mandela said that all should contribute towards the process of freedom and reconstruction in a country where all would be enriched by a diversity of views.

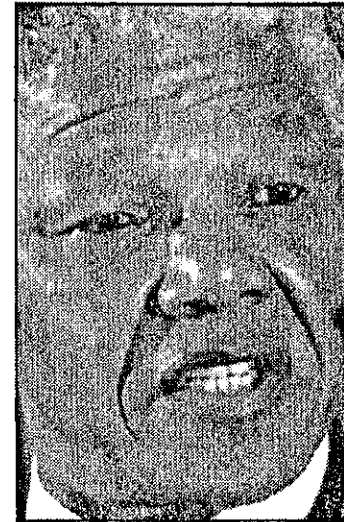
The ANC did not have all the answers. It needed specialists to assist the movement in making policy decisions and spell out options in such a way that ordinary citizens would understand them and become involved in

the political debate.

Amid laughter, he said parents might want their children to study and stay out of trouble — meaning political involvement. Yet the privilege of studying at a university was not merely to obtain a degree and secure a good job, but also to play a constructive role during the phase of transition.

"Working for the ANC or Nusas or Sansco cannot be a substitute for your broader civic duty to use your time here to learn and understand how best to serve your country and its peoples."

Mr Mandela said he wanted to lay to rest the false claims that the ANC had propagated the slogan "liberation before education".



Nelson Mandela . . . pleads for all to contribute to freedom.

# Rethink by ANC on economic policy

Arbus  
21/2/91  
11A

## Political Staff

IN a dramatic turnabout in the economic thinking of the African National Congress, the organisation has admitted that nationalisation might not be workable.

"A frank assessment of nationalisation, contained in an ANC policy paper on economic options, is being distributed for discussion."

The policy document, drawn up in November, is printed in condensed form in the latest issue of the ANC's official mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*.

"We cannot have the view that nationalisation will give a new democratic government the means to provide us all with jobs, houses and education.

"We need to look more carefully at the economic reality and begin to find a more overall economic policy that will begin to solve our problems."

## Skilled workers

Using the mining industry as an example, the ANC says one could argue that nationalisation will bring about better wages and working conditions, and that profits could be used to provide for the poor.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the ANC could not afford to spend R70 billion on nationalising mines.

"Even if we borrowed this money it would put us into serious debt problems for many years."

Another major disadvantage could be that skilled workers such as engineers, the majority of whom were foreigners, might leave the country "and the mining industry will collapse because we do not have the necessary skilled people who are loyal to our democratic aims".

The article says there are other ways of achieving the ANC's goals.

"For example, we could maintain the high taxes on mining and ensure that the government gets a share of the profits.

"These alternative methods could allow us to meet some of the goals of nationalisation without all the possible dangers that nationalisation carries."

# ANC 'rethink' on economy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nationalisation could create a national debt problem, a flight of skills and economic insecurity, according to an ANC discussion paper which signals a new debate within the organisation on state ownership.

Excerpts of the paper appear in this month's edition of the ANC journal Mayibuye. The paper itself is being distributed widely in ANC circles.

It lists the advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation and says nationalisation "is not a simple clear-cut issue".

Although ANC economic policy is still apparently in a formative stage, nationali-

CM T. M. S. 21/2/91 11A

sation has been a central plank of policy since it was adopted in the movement's Freedom Charter in 1955.

The discussion paper notes that while nationalisation could ensure essential services, better working conditions, increased social expenditure and the "democratisation of the economy", "we cannot have the view that nationalisation will give a new democratic government the means to provide us all with jobs, houses and education".

"If we are going to nationalise, we need to borrow the money to pay for the companies we buy. We will have to pay back this money with interest. This money will be spent without creating a single new job.

"If we are unable to pay back because the government does not make enough

profit from that particular nationalised industry, we will be increasing our debt problems. This happened in some countries where the government nationalised the mines, for example, and then ran into many difficulties."

Nationalisation could lead to investor insecurity and a fall in foreign investment. The paper notes "the impact on the economy when financial sanctions were introduced in 1985".

The policy could end up benefiting only the few who ran the industry and were employed by it.

The paper says it could be argued "we cannot afford the R70 billion it would cost to nationalise the mines". It argues instead for higher mining taxes, worker safety laws and mineral rights leases.

ANC 7.4.91 21/2/91  
114

# ANC's R20m buy from Shell

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The ANC has bought a R20-million building in central Johannesburg from Shell SA — despite the fact that the multinational oil company has resisted ANC pressure to disinvest from South Africa.

Both parties yesterday confirmed that Shell SA had accepted a written offer from the ANC to buy the 22-storey building.

Describing the purchase as “purely business”, an ANC spokesman said the deal would

not affect the ANC's opposition to Shell trading in South Africa, where it is reported to hold an estimated 30% of the retail oil market.

Shell has been the focus of fierce anti-apartheid demonstrations both here and abroad with its petrol stations being attacked and vandalised in the Netherlands and the US.

A spokesman for Shell is reported to have described the sale and the ANC's opposition to its pres-

ence in South Africa as “one of those ironies of history”.

The ANC has been looking for new premises for some time, as its administration staff is presently housed in a number of separate buildings scattered throughout Johannesburg.

The ANC is expected to start moving its staff into the building from next month and Shell, which uses the building as their Johannesburg offices, will lease parts of the building until it moves into its new premises.

# Mandela denounces liberation before education slogan

TIM COHEN

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday denounced the "liberation before education" slogan, saying the ANC had never propagated it.

Addressing about 4 000 Wits University students, Mandela said that while there could not be academic freedom under apartheid, this did not mean there could not be education while apartheid existed.

"I stress this in order to lay to rest, permanently, the false allegation that the ANC has ever propagated the slogan 'liberation before education'," he said.

In his first address to students at his alma mater since his release, he said the ANC felt education was necessary for liberation.

He called on students at the university to use their time fruitfully. Working for political or student organisations could not be a substitute for students' broader civic duty to learn.

Mandela saluted the attempts Wits had made in the past to resist apartheid and to try and prepare people for a non-racial society.

But he said it would be "heartening" if the university were able to move to a point where it was truly representative of the population as a whole.

The decision by two

major student organisations, Nusas and Sansco, to move toward a merger and the creation of a non-racial student organisation was "timely and mature".

Outlining the ANC's position on negotiations, Mandela said the ANC felt an interim government and constituent assembly were essential. "Membership of some super-cabinet, while the existing government remains in place, is no substitute for an interim government," he said.

"An all party congress cannot in itself perform the democratic tasks of a constituent assembly, unless it were completely reconstituted," he said.

Mandela said SA was passing through "exciting times", adding that the possibility of a transition to a democratic SA might now exist.

Some people did not like words like "the masses", he said, but they would have to get used to them.

"If you want to really belong to your own society you are going to have to understand that the vast mass of South Africans have lived for centuries outside of the rights and benefits associated with belonging to a state."

# ANC rethinks nationalisation

NATIONALISATION could create a national debt problem, a flight of skills and economic insecurity, says an ANC discussion paper which signals a new debate within the organisation on state ownership.

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The discussion paper notes that while nationalisation could ensure essential services, better working conditions, increased social expenditure and the "democratisation of the economy, we cannot

PATRICK BULGER

have the view that nationalisation will give a new democratic government the means to provide us all with jobs, houses and education".

"If we are going to nationalise, we need to borrow the money to pay for the companies we buy. We will have to pay back this money with interest. This money will be spent without creating a single new job.

"If we are unable to pay back because the government does not make enough profit from that particular nationalised industry, we will be increasing our debt problems," the paper argues.

"This happened in some countries where the government nationalised the mines, for example, and then ran into many difficulties," the paper says.

Nationalisation could lead to investor

To Page 2

## ANC rethink

insecurity and a fall in foreign investment. It notes "the impact on the economy when financial sanctions were introduced in 1985".

The policy could end up benefiting only the few "who run the industry and are employed by it. The rest of the people would then benefit very little".

The paper says it could be argued "we cannot afford the R70bn it would cost to nationalise the mines".

It argues instead for higher mining tax-

From Page 1

es, worker safety laws and mineral rights leases.

"We need to look more carefully at the economic reality and begin to find a more overall policy that will begin to solve our problems," it concludes.

The paper is illustrated by a cartoon showing the advantages of nationalisation as better wages and upliftment — while disadvantages are illustrated by a skilled person leaving the country and "No Jobs" signs on factory gates.

The proposed alliance between the ANC and the PAC seems to demonstrate their agility and willingness to bury the hatchet and reach out to each other, even though they may have strategic differences, writes University of the Western Cape academic **Seshi Chonco**

IT is now more than a year since Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Since then, South Africa's political map has changed drastically. What was considered remotely possible has now happened.

The National Party has renounced apartheid and has declared itself a "nonracial" party. The ANC has held talks with Inkatha, and the ANC and the PAC have established a patriotic front working committee. The task of the committee is to look into the creation of a patriotic front involving the ANC, PAC and possibly Azapo.

The front may herald a new era in liberation and black politics in South Africa — an era characterised by tolerance and democratic political activism.

#### Attempts

The idea of a patriotic front involving the ANC and PAC is not new. Since the banning of these two political organisations, there have been several attempts — most notably by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) — to persuade them to form a front similar to that of Zanu-Zapu in Zimbabwe.

Repeated attempts to forge such a front failed because the ANC saw no need to form an alliance with an organisation whose record of the armed struggle and serious politicking was suspect.

The PAC, in turn, was sceptical of an alliance with a party whose charter asserts that South Africa belongs to all people living in it, including the "resident settlers".

Furthermore, a possible alliance between the ANC and PAC was made impossible by Sino-Soviet politics.

Beginning in the 1960s, the ANC received most of its support from the Soviet Union, while the PAC received some backing from China.

This material support tended to divide the liberation movements along the Sino-Soviet line.

Consequently, Zanu and the ANC, with Soviet backing, formed an alliance, while Zanu and the PAC formed a front backed by China.

The announcement by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and PAC president Mlamli Makwetu that their organisations have set up a committee to try to create a patriotic front, has breathed fresh air into anti-apartheid and black politics.

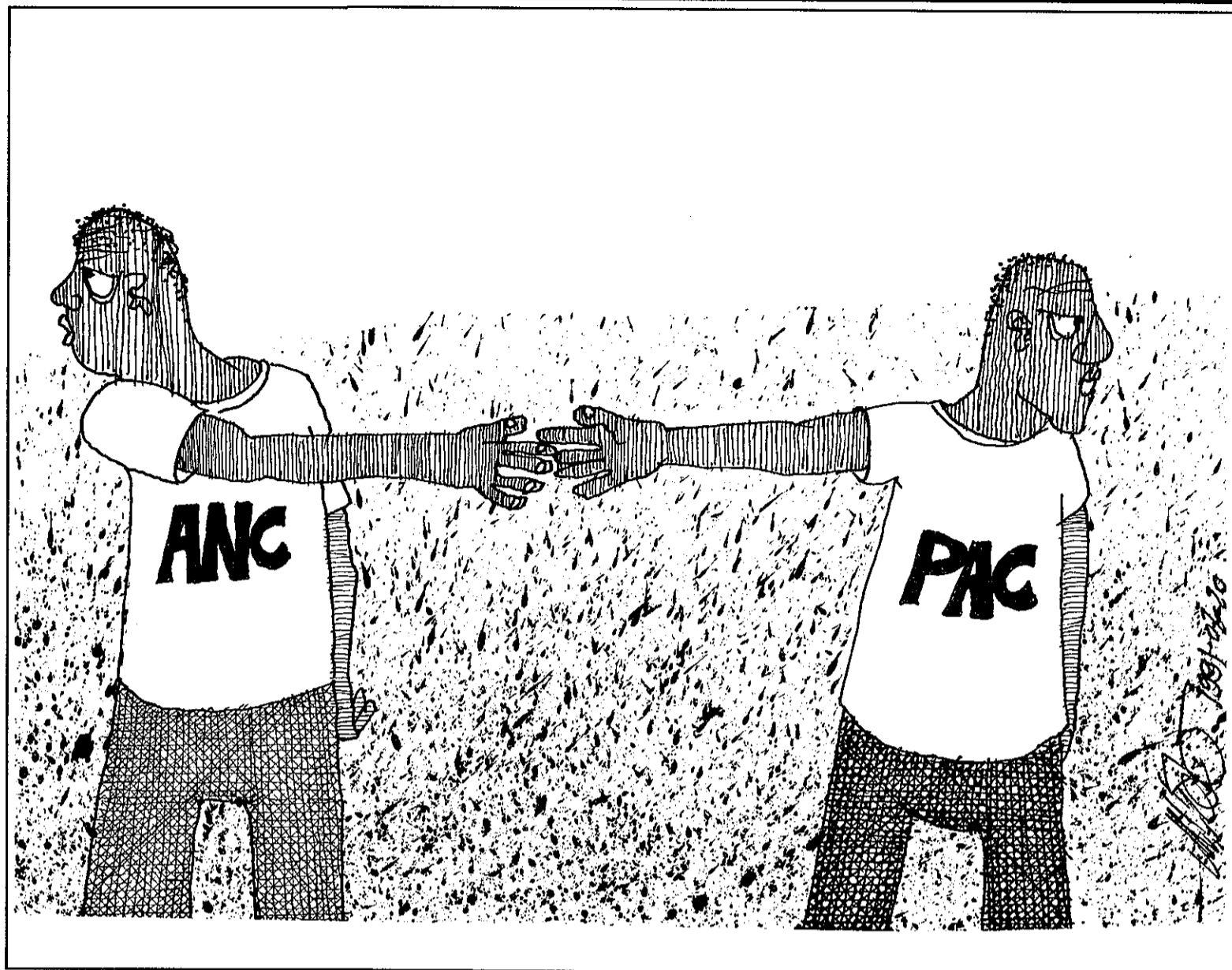
The questions are: Why now? Can such a front succeed? What are the challenges ahead?

There are several reasons why the formation of a front has become necessary and urgent.

The National Party's astute device to win the homeland leaders to its side, and the State President's invitation to Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi to explore a working alliance, have sent shivers through the leadership of the ANC and the PAC.

Unless the ANC and the PAC put their house in order and stop bickering over past sins, they will find themselves outmanoeuvred by the De Klerk-homeland leaders-Inkatha alliance at the negotiation table.

Apart from metalinguistical differences over who owns what and who waged the armed struggle seriously and who didn't, there are minimal differences — both in philosophy and



# It's time to stop bickering over past sins

South 21/2 - 27/2/91 (11A)

in principles — between the ANC and the PAC.

Both organisations believe in nonracialism, and differ only in terms of conception and strategy.

Both believe in majority rule and have defined Africans as the most oppressed strata of the South African community.

#### Negotiate

Both Mandela and Makwetu have called explicitly for a constituent assembly and have asserted that they will not negotiate through an all-party conference unless it is confined to preparing the details of electing a constituent assembly.

Since their unbanning, both parties have shifted their positions on nationalisation and socialism.

In fact, they now envision business playing a vital role in South Africa — provided that it becomes democratised and an instrument of society.

Finally, both organisations are in favour of negotiation. The PAC has not rejected negotiation, but has rejected talks about negotiation.

There is, judging from the organisation's statement, room to enter negotiation — provided the climate is reasonable.

As the deadline for negotiation approaches, there will be an intense competition by prospective actors to position themselves and to draw strength by forming alliances with other parties to maximise their influence at the negotia-



Dr Seshi Chonco

tion table.

It has become imperative that the ANC, as a leading actor, but not the main actor in the negotiation process, begins to build alliances with those organisations with whom it shares some common principles.

The ANC's days as the only "authentic liberation movement" have passed. In the Pretoriastrouka era, its success will not be judged by its armed struggle, but instead will be measured by its ability to working within a South African polity now characterised by plurality.

The proposed alliance seems to demonstrate the PAC's and the ANC's agility and willingness to bury the hatchet and reach out to each other, even though they may still have strategic differences.

The spiral of violence in Natal and the PWV areas has also compelled the ANC to enter into alliance politics.

Recent collaborative efforts to stop violence involving the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha have shown that the collaborative approach to some problems is useful.

#### Senseless

The ANC, as a government in waiting, has been dented by the senseless political killings.

Whether it is responsible for organising and instigating violence is not an issue. It is a leading political actor and is therefore judged differently.

It has an urgent task: to use its diplomatic resources to create political stability in black areas by working with parties whose principles it may not share. As a leading political movement, the ANC must begin an inclusive consultative political process involving all liberation forces, not only as a preparation to the evolving negotiation process, but as a way of identifying and conceiving common national issues.

What are the prospects for such an alliance? As negotiation approaches, the balance of forces rather than people's disposition becomes decisive. The ANC and other forces opposed to apart-

heid can strengthen their position at the negotiation table if they agree on a common strategy prior to the process.

The ANC-PAC have come closer on several preconditions for negotiation, and these alone can constitute a programme for joint action. What remains to be ironed out, however, is the structure of the alliance.

#### Pursue

What kind of organisation should be included in the alliance? Recently, the PAC has developed a working relationship with Inkatha.

Will it insist on Inkatha being drawn into that alliance? What form should such an alliance take?

There are those in the PAC and the ANC who argue that permanent structures should be developed where decisions on various matters would be taken. But in some areas in the Transvaal and the Cape Peninsula, some activists have argued that a front should be limited to a minimum common programme in which the organisations would remain independent and pursue their own policies on issues falling outside of the accord.

Some ANC and PAC activists have rejected outright the question of an alliance between the two organisations. The "one settler, one bullet" activists and the "aluta armed struggle" advocates see the alliance as unprincipled and opportunistic.

South African politics repeats itself. In the 1980s, it was Azapo who proposed a formation of a united anti-apartheid front. But when such a front was formed, Azapo was aborted. Simply stated, alliances are not just formed to propagate noble ideas — they are hegemonic blocs.

The structure of the alliance and the context of the programme exist precisely because parties are looking at ways of enhancing their own position within the alliance.

Several examples exist of instances where organisations have formed alliances and popular fronts simply to establish hegemony.

(Dr Seshi Chonco is a political science lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.)

The views of PAC publicity secretary, Barney Desai and of the ANC on patriotic front will be featured in next week's issue of SOUTH.



# Armed struggle not terminated, says ANC

South 21/2 - 27/2/91

IIA

The "accord" between the ANC and the government last week on the armed struggle has raised fears that the ANC no longer regards armed action as an important fourth "pillar of struggle". The ANC had agreed to cease armed attacks, infiltration of men and material, the creation of underground structures and training inside the country. However, ANC working group member Matthew Phosa told **Mono Badela** the armed struggle has not yet been terminated, it is merely suspended:

THE African National Congress has assured its members that the organisation has made no major new concessions regarding the armed struggle.

Despite the six commitments made by the ANC at the joint working committee meeting last week, the armed struggle has not yet been terminated, said ANC lawyer Mr Matthew Phosa. "We still do not want to terminate the armed struggle, we have merely suspended it"

"Suspension implies that you still have the option of reverting to the armed struggle."



Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Chris Hani

Phosa said the accord was a signal that the government has decriminalised military training by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The state had agreed last week that military training was no longer an offence and ANC members would no longer need indemnity for undergoing

training.

The organisation expects the government to publish this fact in a forthcoming government gazette.

The agreement also meant the door was now wide open for thousands of exiles to return home.

"The government is trying to make it

possible to meet the April 30 deadline set by the Pretoria Minute."

Phosa said the ANC regarded this as a major concession on the part of the government.

The scorecard on concessions was weighed heavily in favour of the ANC at present — there could be no comparison with the number of concessions the government has made.

"They have been forced to this because of the struggle waged by the people."

## Concession

Phosa said since the Pretoria Minute the ANC had made no further concessions regarding the armed struggle.

He said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had said on August 7 last year that MK would stop infiltrating units into the country.

"We have made concessions, there is no doubt about it.

"We have said we will stop infiltrating men and material, engage them physically with arms, stop creating new underground structures, stop inciting violence, stop training cadres inside the country.

"It's part of negotiations, it's a give and take situation.

"We cannot build new structures but we can keep and maintain those which already exist."

## Retreated

Phosa is of the opinion that on several fronts the government has retreated on important positions.

He said the fact that the government had conceded that the ANC could have an army was an important achievement.

"They used to call Umkhonto we Sizwe a bunch of terrorists.

"That MK can continue training and building a conventional force is an important concession."

He said it was also a concession on the

part of the government to make it possible for former MK members to get licences for pistols.

Last week's accord should not have an effect on the building of defence units in townships and training people to defend themselves, Phosa said.

## Legitimacy

He said the government had conceded the legitimacy of defence units.

"All they said is that they want to open discussion on the defence units. We did not have to persuade them on defence units."

Phosa said it had not been necessary for the ANC to consult broadly with members before meeting with the government last week.

He said the National Consultative Conference in December endorsed the entire negotiation process and gave the NEC the mandate to continue with the process.

## Consulted

The national executive committee had consulted members via their delegates at the conference on negotiation process.

On this basis, he said, the NEC was allowed some form of "reasonable discretion".

"We were given the full mandate at the conference to engage in these kind of talks."

Phosa said MK members had participated in last week's talks.

"The chief of staff Chris Hani was there, Commander Joe Modise was there as well."

The working group which met with president FW de Klerk last week could not insist on the scrapping of the Internal Security Act as it was not within their mandate, Phosa said.

A working committee provided for by the Groote Schuur Minute was deliberating on the scrapping of the Act.

# Dhlomo to help set 'rules of the game'

118  
~~118~~

South 21/2-27/2/91

By Noel Bruyns

HOPES for a smooth transition into the new South Africa will be boosted with the launch of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy in Cape Town on Monday.

The launch of the institute, brainchild of former Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, was preceded by a think tank meeting of more than 60 prominent South Africans from across the political spectrum.

Dhlomo said he had held meetings with leading representatives of the ANC, Azapo, Cosatu, the PAC, the SA Communist Party, the Democratic Party, the National Party, the Conservative Party and the National Congress of Trade Unions (Nactu).

The ANC and PAC are among those who have confirmed they will attend the launch.

The mission statement of the institute is "to promote the establishment and maintenance of multiparty democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa".

A primary activity would be to define and propagate the "rules of the game" for a free and fair multiparty democratic system.

According to documentation from Dhlomo, the institute will be politically non aligned, not behave like a political party and will not promote partisan policies.

The institute's head office will be in Johannesburg. Regional offices will be established later.



# To prison in winter, shorts and barefoot

AFB IIA  
Sonder  
2/1/91

AT 15, Dikgang Moseneke was transferred from Pretoria Central to Robben Island and became the youngest prisoner there.

This was in 1964.

"My first five years on Robben Island were hard.

"I arrived there in winter in shorts and barefeet.

"You existed because you had a mind which functioned."

Studying brought a lot of fun. He passed standard 8 in 1964 with a first class certificate.

"There was ample time to read.

"In prison evening starts early at 4.30 pm.

"I remember doing Latin while pushing a wheelbarrow."

In 1963 there were only PAC members on the Island.

The African National Congress members came to Robben Island a year later.

## Studying

"Almost everybody came out of there better people.

"Nelson (Mandela) was studying, everyone else was studying.

"You had time to think through problems."

On his release in 1973 he was banned for five-years and placed under a six to six house arrest.

During this time he completed a LLB degree.

When the banning order expired, Moseneke served his articles at a city law firm, Dyason.

"They were courageous I must say.

"Not only was I black and the first black articulated clerk in Pretoria but I had a PAC background."

His admission to the bar was problematic.

The Law Society objected to his acceptance arguing he had a conviction but the judges ruled in

## FOCUS



It's a long, hard journey from Robben Island to the Pretoria Bar. ESTHER WAUGH in this second part of her story, charts the meteoric rise of PAC's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke from his days as a 15-year-old prisoner on the Island.

his favour.

"The precedent used was a very interesting one - in making a decision they relied on a case, The Law Society of the Transvaal versus N Mandela.

## Interesting

"It is an interesting parallel between Nelson and I in many respects - we are both lawyers, both black, both from Robben Island and we met each other there.

Mandela was an African lawyer in adverse circumstances with a lot of animosity around him.

"We are not a welcome species.

"That we are alive and well

today I think is the result of a lot of pushing.

"We need to produce even more lawyers.

"The connection is inevitable," he says.

He cites people like Godfrey Pitje, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela who were both lawyers and leaders. Robert Sobukwe, himself afterwards became a lawyer and practised in Kimberley.

How come police did not arrest him for being a PAC member after his release in 1973 until the organisation's unbanning on February 2, 1990?

"Because they had to prove that I was a member, one and that I advanced the cause of that organisation, which I was doing."

## Married

Today Moseneke is advocate at the Pretoria Bar.

What happened to his life since his release in 1973?

"I got married and had those guys," he says pointing to a picture of his family.

"They have grown fast - 10 and 12 years old - attending school.

"I have a wife who is still alive and well.

"I live in Atteridgeville.

"I did lots to build a legal career and kept up with the PAC.

"I was in close touch with guys in jail, those in exiles, facilitated a lot of communication between the two.

"I gave a lot of support to families of guys studying on Robben Island."

About his career in the Pan Africanist Congress he says:

"It was a fairly heavy price to pay at a certain point which I managed to translate into an advantage.

"We turned the tables against our captors."

He was surprised by his ap-

pointment to the executive committee of the PAC.

"I have been primarily a functionary.

"I have been the boy who did the nuts and bolts.

"I was the guy who would ensure that it all goes well, that the guys' needs were taken care of."

Moseneke agrees he was very much a backroom man until the PAC's conference in December.

"A new leadership had to come into place and it did not only happen to me.

"We introduced a lot of strong, young leaders whose faces you are going to be seeing quite a lot.

"We have introduced a lot of professionals and technocrats to come in and help pull the PAC together.

"It is the first time the PAC has had to collect leadership from inside the country in 31 years."

He thinks his responsibility of being the internal deputy leader difficult and challenging.

## Critical

"It is and it comes at the most critical time of our history.

"Responsibilities attached to the post are fairly obvious.

"I see myself as a technocrat; as a guy with certain limited skills in the legal field.

"In the last 14 years I have tried to play my part in that regard.

"I have fought all the battles that had to be fought.

"Now I am called upon full blast to take a political role.

"It is most daunting, most challenging."

For the next two years, he plans to "ensure visible growth of the PAC, to establish very strong party structures and try to facilitate the establishment of a Patriotic Front".

Sowetan 21/2/91

# ANC buys 'Shell house'

21/2/91

THE African National Congress is to buy "Shell House" in central Johannesburg for R20 million, Shell SA said yesterday.

According to a Shell SA representative, its pension fund had confirmed and accepted a written offer from the ANC for the purchase of the building.

Occupation dates had not yet been finalised, but it was expected the ANC would begin occupying part of the building next month. Shell SA are currently the main tenants of the building, which serves as their Johannesburg office.

Shell would make arrangements with the ANC to lease part of the building for the rest of the year the representative said. - Sapa

# ANC rejects a super-Cabinet

THE African National Congress yesterday rejected the idea of a super-Cabinet.

Deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela threw the idea out in his address to the University of the Witwatersrand's Students Representative Council.

"Membership of some super-Cabinet, while the existing Government remains in place is no substitute for an interim government.

"An all-party congress cannot perform the democratic tasks of a constituent assembly unless it were completely reconstructed," he said.

*Sowetan* 2/12/91  
**By THEMBA MOLEFE**

On January 31 the Solidarity Party called for the formation of a super-Cabinet.

Mandela said the ANC intended to call a patriotic congress to "seek as broad as possible unity" behind the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

An interim government would best oversee the process of negotiations.

"In this period of transition we believe it is essential that an authority other than the present Government should over-

see the process of negotiations.

"You cannot both be negotiating party and simultaneously, through your power of government, have the means to influence the process and the result," he said.

A former Wits student himself, Mandela paid tribute to assassinated ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni, also a Wits graduate, who died last week when a tape recorder blew in his face.

Another former Wits student, Ruth First, died in similar circumstances in Maputo through "a bomb" he said.



New home . . . the ANC plans to move into its new HQ in Plein Street next month. Picture: Stephen Davimes

## New HQ costs ANC R20-m

By Monica Nicolson

(11A) *Stew*  
*21/2/91*

The Shell House building in central Johannesburg has been sold to the ANC as its new headquarters for R20 million.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation needed more space for all its departments and settled facilities. At present, it is renting offices in Sauer Street.

A spokesman for Shell (SA) said the ANC was expected to move in at the end of the month.

Shell was making arrangements to lease part of the building until the end of the year.

Shell plans to move its regional branch to Baker Square in Rosebank.

The company is following the trend of big businesses to move out of the Johannesburg CBD into suburbs with lower crime figures.

The Shell spokesman also said the building in downtown Johannesburg had become too large for its needs.

# UDF might consider <sup>11/11</sup> disbanding

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

The future of the United Democratic Front — including the possibility of disbanding — will be decided at the movement's national conference next week.

"These might be our last few days of existence," a senior UDF official said yesterday.

Delegates from around South Africa will attend the three-day conference from March 1 to decide whether the UDF should cease to exist or redefine its role within the democratic movement.

The conference will be held at Zithabiseng, a township in KwaNdebele, between Bronkhorstspuit and Groblersdal, according to a UDF spokesman.

The keynote address will be delivered by ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu.

A key figure in the UDF, former assistant general secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa, who now works fulltime for the ANC, said the political climate had changed so dramatically that it had become necessary to review the UDF's role.

"One view is that the UDF has fulfilled its mission and should disband. Another is that it should transform itself into something more suitable."

He said the UDF had been formed in 1983 as a direct response to the Government's efforts to "give apartheid a longer lease of life".

"The UDF was formed to ensure that so-called reforms would be a failure, and to render these structures, including the bantustans, ungovernable." This had been achieved.

## UDF might decide to disband

TIM COHEN

11A  
THE UDF might decide to disband at its national conference next month, former acting general secretary Mohomed Valli Moosa said yesterday.

While many thought the UDF should disband, others thought the organisation should adapt itself to the new conditions in SA, he said.

The conference would take place from March 1 to March 3, probably in KwaNdebele. No venue had been named yet. BLOAM 2/2/91

Hundreds of delegates representing civic organisations, youth and student groups, and political organisations were expected to attend.

Although the Natal Indian Congress and Transvaal Indian Congress had all but ceased operating, Moosa said they would also be represented.

The ANC had opted for a "wait and see" approach, calling on the UDF to define its role.



11A

# LP poised to put Govt in a fix over Bills

Stev 22/2/91

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party walked out of Parliament yesterday, starting a campaign to block the passage of legislation and force the Government to increase the budget for the House of Representatives.

LP members filed out after the debate on the mini-Budget, just before scheduled voting on several minor Bills.

Their aim was not to vote on the Bills — and compel the Government to take the embarrassing option of forcing the legislation through the deadlock-breaking President's Council.

But the acting Speaker of Parliament, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg, unexpectedly adjourned Parliament an hour early and the Bills were, therefore, not voted on.

LP members suspect he did this to thwart their strategy.

Voting on the Bills is likely to be on the agenda today when the LP is again expected to refuse to vote. If so, President de Klerk can call upon the House of Representatives to vote in two weeks.

If they fail to, they will be deemed to have rejected the Bills and he may then send them to the National Party-packed President's Council to be passed. The LP is calculating that he will not take this option as it is so clearly undemocratic.

The party has also threatened to close down the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives if the Government refuses to renegotiate a better budget.

One complaint is the Government's failure to close the R51 gap in social welfare pensions of whites and coloureds.

MANDELA TRIAL

FM 22/2/91

320 11A

# TIME TO MAKE A STAND

The trial of Winnie Mandela and three others on charges of assault and kidnapping seems to depend on whether police can find Gabriel Mekgwe, a prosecution witness who has disappeared.

The two remaining witnesses, Kenneth Kgase and Thabiso Mono, say they will refuse to testify if Mekgwe is not found. Claiming they fear assassination, they would rather risk spending the rest of their lives in prison. By Tuesday afternoon, the ANC had said nothing to allay their fears; regarding the disappearance of the witness, it has said vaguely that "the organisation" was not involved.

The Rand Supreme Court has adjourned the case to March 6 to give police a chance to locate Mekgwe. Also missing are four others who were facing the same charges. They jumped bail before the trial began.

Mekgwe's disappearance is mysterious. Was he kidnapped by someone, or did he willingly go into hiding? There are various theories and allegations. A report in *The Star* indicated that he was last seen with "senior ANC officials" but was apparently

not under duress. The Conservative Party newspaper, *Die Patriot*, has alleged that Mekgwe was kidnapped by government agents.

Whatever the explanation, the vulnerability of witnesses in such cases is not new. Indeed, Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok told the press on February 9 1989 (when he announced that police would look into the alleged abduction and assaults of four youths in Soweto) that it was "very difficult to find witnesses who are prepared to testify against Mrs Mandela."

Prosecutor Jan Swanepoel told the court that the Commissioner of Police is prepared to house the two witnesses in police barracks, but that it is not possible to place guards outside their homes. However, he said the State had not previously discussed police protection with the witnesses, because they had not "asked for it."

The actions of the police have been interesting. They only began searching for the four missing accused a month after they first failed to report in terms of bail conditions.

By Tuesday afternoon, police had still not



The supporters... rooting for Winnie

approached the journalist who, a fortnight ago, wrote the article which suggested that Mekgwe was abducted by a senior ANC official. But they have subpoenaed the editor of *Die Patriot*, Z B du Toit, under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act, to give the sources of his article claiming that Mekgwe was kidnapped by State agents. If Du Toit refuses to reveal his sources, he could face six months' imprisonment.

continue →

The ANC itself appears to be weathering the trial badly. Quite remarkably, it has yet to hold any official internal discussions about the matter and, therefore, it has failed to deliver any official line. Instead, it has produced a babble of contradictory statements.

For instance, spokesman Saci Macozoma continues to insist that the trial is not an ANC trial but "a Mandela trial." However, the partisanship of other top ANC members has ensured that the organisation is also in the dock. The funding of Winnie Mandela's legal costs by the International Defence & Aid Fund, an ANC-aligned organisation, has done nothing to distance the ANC from the case.

In a statement drafted by Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, the ANC's Alfred Nzo said in December last year that "proceeding with this trial and with other political trials under way constitutes a blatant harassment of the ANC and of the individuals concerned and is in breach of the spirit of the agreements entered between government and the ANC."

But Slovo and Nzo — both involved in the discussions which led to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes — know very well that political offences were covered by the agreements, not criminal acts such as kidnapping and assault.

Some ANC members say they do not recognise the validity of the courts. This was an argument used by some members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in past political trials: they refused to testify or even be represented because they would not recognise the legitimacy of the minority government and saw themselves as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva Convention.

This position is undermined by Winnie Mandela herself. She is defended by three senior advocates. Her husband, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, has privately expressed his approval of the way Justice M J Stegmann is administering the trial; last year, he said he welcomed the laying of charges against his wife so that she could clear her name.

However, last week he confided to some journalists that the events leading up to the case were "part of the harassment from certain State organs" that his wife had experienced for years.

In the first week of the trial, ANC sympathisers ululated and toyi-toyed when the Mandelas appeared at court. By the second week, they had been replaced by Aubrey Mokoena, orchestrating crowds and claiming to represent the Winnie Mandela Support Adhoc Committee.

No one has questioned whether these large crowds may be intimidatory to witnesses, though a CP supporter who briefly raised his own poster was taken from the scene by police.

Mokoena previously headed the Release Mandela Committee, when Nelson was in jail. His political star seemed to fade in the late Eighties; now he may be hopeful, along with some others, that he might regain fa-

our by tucking himself into Winnie's slipstream.

The trial appears to have split the ANC into two groups.

The "democrats" fear that if Winnie is not given the opportunity to prove her innocence, not only will she and the movement remain tarnished by the charges, but to criticise her — already tricky — will become all but impossible.

The "anti-democrats" insist that the case is harassment. In fact, it took the police more than a month after the kidnappings, spurred by a sustained public uproar among the residents of Soweto, to begin investigations. Mandela was also the last person charged in the case.

The "anti-democrats" say Winnie should instead be subject to the discipline of the ANC, which will ensure she toes the line in future. (They have not said whether this applies to the other seven accused.) The ANC has been spectacularly unsuccessful in the past in "disciplining" her.

Independence of the courts is an ideal the ANC says it supports, but the events of the fortnight show that it will have to prove its sincerity.

*Charlene Smith*

# Govt 'using prisoner release to boost image'

Own Correspondent

Star 22/2/91

CAPE TOWN — Seven former Robben Island prisoners have accused the Government of using the release of political prisoners to boost its own image and credibility.

In a joint statement, read shortly after their release yesterday, the Umkhonto we Sizwe members said the Government, despite its agreement with the ANC, was reluctant to release political prisoners immediately and unconditionally.

They said: "It has conveniently selected a few of our comrades for release in order to further its own agenda. It still continues to wage a psychological war against political prisoners, their relatives and the oppressed people of South Africa."

Released yesterday were Cecil Esau, Quentin Michaels, Sazi Veldtman, Douglas Myamya, Nazeem Lowe, Colin Ndevu and Solomon Mokape.

They arrived in the harbour on board the ferry, Penguin, at 4 pm and received a tumultuous welcome from relatives and supporters.

Banners and ANC flags were held aloft as the vessel sailed into the harbour.

Mr Esau, Mr Michaels and Mr Veldtman were convicted of terrorism in the Cape Town Supreme Court on August 6 1987 by Mr Justice Nel. Mr Myamya was convicted of harbouring or assisting terrorists.

Mr Esau, a former law student, and Mr Michaels, a high school teacher, were each jailed for 12 years and Post Office clerk Mr Veldtman for 15 years.

Mr Myamya, a social worker, was jailed for eight years.

Mr Lowe, an accused in the Ashley Forbes trial in the Cape Town Supreme Court, was convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 10 years in 1988. A further 10 years was suspended for five years.

# Sanctions the price we must pay for reform – Mandela

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

Radio listeners this week questioned Nelson Mandela on the ANC's insistence that sanctions against South Africa would have to be maintained while the ANC continued receiving funds from abroad.

The ANC deputy president was answering questions on a Nguni/Sotho-language radio phone-in programme.

One caller accused the ANC of hypocrisy by pleading for financial help from the international community while calling for the maintenance of sanc-

tions. This, the caller said, deprived many people in SA of a chance to make a living.

Another caller said sanctions were responsible for high unemployment and crime rates and the suffering blacks had to endure, and asked whether it was not contradictory of the ANC to call for economic growth and the reduction of crime while supporting sanctions.

In his response, Mr Mandela said sanctions had been introduced for a certain purpose – the total abolition of the apartheid system.

Sanctions, he added, were "the price we have to pay to in-

duce the Government to make the changes we require".

The ANC leader, who said the ANC's vision for a nonracial and democratic South Africa was based on the organisation's Freedom Charter of 1955, said he remained optimistic that the country's problems could be resolved through negotiations.

Mr Mandela denied that the alleged kidnapping of Pelo Gabriel Mkgwe, a key State witness in Winnie Mandela's trial, had harmed the ANC's image locally and internationally.

"Anyone who thinks that events surrounding the trial of Comrade Winnie have harmed

the ANC must have been fast asleep 24 hours a day since the beginning of the trial. The people of South Africa have answered that question by showing up in big numbers at the (Rand Supreme) court. The whole furore caused by the media has nothing to do with facts," Mr Mandela said.

Questioned about the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, Mr Mandela denied this had left blacks "disarmed".

He said the ANC would not hesitate to resume the armed struggle if negotiations and "all else" failed.

Responding to numerous

questions, Mr Mandela also:

- Defended the ANC's right to engage in mass action, pointing out that this was a democratic right enjoyed by people all over the world to bring their grievances to their government's attention.

- Reiterated the ANC's belief in a mixed economy.

- Assured listeners that an ANC government would respect freedom of religion.

- Said the SAP as currently constituted would never be the police force that would operate in the new South Africa.

- Said the cultural boycott against South would stay.



The trial of Winnie Mandela and three others does not cover the murder of schoolboy activist Stompie Seipei (14) but the ANC has put it firmly back into people's minds.

Seipei was the youngest of four youths abducted from the Methodist manse in Orlando West on December 29 1989. He disappeared from the group a few days later and his body was found, throat slit, more than a month later. The Rand Supreme Court found last year that Seipei had been murdered by the coach of the Mandela Football Club, Jerry Richardson, who was sentenced to death.

While the media have been scrupulous in not linking Stompie's name to the kidnapping and assault charges trial of Winnie Mandela and her co-accused, the ANC staged a bizarre and ominous charade last week that effectively linked the two events.

A media conference was called in the dusty Parys township of Tumahole to "protect" the mother of Stompie from the press and to disclaim media reports that she was being muzzled by "comrades," according to local ANC leaders.

To illustrate these points, Mrs Maninki Seipei was seated between two burly men



*Victim's mother . . . ever-present comrades*

who refused to translate questions for her and answered them on her behalf. A joint statement, which they claimed had been prepared by her and the ANC, was read out.

It said: "We in Tumahole blame (Stompie's) death on the racist regime and we say the people shall decide the fate of this racist regime that rules our country through the barrel of the gun . . . We in the ANC and other community structures feel that the death of our Com-

fm 22/2/91

rade Stompie is being used by the media to try to harass our Comrade Winnie Mandela, her husband Comrade Leader Nelson Mandela and ultimately the ANC."

The ANC branch leaders present said Mrs Seipei had approached them because of "harassment" by the press: "She felt we should always be present at an interview so that she cannot be misquoted."

After journalists pressed the branch leaders sufficiently to allow Mrs Seipei to have a question translated — was she withdrawing her previous criticism of Mrs Mandela? — Seipei answered animatedly that she was "still not satisfied. Because she's the mother of the nation, and as an ANC member I'm expecting her to come to me and clear up these rumours of how my son died."

Mrs Seipei, a domestic worker in Parys, said that though she had not agreed with her son's activities while he was alive, she had become an ANC member last October.

An ANC spokesman in Johannesburg, Saki Macozoma, says the Tumahole branch did not consult head office about the press conference — "but then again it does not have to."

# Unlikely group sits for lunch



REPRESENTATIVES of the African National Congress and black business sat for lunch in Parliament on Tuesday with a National Party and a Conservative Party MP.

ANC director of manpower Mr Popo Moloto, businesswoman Mrs Marina Maponya, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and CP finance spokesman Mr Casper Uys lunched together following a meeting of the VAT Committee.

The committee this week handed the Government their report - a com-

pilation of submissions from politicians and the public on the proposed Value Added Tax.

Vatcom was headed by the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, and members of the Democratic Party, National Party and members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

The 16-person committee included Maponya, Pretoria businessman Mr Oscar Motsepe, businessman Mr George Negot-

and chartered accountant Mr M Nxumalo.

All the black members - who served on the committee in their private capacity - are members of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce.

Dr Francois Jacobs represented the NP, Mr Jasper Walsh the DP, Mr Les Abrahams the Labour Party and Mr Kisten Moodley Solidarity.

Org Marais chaired the meeting.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

# End of the road for the UDF?

11A  
Sowetan  
27/2/91

**THE future of the United Democratic Front - including the possibility of disbanding - will be decided at the movement's crucial national conference next weekend.**

"These might be our last few days of existence," a senior UDF official said this week.

Delegates from around the country will attend the three-day conference - between March 1 and March 3 - to decide whether the organisation should cease to exist or redefine its role within the democratic movement.

The conference will be held at

KwaNdebele, a UDF spokesman said.

Mr Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the African National Congress, will deliver the keynote address.

## Review

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, a key figure in the UDF who now works fulltime for the ANC, said the political climate had changed so dramatically that it had become necessary to review the UDF's role.

"One view is that the UDF has fulfilled its mission and should disband. Another is that it should transform itself into a more suitable

He said the UDF was formed as a direct response to the Government's efforts to "give apartheid a longer lease of life" by introducing the tricameral parliament and the black local authority system.

"The UDF was formed to ensure that these so-called reforms would be a failure and to render these structures, including the bantustans, ungovernable - to use the terminology of the day."

Moosa said these goals had been reached with the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the freeing of political prisoners and the return of the exiled leadership.

Sowetan Correspondent



# ANC Women's League attacks media reporting

THE ANC Women's League PWV executive yesterday attacked what it saw as the "specious" reporting of the Winnie Mandela trial, and questioned whether the country's system of justice could provide her with a fair trial.

Mandela is chairman of the league's PWV executive. She did not attend the news conference, at which a statement was released accusing the media of "distorted thinking" which had given rise to a "baseless set of assumptions".

The statement, read by deputy chairman Joan Fubbs, said the media had inferred from distorted assumptions that the ANC was not committed to the establishment of justice. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Fubbs said Mandela herself was extremely distressed by the abduction of witnesses and the alleged kidnappings.

When a reporter suggested the statement might usefully have included an appeal to key witnesses to come forward and

TIM COHEN

testify, and an assurance that they would not be harmed, he was accused of being "arrogant".

"Perhaps because you are a man you feel it is okay for you to tell us what to do," said executive member Jessie Duarte.

She said the executive would not be intimidated.

Regional executive publicity officer Feroza Adams said the question was based on an assumption that the ANC was intimidating witnesses who had not come forward to testify, in the same way that there was an assumption that a witness had been kidnapped.

A Justice Department spokesman said there were no valid grounds for the Women's League statements on the system of justice.

"It is moreover policy not to become embroiled with biased and unscientific utterances," the spokesman said.

## CP paper says

CAPE TOWN — The CP ye agent in SA's intelligence ser

The CP's official mouthpi agent was the source of its dis Winnie Mandela's trial, Gabri napped by the state.

It also said that the same document which brought to murder right-wing political

Die Patriot said Presiden firmed the authenticity of the a departmental investigation.

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## Seven political prisoners freed

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — Seven political prisoners were released from Robben Island yesterday — the first group to be freed since government and the ANC's most recent accord on violence and political indemnity.

The move showed a trend in which those jailed for 10 to 15 years were freed after three or four years.

Those released had all been charged with terrorism or assisting terrorists. They were: Cecil Esau, a University of the Western Cape law student imprisoned for a term of 12 years until 1999; Fazi Veldman, imprisoned for 15 years until 2002; Quentin Michaels, a Mannenberg teacher jailed for 12 years; Douglas Myanya, a Langa social worker imprisoned for eight years until 1995; Na- zeem Lowe, imprisoned for 10 years; Colin Nedevu, jailed for 12 years, and Solomon Mokape, imprisoned for 11 years until 1998.

## Whites-only CMU ruled 'unfair'

Business Day Reporter

THE Labour Appeal Court ruled yesterday that the whites-only Chamber of Mining Unions (CMU) was committing an unfair labour practice by refusing to let blacks, coloureds and Indians join the Mine Employees Pension Fund (MEPF).

The Chamber of Mines hailed the decision as an important victory in its efforts to eliminate discrimination in the mining industry.

The court upheld an Industrial Court decision granted in favour of the chamber in September 1989.

The court said that it agreed with the Industrial Court's finding that the CMU was using the rules of the MEPF to perpetuate racial discrimination. This was because the CMU was refusing to agree to amend the rules of the MEPF to allow blacks, coloureds and asians in skilled jobs to become members of the MEPF on the same basis as whites.

The Labour Appeal Court's decision is the culmination of a protracted struggle which started in the early 1980s to persuade the CMU to agree to allow blacks, coloureds and asians in skilled jobs to become members of the MEPF. The MEPF was established for skilled employees in 1949 when no non-whites were employed in these job categories, the chamber said in a statement yesterday.

However, the scrapping of job reservation, which began in 1981, enabled non-whites to fill some of these skilled positions but the MEPF continued to allow only "Europeans" as members. With the abolition of the "scheduled person" concept from the Mines and Works Act and Regulations in 1988, there were no longer any bars in the mining industry against the employment of non-whites in any jobs.

ON RESULTS

# ANC Women's League attacks media reporting

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**TIM COHEN**

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"It is moreover policy not to become embroiled with biased and unscientific utterances," the spokesman said.

# Whites-only CMU ruled 'unfair'

# CP paper says it has 'mole'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The CP yesterday claimed it had an agent in SA's intelligence services.

The CP's official mouthpiece Die Patriot said the agent was the source of its disclosure that a key figure in Winnie Mandela's trial, Gabriel Mekgwe, had been kidnapped by the state.

It also said that the same agent last year gave it a document which brought to light an ANC conspiracy to murder right-wing political leaders.

Die Patriot said President F W de Klerk had confirmed the authenticity of the document and had ordered a departmental investigation into the source.

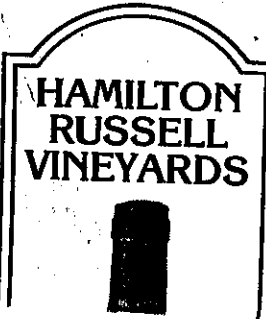
This had failed, the newspaper said, as had been demonstrated by the fact that the agent had contacted it again. *Bloom 22 2/91*

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business this way, an unfair advantage through the higher... their cash competitors; and... through the... MD Peter Thompson said... because of the removal... always in January...

*Bloom 22 2/91*

*Bloom 22 2/91*

# Dhlomo's plan for democracy



Dhlomo



Brand



Vilakazi



Godsell



Van der Ross



Cooper

# Making of a free SA

w/k Argus 23/2/91 (11K) (100)

AMID all the excitement about reform and transition to a "new South Africa" most people seem to take it for granted that we are moving towards a non-racial democracy. But are we?

Warnings have come from several sources that we cannot be too sure about that. As veteran parliamentarian Mr Colin Eglin put it recently: "While there is reason for high hope, there are no guarantees about the future."

There are no guarantees that there will be a truly democratic government, that the rule of law will prevail, or that there will be respect for the freedom and dignity of individual South Africans.

## Intolerance

Some analysts have warned that the "new South Africa" could even be ruled by another authoritarian-type regime, or worse. And political scientist Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University has pin-pointed remarkable similarities between anti-democratic trends in the old National Party and in the African National Congress of today.

One of these, he notes, is the trend towards intolerance and controls which reached a high point under the P W Botha regime, with the state of emergency as its most drastic manifestation.

It is at this point of uncertainty about the future that former Kwazulu Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo is launching the new Institute for a Multiparty Democracy. Its main aims include the promotion of political tolerance and national reconciliation within a multiparty democracy.

The organisers state as one of the main reasons for the formation of the institute that there is "a serious concern that the process of transformation of the South African political system will not necessarily lead to the establishment of a multiparty democratic system."

The new movement seeks to ensure that such a democracy does come about.

The institute will be launched by Dr Dhlomo in Cape Town's plush Cape Sun Hotel on Monday. Among those invited to attend are business leaders, political

A new high-powered institute for a multiparty democracy is to be launched in Cape Town on Monday by former Kwazulu Minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo. Its main aims will include the promotion of political tolerance and national reconciliation. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE lifts the veil over the institute's role and some of its plans.

leaders, academics, church and trade union leaders.

There can be no doubt that this is going to be a high-powered institute. It will be administered by a board of trustees consisting of an impressive panel of top people of all races and representing a wide range of political opinions across the spectrum. An equally impressive list of associates includes leading academics from various universities.

Well-known names on the board of more than 30 trustees include Dr Simon Brand, Dr Saths Cooper, Dr Dhlomo, Professor Mervyn Frost, Professor Hermann Giliomee, Mr Bobby Godsell, Professor Hennie Kotze, Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, Ms Nomavenda Mathiane, Mr Don Mkhwanazi, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Mrs Sally Motlana, Mr Mandla Msomi, Professor Harriet Ngubane, Professor Otty Nxumalo, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Dr Richard Stevens, Professor Alex Thembela, Dr Richard van der Ross and Professor Herbert Vilakazi.

## Co-operation

The list of associates includes Professor M T Ajam, Professor W J de Klerk, Professor J J Degenaar, Professor W P Esterhuyse, Professor J I K Gagiano, Mr T T Goba, Dr J F Graaff, Dr J Hofmeyr, Ms F M Kendall, Mr G T Magomola, Mr P Mansfield, Dr K E M Mgojo, Dr S M Motsuenyane, Professor R A Schrire, Professor H W van der Merwe, and Professor M Wiechers. There are many more.

The institute will have a nine-point "charter for multiparty democracy" which includes most of the key requirements for truly democratic government.

The proposed political system is one in which political debate and elections must be conducted "free from duress, threat, or corruption."

The charter declares specifically that "violence and other forms of coercion shall be inadmissible as means of political mobilisation."

Every citizen over the age of 18 must have "full and equal political rights, and full and free participation in the political system, including the right to offer himself or herself as a candidate for election."

In reply to questions from Weekend Argus, Dr Dhlomo, the executive chairman, disclosed further details about the institute and its plans.

Asked where it would stand in relation to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), he said there would be "a spirit of co-operation and not competition."

"It is not envisaged that there will be any overlapping of tasks and activities. There is so much to do in the area of promoting democracy in our country. Our planned programmes are also clear-

ly different from those of Idasa..."

In which areas of society are tolerance and reconciliation most needed? Dr Dhlomo replied that all South Africans, regardless of colour, needed to be assisted to inculcate democratic values — "all of us have never lived under a democratic political system since our country was founded".

Political parties and leaders needed to learn to co-exist peacefully, to sell their policies to voters, and to compete openly and democratically for support without resorting to violence or outright hatred.

"They must also learn to accept criticism in a democratic spirit, always remembering that in a democracy no one is above criticism."

National reconciliation needed to be promoted in the daily lives of the people.

Which democratic values and practices are most needed in South Africa?

"Democracy is first and foremost a way of life and our duty is to ensure that it is viewed as such by our people. It is not just a set of rules that must be memorised by citizens."

Important values in democratic societies included a devotion to human dignity and freedom, to equal rights for all, to tolerance of and respect for diversity, to social and economic justice, to the rule of law, to freedom of speech, and to freedom of association.

Dr Dhlomo said the institute hoped to promote political tolerance by involving all political groups in its programmes without any discrimination.

It would try to assist political parties to draw up a "covenant for democracy" in terms of which they would conduct their politics in a spirit of "live and let live."

## Non-aligned

Other plans include the launching of a political leadership training programme for young aspiring political leaders drawn from all political parties, and a national information strategy aimed at helping all people to promote democratic values and a democratic culture.

More details of some of the programmes will be revealed at the launch on Monday.

The institute will work in all sectors of the population. However, representation in the institute is not necessarily based on political parties.

Dr Dhlomo describes the institute as "strictly non-aligned and independent". In fact, some of the trustees made this non-alignment a pre-condition for their service in the institute.

The institute's head office will be in Johannesburg. It will have regional offices in Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein.

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WOLFGANG 23/2/91 (11/1)

## Winnie, Marike keep cool distance

JOHANNESBURG. — The personal chemistry evident between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk did not seem to filter across to their wives when the couples met at a banquet hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club.

While the ANC and NP leaders warmly greeted each other and exchanged laughter, before their addresses to a select crowd at the club venue last night, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Marike de Klerk kept a palpable distance from each other.

At a pre-drink session before the entourages of both parties moved into the dining hall, Mrs De Klerk merely greeted Mrs Mandela, exchanged a few words and promptly moved to meet other guests.

### KEPT APART

Emerging from the private room, Mrs Mandela and Mrs De Klerk remained about 10 paces apart as they strolled to the banquet hall.

On entering the hall, Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk constantly smiled and chatted to each other, but their wives were shown to their places independently.

Up until the delivery of the speeches, Mrs Mandela and Mrs De Klerk did not speak to each other — they were seated about five paces apart.

It was the first time the two women had met publicly. — Sapa.

# FW, Mandela clash over interim rule

JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela differed sharply on the question of an interim government ahead of negotiations when they shared a public platform for the first time.

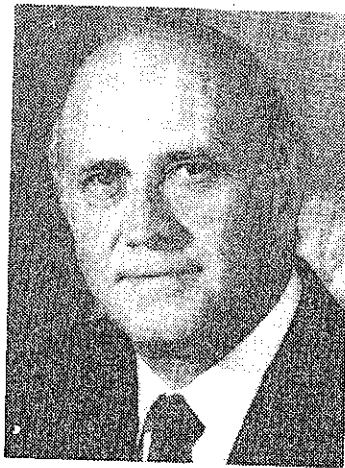
In an address to the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday, Mr Mandela charged that it was imperative that the reconstruction of a law-abiding society was incumbent on the creation of an interim government.

"When we say that the incumbent government has no moral right to govern... we are merely stating a judgment which any democrat must make if he or she subscribes to basic democratic norms.

### 'Talks in dark rooms'

"It is because of our concern to commence as soon as possible (with) the reconstruction of a law-abiding society that we have called for an interim government.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, the longer shall we be condemned to endure the steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the danger that entails," Mr Mandela said in response to the rising crime that has afflicted major city centres.



Mr De Klerk

In reply, Mr De Klerk said he took issue with demands for an interim government.

"If it means that a government has no democratic base and is cooped up in talks in dark rooms, then I cannot accept that.

"A new government must come into being in a democratic manner. We must negotiate for a new government. We cannot afford a constitutional vacuum as this will be a recipe for anarchy.

"We cannot jump from A to Z.

"However, it does not mean that we cannot talk about new concepts."



Mr Mandela

Mr De Klerk said he did not believe the future of South Africa could be decided by the National Party and the ANC.

"The total leadership — working together — has to sit at the table to work out a solution. All leaders with conflicting views must be there.

"We need an indaba between all the people and leaders — there is no simplistic division as to who represents who. We need a future of shared values," Mr De Klerk said.

Mr De Klerk went on to repeat an offer to all political forces to meet at the negotiation table. — Sapa.

## Nelson, FW most 'popular leaders'

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk and Mr Mandela are the two most acceptable leaders but Mr De Klerk has a broader support base than Mr Mandela.

This emerged from a telephone survey done by the Human Science Research Council.

Mr Mandela polled the support of 44 per cent of blacks, one per cent of coloured support, five per cent Indian support — but no white support.

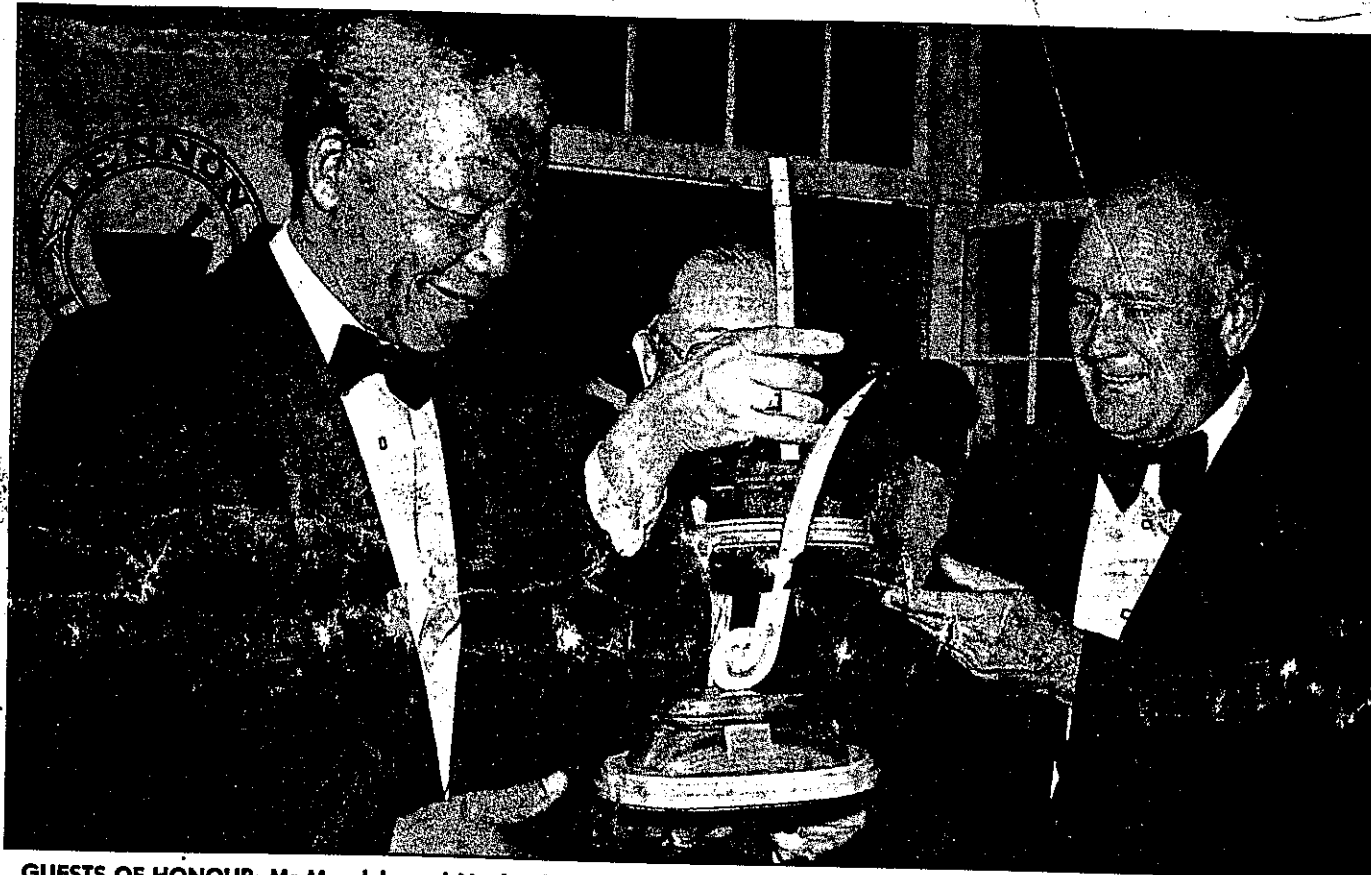
Mr De Klerk, on the other hand, polled 25 per cent support among blacks, 51 per cent among whites, 66 per cent among coloureds and 48 per cent among Indians.

Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi got two per cent support among blacks, five per cent among whites and none among Coloureds and Indians.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht polled eight per cent support among whites but none among blacks, Coloureds and Indians.

The report said: "The findings indicate that Mr De Klerk has succeeded in maintaining a broad base of support for his socio-political initiatives, although the base is in the process of being redefined.

"In addition, his support exceeds that of Mr Mandela in breadth and depth."



**GUESTS OF HONOUR:** Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk receive their joint "Man of the Year" award at the Johannesburg Press Club dinner last night.

● Photograph: Alf Kumalo.

# Mandela tells FW: you have no right to rule

for 23/2/91  
 (11A)

THE African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela last night told President de Klerk to his face that his government had "no moral right to govern".

## PATRICK LAURENCE

Mr Mandela added it was not his intention to "heap insults on or offer offence" merely to offer a caution, deduced from general principles. His statement was "a judgment which any democrat can make".

and looked stunning. In his prepared text, released earlier under embargo by the ANC, Mr Mandela referred to his wife's trial, saying: "I wish to use this platform to unpreservedly condemn the bully boy tactics of some of those who have come to demonstrate their support for my wife, Comrade Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, during her court appearances."

Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk were both guests of the Johannesburg Press Club at a dinner where they were jointly given the "Man of the Year Award."

But in his speech last night Mr Mandela cut out all references to his wife, some of which chastised the "bully boys" for compromising the integrity of the ANC and violating its principles.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by his wife Winnie, who was wearing a turquoise dress with a red floral motif. A radiant Mrs Mandela smiled graciously at the press

Mr Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's call

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

# LP goes ahead with 'paralyse Parliament' plan

Political Staff

**THE Labour Party moved ahead with plans to "paralyse Parliament" yesterday, boycotting standing committees and refusing to participate in debates other than those connected with the budgets.**

And LP public relations officer Mr Peter Hendrickse said last night that the "programme of paralysis" would continue until a commitment was given by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis that he would address the financial problems being experienced by the House of Representatives Administration.

While no details of the LP's demands are available, it is understood a sum of R200 million is required immediately for housing alone and that demands are also being made for money for educational and health needs.

Health Minister Mr Chris April gave the first warning of an impending attack by the LP on Wednesday when he said the LP was considering a selective boycott of Parliament.

This was ratified by caucus on Thursday

Effectively, it is the absence of the LP from the standing committees that will paralyse Parliament. Currently, there are 12 bills ready for debate, after which, if the LP continues its boycott, Parliament's work — apart from budget debates — will grind to a halt.

# Two rallies, side by side — worlds apart

Ivor Powell and Nomavenda Mathiane

THERE was a tale of two rallies in Soweto yesterday — held at the same time and physically only about 500 metres apart. But they could hardly have been more different. *Star 24/2/91*

At Jabulani Amphitheatre somewhere around 35 000 Inkatha supporters jammed into the stands and about 15 000 more milled around outside, drinking, stickfighting, cheering.

Many were armed with the "cultural weapons" which the supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party are allowed to carry — shields, sticks, sharpened poles, lead pipes, spears and even hammers.

But there were also pangas, switchblades, handguns. The stadium echoed with long, staccato bursts of gunfire in either celebration or warning, and the air was thick with cordite.

Less than 500 metres away — but with the formidable barrier of Jabulani Police Station in between — the other rally was taking place at Jabulani Technical College.

Part protest against what is widely perceived as an apartheid assassination, part funeral, the ANC burial of activist Bheki Mlangeni could hardly be more different. He was killed last week by a booby-trapped walkman.

There was fighting talk to be sure. SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo dubbed Defence Minister Magnus Malan the "godfather of the CCB" and he railed against "professional killers in the pay of the government". He spoke of the "rage and anger" provoked by the death of Mr Mlangeni.

He hinted that there will be reprisals taken by a future government against the assassins and the criminals of apartheid.

But the revenge he spoke of — as did all of the nearly 20 speakers who took the podium — was a soft one. The hell which Mr Slovo envisaged — to feeling cheers — for the figures lurking in the shadows of racist powermongering was that of a democratic and free society.

So too all the other speakers, from ANC National Executive Committee representative Walter Sisulu to Women's League speaker Ruth Mompati to neighbours and friends, were less preoccupied with retribution than they are with the humanity embodied in the short life of Mr Mlangeni.

There were repeated calls for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

From as early as seven in the morning Zulu warriors with red bands were making their way to the Inkatha rally. Hostels were lying almost empty. By 11 am there was no sitting space in the 35 000 capacity Jabulani Amphitheatre. Yet the impis kept pouring in until they had to be stopped.

If the IFP rally was about a show of strength and support, members spared nothing to display their loyalty.

Draped in colourful gowns, mayors and councillors from various townships were saluted by IFP chairman Dr D Mádide, calling them brave sons and daughters who ... had braved the struggle.

Speaking after 20 minutes of praise by an "imbongi" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC constituent assembly proposal, asking the crowds "Which government do you want? Do you want a real government or an interim government".

He condemned the planned ANC mass action and toyi-toyed in derision.

# ANC silent over trial fugitives

□ From Page 1  
with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Yesterday a Sunday Times reporter and photographer were frog-marched out of the camp after being refused permission to talk to the fugitives.

A tall, wiry man, who

2/1/91  
said he was "responsible for implementing policy" but refused to give his name, said no outsiders were allowed to see the fugitives.

Pressed on whether the men were actually in the camp, he said:

"No one will talk to you

here. We have been given orders that anyone wanting to interview any refugee here should get permission from the office of President Quett Masisire."

But before being thrown out I managed to talk to some refugees inside the

camp. They said they knew of some South Africans who had arrived about two weeks ago, but claimed they did not know who they were or how many of them had arrived.

Others said they did not know the three fugitives.

## ANC stays silent over Winnie trial fugitives

2/1/91  
By SIPHO MCOBO  
Dukwe Refugee Camp, Botswana

OFFICIALS in charge of the ANC's Dukwe refugee camp in northern Botswana were tight-lipped last night over claims that three of Winnie Mandela's co-accused had sought refuge there.

The South African government has applied to the Botswana government for extradition of Mpho Gift Mabelane, 19, Sibusiso Brian Mabuza, 19 and a 17-

year-old youth (17) Witwatersrand Attorney General Klaus von Lieres said yesterday he did not expect a response from Botswana on the extradition until later in the week.

The trio jumped ball last month and were this week reported to be at the camp, which houses more than 700 ANC refugees.

They were due to stand trial on February 4 with Mrs Mandela on charges of kidnapping and assault

□ To Page 2





TRAINED TO FIGHT . . . Veena Naidoo, back after four years in exile

Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

# MK soldier returns to old varsity

*SITewes 24 29*  
THIS is the youthful face of a trained ANC soldier. She, together with thousands of others, are coming home after years in exile.

Veena Naidoo, 25, returned to South Africa two weeks ago after five years in the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This week she registered at the University of Durban-Westville for a teaching degree.

When she fled the country with three friends at the height of the state of emergency in 1986, she was a 20-year-old law student.

Several of her friends were in detention and others faced charges for being members of the ANC.

"The armed struggle was the only way out," said Veena.

"Those of us who were in the ANC had to run, otherwise we were at great risk," she said.

Of the four friends who went into exile together, only Veena and one other have returned.

One was killed in a South African Police ambush. Another, Richard Vallibu, is still at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka.

Veena says she was one of two women trained at a

By SHARON CHETTY

camp in Angola soon after she went into exile.

After further training in several African countries and "elsewhere", she was sent to Swaziland to help set up a base.

"Soon after we had left a camp in Angola, most of another group were ambushed and killed — an attack we narrowly missed."

## Arrested

In June 1988, a close friend, Lenny Naidu, was one of three people shot dead in a police ambush at Piet Retief near the Swazi border.

She and fellow exile David Madurai were later arrested in Swaziland for one of the biggest arms caches discovered in that country.

Both were acquitted but Swazi authorities warned the ANC High Command in Lusaka that the two's presence in the country would no longer be tolerated.

Now, Veena stays with her six brothers and sisters, mother and schoolteacher father in Chatsworth, Durban.

# An ANC fugitive hits back

STimes 24/2/91.

11/1

KEN OWEN claims that majoritarian views are undemocratic, that my views constitute a threat to negotiations and that mass action will result in the collapse of those negotiations. He uses poor logic and misrepresentation.

He accuses me of complaining that negotiations take up the time and energy of the ANC leadership. The point that Mandla Khuzwayo and I were making in the Work in Progress (WIP) article which provides the focus of Owen's attack is that the ANC needs to develop a correct balance between the time devoted to negotiations and the building of a strong organisation.

Numerous commentators have said that the ANC's major weakness is the state of our organisational structures.

## Struggle

It is clear to me, and to many others, that unless we have a strong and effective organisation our position in negotiations, and in every other way, is going to be weakened.

For this reason it is accepted within the ANC — at National Executive Committee level in fact — that the leadership needs to be involved in building our organisation as well as in negotiations.

Owen accuses me of being "bitterly hostile to compromise". He portrays me as a dangerous force waiting in the wings to suppress democratic rights through mass action. This could not be further from the truth. My whole life has been a struggle for democracy and non-racialism in this country

## The SA Communist Party's RONNIE KASRILS responds to Ken Owen's charge that mass action as a bludgeon could collapse negotiations



against an inhuman government.

I support the negotiating process for a peaceful transfer of power, and in fact helped draft the ANC's resolution on the suspension of the armed struggle. If my comrades and I are waiting for anything, it is our indemnity which the government has promised but as yet has failed to deliver.

In the WIP article, we were trying to develop an understanding of the balance between negotiations and mass struggle. This link is not something that belongs to any "faction of the ANC". It is fully in accordance with the democratic decisions of the ANC conference and the views of Deputy President Mandela and the rest of the leadership.

For example, in explaining the resolutions to a mass meeting after the ANC conference, Nelson Mandela said the following: "Conference... concluded that it was important for the ANC to maintain a correct balance between the various aspects of our strategy and tactics. Mass mobilisation, mass action... still constitute vital elements of that strategy and must therefore be maintained."

A few weeks after the conference, at a meeting of the postal workers union, Nelson Mandela in referring to the government

stated: "It seems the power of logic is insufficient... let them feel the power of the people." These quotes show that there is no difference between our position and that of Nelson Mandela, or any other section of the ANC.

Mass struggle has forced the National Party to the negotiation table. The government's delays in implementing the Pretoria Minute demonstrate that if that pressure is removed for even a second it is quite prepared to take the gap and renege on agreements they have already signed.

Mass pressure and action is not a bludgeon to beat FW de Klerk back from the path of negotiations, but rather the only way to ensure that he negotiates in good faith.

I am also accused of wanting "the ANC to triumph in negotiations". On that charge I plead guilty. I did not join the ANC because I want the National Party to be victorious.

In our WIP article we did not discuss the question of majoritarian democracy. But as Ken Owen imputes certain views to me, he deserves a reply. He says that majoritarian democracy will necessarily lead to "totalitarian socialist rule".

Yet the Westminster system in Britain is majoritarian, as are those in the US and Germany. The

party that gets the most votes becomes the government and rules the country.

Is Owen arguing that these systems are undemocratic? Why should we be accused of being sinister because we demand a similar system of government.

In fact there is no democratic parliamentary system that is not based on majority rule. The ANC accepts that there should be limitations on the power of the government. That is why we accept the need for a bill of rights.

What we don't accept is that a minority party or group, which has lost an election, should be able to govern.

The reason the National Party wants minority rights is that it knows it will lose any democratic election, yet it still wants to be able to govern. That is undemocratic in anyone's terms.

## Freedom

On the question of freedom of speech, Owen lumps my views together with those of Raymond Suttner. I can only presume that because we are both communists, we are expected to hold exactly the same opinions on all issues. I will let Suttner defend his own views.

Ken Owen allows for the possibility that I might be as gentle as a kitten. Whatever the truth of this, I would like to assure him that while I often disagree with what he says, I am prepared to defend to the death his right to say it.

□ Ken Owen comments: "This reply does not accurately represent what I actually wrote."

# UDF may drop its political role

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

THE UDF may soon drop its political role and transform itself into a mass-based development front, engaged in large-scale community upliftment projects under the wing of the ANC.

How this transformation can best be achieved is the subject of debate in UDF circles ahead of a national conference on the organisation's future next weekend.

Observers have pointed out that the UDF was not intended to be a political organisation but was established as a mass-based front to fill the void left by the banning and suppression of other organisations.

After the ANC and other bodies were unbanned the UDF's task became one of establishing and broadening ANC structures and infrastructure and building up other organisations such as trade unions, residents' associations and civic associations.

# Must unions don one or two hats?

CP News 24/2/91 114

**D**URING the 1980s trade unions became key members of the broad anti-apartheid alliance.

Most important was the biggest federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which adopted the Freedom Charter and entered a formal alliance with the UDF. The black-consciousness aligned National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) also saw itself as part of the broad struggle.

Indeed, once the State of Emergency had put the UDF and most community organisations out of action, Cosatu became the main organisation in the mass democratic movement.

Since February 2 last year, however, the situation has begun to change. For one thing, the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP meant Cosatu was no longer forced to play the role of a political movement.

In the second place, the February unbannings opened the way for political negotiations and, ultimately, should lead to a democratic government.

These changes posed many new questions for the trade unions. What political role should they play in the transition to democracy? And would there be a political role for trade unions after a democracy has been achieved?

While the trade unions in Cosatu are still debating these issues, most unionists believe Cosatu should continue to play a role in politics during this transition period. But it is a very different role to the one it has played up to now.

Currently Cosatu is playing a political role on two fronts. On the one hand, its members are playing a political role within the ANC and SACP, helping to build these organisations. On the other, Cosatu has a firmly established position as a member of the tripartite Cosatu-ANC-SACP alliance, through which it can influence politics as an independent mass organisation.

High-profile Cosatu leaders such as Moses Mayekiso, Chris Dlamini and Sydney Mafumadi have emerged as members of the SACP's internal leadership core. While fewer top union leaders have emerged as ANC leaders at national level, at branch and regional level many Cosatu unionists are playing a significant role in building ANC structures.

This has led to the "two hats" debate in Cosatu. Some unions feel it is wrong for union office-bearers to hold office at the same time in political organisations. If the party adopts a certain view, they ask, will the unionists then try to impose it on the union?

Those unionists who support the wearing of two hats argue that the trade unions have a duty to help build political organisations which have been banned for so long.

Some argue that this is only a transitional arrangement. Once the political organisations are fully established in-

AS South Africa struggles towards democracy, the political role of the trade union movement is beginning to change. The politics of resistance is slowly being replaced by the politics of reconstruction. **LABOUR BULLETIN** editor CARL VON HOLTZ looks at the issues.

## Labour action

### likely if new

### govt tramples

### workers' rights

that the constituent assembly demand was non-negotiable. After a meeting of the tripartite alliance in late January, a statement was issued clarifying that an all-party conference could not, in fact, replace a constituent assembly. Clearly, pressure from Cosatu - and the SACP - had prevailed.

Cosatu also believes the new constitution should entrench the rights and powers of unions and workers - such as the right to strike without being dismissed.

Thus it is trying to formulate democratic principles which should be enshrined in the constitution, such as a bill of rights, equal rights for women, the obligation to hold referendums when demanded by enough voters, and the right for workers to participate in economic decision-making.

But what will happen once South Africa has become a democracy, and all South Africans are represented in parliament by political parties? Will Cosatu like a happy midwife look proudly at this new baby democracy, wash its hands of politics, and settle down to bread and butter issues?

This may happen, but it is unlikely. Currently the Cosatu affiliates are debating the problems of economic development and overcoming the material inequalities which are a legacy of apartheid. This is the new politics of reconstruction which is emerging.

But there are different views on how to do this. Some unionists believe that the unions, together with civics and rural organisations, should negotiate a reconstruction accord with the ANC whom they expect will become the new government in a democratic South Africa.



Workers strike for better conditions and a living wage... is this a scene which will disappear in the new South Africa when political allies of the trade unions take power?

organisation to represent. But Cosatu does not only seek to influence political organisations through its members who join them. It also influences them directly through its role in the tripartite alliance. For example, Cosatu believes very strongly that the most democratic way to draw up a new constitution is through a constituent assembly.

While the ANC also supports the demand for a constituent assembly, it became apparent towards the end of last year that some leaders saw this as negotiable.

However, in December Cosatu's workers' charter conference resolved

Other unionists argue that the unions should enter into a social contract with the employers, which would be beneficial to both parties, and establish collective bargaining forums at industrial and national level.

Whatever the final position of Cosatu is in this debate, it seems clear the unionists intend to play a significant role in shaping the economic, social and political institutions of a democratic South Africa.

If the new government begins to trample on workers' interests the unions are likely to oppose it. They will be a political force the government will find difficult to ignore.

**W**HEN Nelson Mandela goes, who will hoist the ANC flag and possibly lead this country to a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa?

Understandably, this question has been occupying many people – as well as the government. To replace him will be a colossal task.

An acquaintance – who obviously has an affinity with the ANC's rival political body, the PAC – on seeing Mandela escorting his wife Winnie to the Supreme Court last week, said: "I don't care a hoot about the ANC, but that man Mandela has my vote and that of my family."

His feelings are shared by many people, including some opposed to the ANC. They maintain that while Mandela is an avid member of the ANC, he has transcended party politics and is regarded as a unifying factor among South Africans.

Against the will of many ANC members, Mandela led an ANC delegation to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and his KwaZulu cabinet in an effort to stop the violence between ANC and Inkatha members.

Disregarding the militant stand of the ANC Youth League and members of Umkhonto weSizwe, Mandela forged ahead and opened discussions with FW de Klerk's government to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

And when inter-organisational violence between the ANC, PAC and Azapo threatened to engulf the whole country, Mandela personally arranged to

meet all the leaders of these organisations and passionately pleaded for reconciliation.

Within a year of his release, Mandela undoubtedly achieved for his people and the country irreversible changes which many in his position would not have done in many years.

But at 72, Mandela is not young any more. When he goes who will take over? Will that person have the same charisma, dignity, stature and popularity inside and outside the country? Will they command respect among all

population groups?

No one seems able to provide the answer. Even among high-ranking ANC members the mention of a Mandela successor brings mixed emotions.

The popular choice among whites and moderate blacks is the youthful ANC International Affairs head, Thabo Mbeki, whose meteoric rise to the top was nurtured by ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Mbeki is known for his warmth and diplomatic approach in dealing with complicated political issues.

**MY WAY**

With Khulu Sibiyi

# And after Mandela?

*C/press 24/2/91*



He could be singled out as the man who reassured white businessmen about the ANC's attitude towards indiscriminate nationalisation.

Some believe the fiery Umkhonto weSizwe leader Chris Hani will be a popular choice among the youth and workers. On his return from exile Hani's uncompromising stand with the government gained him much support.

However, many do not see Winnie Mandela as a possible successor to her husband. Despite her lack of popularity before her husband was released, she has once more shot back into the limelight.

Not only is she head of both the ANC's Social Welfare Department and the Women's League, but she is politically ambitious and has influence among the youth.

Many others are waiting in the wings, and should Mandela go in the near future we will see a scramble for his position.

He is perhaps the only person who can prevent future disputes – by grooming his successor now.

# Mandela, De Klerk differ on new SA

By SANDILE MEMELA *C/press* 24/2/91. 117


ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk differed sharply on the question of a new South Africa when they jointly received the Newsmaker of the Year award on Friday.

The two men received the prestigious award at a function hosted by the Johannesburg Press Club.

Mandela said the current government under De Klerk had no moral right to govern, and called for the creation of an interim government.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, the longer we shall be condemned to endure the steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the danger that entails," he said.

De Klerk dismissed the idea of an interim government, saying he could not accept a government which was "cooked up in talks in dark rooms".



**Newsmakers ... ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk receive awards from Press Club chairman Hans Lombard.**

## Mandela at Bop funeral

NELSON Mandela will go to Bophuthatswana for the first time today when he attends the funeral of ANC Youth League executive member Bachana Mokoena who died in a car accident in Midrand last Sunday.

Mokoena and his brother, Alfred, who was also killed in the accident, will be buried at the Ga-Rankuwa cemetery. *express 22/2/91 (11A)*

Accompanying Mandela will be his wife Winnie and Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani.

## JOINT NETWORK OLD HAT — ANC

THE so-called "quick-reaction" network between the ANC and the government is old hat — as old as the May 1990 Groote Schuur Minute.

ANC lawyer Matthew Phosa this week said the widely publicised stories about the agreement between his organisation and the government was spelt out in Clause 5 of the minute.

"It just sounds like mischievous reporting — as if the ANC has suddenly decided to work hand in hand with the police." *CP 10/24/21/91*

He confirmed that the national network comprised 29 ANC members and 96 police officers who communicate in crisis situations, particularly with the aim of curbing violence.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's media officer, Col Steve van Rooyen, said the police were still urging the ANC to expand its representation. — Sapa, CP Reporter



# FW and Mandela most popular leaders

By Mark Suzman

President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are the two most popular leaders in South Africa, according to a new survey carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council. *Star 25/2/91*

According to the survey, published in Information Update, a new monthly publication to sur-

vey opinions in South Africa, Mr de Klerk's support cut across all race groups while Mr Mandela's was restricted largely to the black community.

Mr de Klerk was supported by 51 percent of the white population, 25 percent of blacks, 48 percent of Asians and 66 percent of coloureds.

Mr Mandela was supported by 44 percent of blacks, but only 5 percent of Asians, 1 percent of

coloureds and less than 1 percent of whites.

With regard to political organisations, the HSRC survey revealed that the ANC has the support of 56 percent of blacks, 4 percent of coloureds and 8 percent of Asians.

The NP is supported by 54 percent of whites, 41 percent of coloureds and 28 percent of Asians.



# My son to stay at Dale, says top ANC member

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

SENIOR ANC executive member Mr Steve Tshwete said today he would not take his son out of Dale College, one of the country's oldest and most prestigious schools.

Dale's fine reputation as a school has suffered following evidence in the East London Supreme Court that a "Kaffir Bashing Society" existed at Frank Joubert House, a school hostel.

Four former Dale pupils, who beat a 70-year-old black vagrant to death, have been found guilty of culpable homicide and two counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

## Many white friends

Mr Tshwete said: "I won't take my son out of Dale College. I have made many white friends in King William's Town since my son, Mayihlome, was enrolled at Dale College."

He grew up in the area and recalled visiting Dale College as a pupil to do some science experiments because his school, Forbes Grant Secondary, did not have these facilities.

"They would give us jerseys, rugby and cricket balls. I'm not persuaded at all that this sort of thing is Dale's policy."

His daughter, Yonda, 10, would remain at Kafrarian Girls High School in King William's Town.

The incident was symptomatic of the way apartheid had affected whites who needed to rid themselves of their superiority complex "at home".

# New SA: Freed Imam <sup>(119)</sup> not hopeful'

By PETER DENNEHY

RELEASED Robben Island prisoner Imam Achmad Cassiem said yesterday he was not optimistic about the prospects for real change in South Africa in the next five years.

The former leader of the Muslim movement Qibla came off the island on Friday on bail of R5 000 pending an appeal against his terrorism conviction.

"We need a legitimate constitu-

*CAPL 11/2/91*  
tion, from which a legitimate government would emerge," Mr Cassiem said. "And then a process of reconstruction of education, the economic system, the health services, local government, central government... one could go through the whole lot.

"All have been contaminated with racist policies."

Mr Cassiem, 45, has been in jail since May 2, 1986, in this most recent term. In the 1960s he also served a five-year term on Robben Island.

He has been restricted for many years. Once he was convicted of negligently breaking a banning order by coming home late from work.

He is restricted again, this time by bail conditions which, among other requirements, prohibit him from acting as a spokesman for Qibla or the PAC.

"It means I could be a spokesman for the ANC or the AWB," he said wryly, "but the restriction is nonetheless unjust."

# Rare and fascinating

THIS book was compiled by two long-time friends of the Mandelas and, with that in mind, one can safely deduce that they know their subject matter thoroughly. *Sowetan 25/2/91*

Both the writer, Professor Mphahlele, and photographer, Alf Kumalo, are experts in their respective fields and this comes out clearly in this book.

Mr Nelson Mandela and his family have always made interesting reading and his release last year saw a number of books on him and the African National Congress being published.

Kumalo's pictures in this collection are rare and fascinating. They cover the "whole" life of this remarkable family.

From the early stages of Mandela's involvement in politics to date. The whole Madiba clan can be seen in these pages which also amazingly include an insight into South African life.

The hardships, tribulation, protests, joy, love and all that life is about has been captured and immortalised on film in a way that only Kumalo can. Good piece of work.

The text too, is pure Mphahlele clas-

**MANDELA - ECHOES OF AN ERA**  
Photographs by Alf Kumalo; text  
by Es'kia Mphahlele (Published by  
Penguin Books)

*Sowetan 25/2/91*

*11A*

sic. No punches pulled and no favours asked. This came through right at the beginning of the book when he writes about the introduction of the Bantu Education Act. Mphahlele was at the time general secretary of the Transvaal African Teachers Association, whose president at the time was Zeph Mothopeng (later to become president of the Pan Africanist Congress).

Mphahlele writes that in 1951 he and Mothopeng had paid Mandela a visit "to ask if the ANC could give the TATA a national platform from which to address larger audiences to alert them against the imminent onslaught on the African children's minds through Bantu Education: a matter of great national importance."

Mandela's response to this and many other questions you would like answers to, can be found in this book.

**Sello Rabothata**

# Mandela, FW share top Press award

11A 2  
Sowetan  
25/2/91

THE ANC has called for an interim government ahead of negotiations because it wanted to begin the reconstruction of a law-abiding society as soon as possible.

This was said by the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg on Friday night.

The ANC leader was addressing the Johannesburg Press Club during his first joint appearance with State President FW de Klerk on a public platform.

The two men were elected Newsmakers of the Year by the club.

"I fear that the longer we postpone the installation of a government that

## SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

enjoys the confidence of all sections of our society, so long shall we be condemned to endure this steady drift towards lawlessness, with all the dangers that it entails," Mandela said.

The most effective means of building a law-abiding society, he added, was to cultivate respect for the law.

"The law in our country will only be deserving of respect to the extent that it serves the ordinary citizen and ceases to be a club wielded by the authorities to bludgeon us into submission or deprive us of our rights.

"This relates directly to the issue of the

legitimacy of the incumbent government and its administrative arm. When we say that the incumbent government has no moral right to govern, we say this not to heap insults or offence to anyone."

Obedience to the law should not be based on fear, but rather on respect for the law as the expression of commonly-held societal values and shared goals.



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk were named joint Johannesburg Press Club 'Newsmakers of 1991'. Congratulating each other at a glittering banquet on Friday night they are flanked by (left) Mr Clive Stanton, the main sponsor, and JPC chairman Mr Hans Lombard. Picture by LEN KUMALO.

# Student leader's plea for discipline

Sardien 25/2/91

**THE Azanian Student Movement must deal firmly with disruptive students if the anarchy looming in black schools is to be avoided, a Black consciousness Movement leader said on Saturday.**

At the launch of the Sibasa branch of the Azanian Students Move-

ment in Venda, BCM student leader Mr Rudzani Nemitubi also said the organisation should discourage the expulsion of principals "without any earth shaking reasons."

"The high failure rate in our schools cannot be reduced by the barbaric and immoral pass one, pass all slogan," he warned.

Addressing an emo-

tionally charged crowd, he said students should refrain from embarking on unnecessary boycotts, which had contributed to the high failure rate.

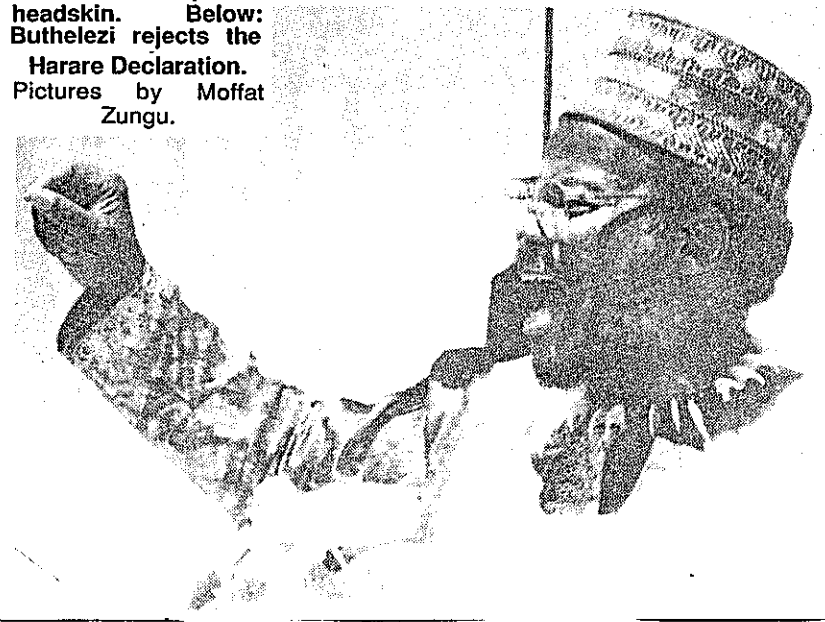
Lashing out at the Government, he said it should be blamed for the education crisis because it had proven unwilling and unable to resolve the crisis.

In addition, he said

that students should not take over the administration of their schools, which accelerated the crisis.

The gathering was characterised by speeches, poems and slogans praising exiled BCM leader Mr Mosibubi Manyena. - Sapa

**Left: Inkatha members with their weapons at a weekend rally. Right: An Inkatha supporter with a leopard's headskin. Below: Buthelezi rejects the Harare Declaration. Pictures by Moffat Zungu.**



# Claims are false, says angry PAC

11A

Soweto  
25/2/91

By MONK NKOMO

A STATEMENT calling on PAC deputy president Advocate Dikgang Moseneke to withdraw from the Mandela trial, allegedly issued by the group's Pretoria branch, was bogus, a PAC official said yesterday.

The statement, released through *Sapa* last Wednesday, also claimed to represent the views of the Azania National Youth Unity.

Atteridgeville PAC chairman Mr Phillip Mdawu, supposedly quoted in the statement, said neither he, the PAC nor Azanyu knew anything about the document.

He charged that it "was issued by agents of the system to sow confusion in the PAC and ANC".

"We condemn it in the strongest terms."

He added that Moseneke had agreed to be in Mandela's defence team in a professional capacity.

"Moseneke had defended a number of ANC cadres without any problems. And we see nothing wrong in him being involved in the Mandela case."

In the statement, Mdawu is quoted as saying: "With witnesses in Mrs Mandela's trial disappearing and refusing to give evidence, we are afraid that the truth about the tragic death of the African warrior Stompie Moeketsi Seipei is sure to be hidden.

"It would be utterly regrettable that a PAC leader in the person of Moseneke should be party to this suppression of the truth."

Mdawu said there were a number of flaws in the statement, including spelling mistakes and the reference to the Pretoria, rather than the northern Transvaal, region of the PAC.

## ANC donors sit on funds <sup>1K9</sup>

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC has still not received any of the millions of rands promised deputy president Nelson Mandela during two foreign tours last year. *By Day 25/291*

ANC finance director Vusi Khanyile said at the weekend the organisation had not yet received the proceeds from Mandela's US tour in June, and it was not expecting to receive anywhere near the hundreds of millions reportedly pledged.

He said a figure of R5m was "not far off".

However, the ANC was in contact with organisers of Mandela's US trip, who indicated that the money would still be forthcoming.

Mandela reportedly received pledges of up to R70m during a tour of the Far East in October.

Khanyile said these funds had also not been received, and some donors were expected to renege.





The leader of a team of Portuguese parliamentarians visiting SA, Dr Victor Manuel Caio Roque, accompanied by a Foreign Affairs official, addresses reporters at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Dhlomo launches new democracy think-tank

*Monday 26/2/91.*

CAPE TOWN — Leaders from across the political spectrum including the ANC, NP, SACP, CP and Azapo had expressed support for establishing a multiparty democracy in SA, former Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo said last night.

Speaking at the launch of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMPD), he said the success of the institute might significantly determine whether the "democratic seeds that are sown by the negotiation process take root, grow strong and blossom in the decades that lie ahead".

He said failure might mean these values would wither and die in the harsh climate of political intolerance, national alienation, violence and despair.

## Businessmen

Despite this, many SA businesses had failed to contribute to the IMPD and "it is ironic indeed that we have found ourselves in the situation in which foreign foundations, governments and institutes gave more generously, and cared more deeply, about the development of a genuine multiparty democracy in SA than did SA businessmen", he said.

He said these were the same businessmen who looked forward to doing business in a stable and democratic socio-political environment in the future.

Dhlomo said the IMPD had taken nearly a year to come to fruition, and included discussions at two think-tank sessions held in Johannesburg.

The parties involved might have had different interpretations of a multiparty

**BILLY PADDOCK**

state but, he said, it was encouraging to find unanimity about the need for it.

"The IMPD's next step... will be to seek to develop, in conjunction with political parties, a covenant on democracy that will spell out in precise terms what is meant by multiparty democracy," he said.

Once the wording had been agreed to, the IMPD would try and get the irrevocable commitment of all political parties to this covenant.

The IMPD had worked out a detailed charter of what it regarded as essential components of the rules for the multiparty democratic process, including the constitutionally guaranteed right of all adults to participate in regular, free and fair elections and the development and maintenance of a political culture of tolerance.

Dhlomo said there was a determination to ensure the IMPD would be politically non-aligned and accessible to all.

He said the institute was not set up in competition with any similar organisations, such as Idasa, but would strive to work with all organisations.

Dhlomo said the IMPD's emphasis would be on education of the public on multiparty democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation. High profile conferences involving SA's leadership elites would be the exception.

Dhlomo has been appointed as the executive chairman of IMPD and former leader of Azapo, Saths Cooper, will leave his post at the University of Western Cape to take up the position of national director.

# ANC considers 'third party' aid in transition

WINDHOEK — The ANC was studying the possibility of a third party or external force being involved during the transition to a new political order in SA, the ANC's legal and constitutional committee head Zola Sekwiyeya said yesterday.

"That process is being studied and it has already been suggested within the ANC for some time," he told a media briefing in Windhoek when asked if the UN might participate during the transition.

He added the ANC had not taken a policy decision yet on the issue.

Sekwiyeya was speaking at the end of a three-day closed conference in the Namibian capital between ANC and Namibian government legal and constitutional specialists.

One of the topics raised was that of transitional mechanisms, "especially the question of monitoring how the SA regime stick to their agreements made with the ANC and comparing that to the experience of the Namibians", he said.

He said the Namibian delegates emphasised the need for uniting all anti-apartheid forces in SA and also the ANC's role in reconciliation. "They also stressed the need for us to begin as early as possible to educate our people on the electoral process," he said.

"And, of course, the need for the ANC to make its agenda very, very clear not only within SA but also for the international community as a whole."

ANC executive member Joe Dladla said a big problem facing the ANC was that government was both "player and referee" at the negotiating table, "hence the ANC stand and demand for an interim government".

He also called for the SA media to make a productive contribution to the processes under way, but emphasised he was not asking for "ANC puppets".

"But we want to win it over to be supportive of the broad process of finding a peaceful resolution to the SA problem," he said. — Sapa.

ARCUS 26/2/91

# South Africans 'haven't a clue about democracy'

## Political Correspondent

ROOTING out apartheid was not the same as being committed to multi-party democracy, which many believed was simply the removal of oppression.

This was the cautionary view of Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who spoke in Cape Town last night at the launch of his Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy.

The non-aligned institute is committed to inculcating democratic values and promoting political tolerance and reconciliation.

Dr Dhlomo said that South African history "has left us without a democratic tradition, a democratic culture or democratic knowledge that could positively influence and guide our future political behaviour".

"The majority of all races have had no experience of multi-party democracy or the values it embodies. At best, we regard it as a 'good idea'. At worst, we haven't a clue what it is all about."

Many tended to make the mistake of equating democracy with the removal of oppression, rather than as the "complex set of ideas, institutions, obligations and activities that constitute a functioning democratic society," Dr Dhlomo said.

Despite continuing violence, there were signs that at least at leadership level, "a spirit of greater tolerance is starting to emerge".

The next few years would present "the democratic opportunity of a lifetime".

"If we fail to grasp that opportunity, and allow one authoritarian system to replace another, we will have only ourselves to blame."

Urging business to support the new institute in promoting democracy, Dr Dhlomo said that the future "depends on people like ourselves and whether or not we bother to put our shoulders to the democratic wheel both morally and materially".

"If we do not, South Africa would end up as just another banana republic in an era in which the price of bananas is falling daily."

# Govt and ANC agree to change black education

CAF 7/15 26/2/91 (1/1)



**SUMMIT . . .** Mr Nelson Mandela, flanked by UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, speaks to the press yesterday.

## Govt 'scorched earth policy' with schools

Political Staff

**THE** government had been pursuing an educational scorched earth policy and billions of rands had been squandered, the Democratic Party's finance spokesman, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

Over the past 12 years, 274 white schools had been closed down completely and the vast majority of those facilities lost to education:

"Thousands of qualified, experienced and competent white teachers have been retrenched or made redundant," he said during the Own Affairs Part Appropriation Debate.

"This government and this minister of education (Mr Piet Clase) have been pursuing an educational scorched earth policy.

"In fact, this minister would be more appropriately designated the Minister of Educational Sabotage."

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
**THE** crisis education summit between the government and a broad-based delegation of educationalists yesterday agreed that there was a need to fundamentally change South Africa's education system.

The teams, led by President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, also agreed to set up a Joint Working Group to look into "critical and immediate" issues which have left many black schools around the country in turmoil.

However, no emergency plan has been instituted to relieve the immediate problems of overcrowding and lack of facilities and materials plaguing many black schools.

Neither did the government agree to provide a special cash injection for black education — either immediately or in next month's budget — to help it out of the doldrums.

But the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der

Merwe, acknowledged that yesterday's meeting and the deliberations of the Joint Working Group could "have an influence" on the allocation for education in next month's budget.

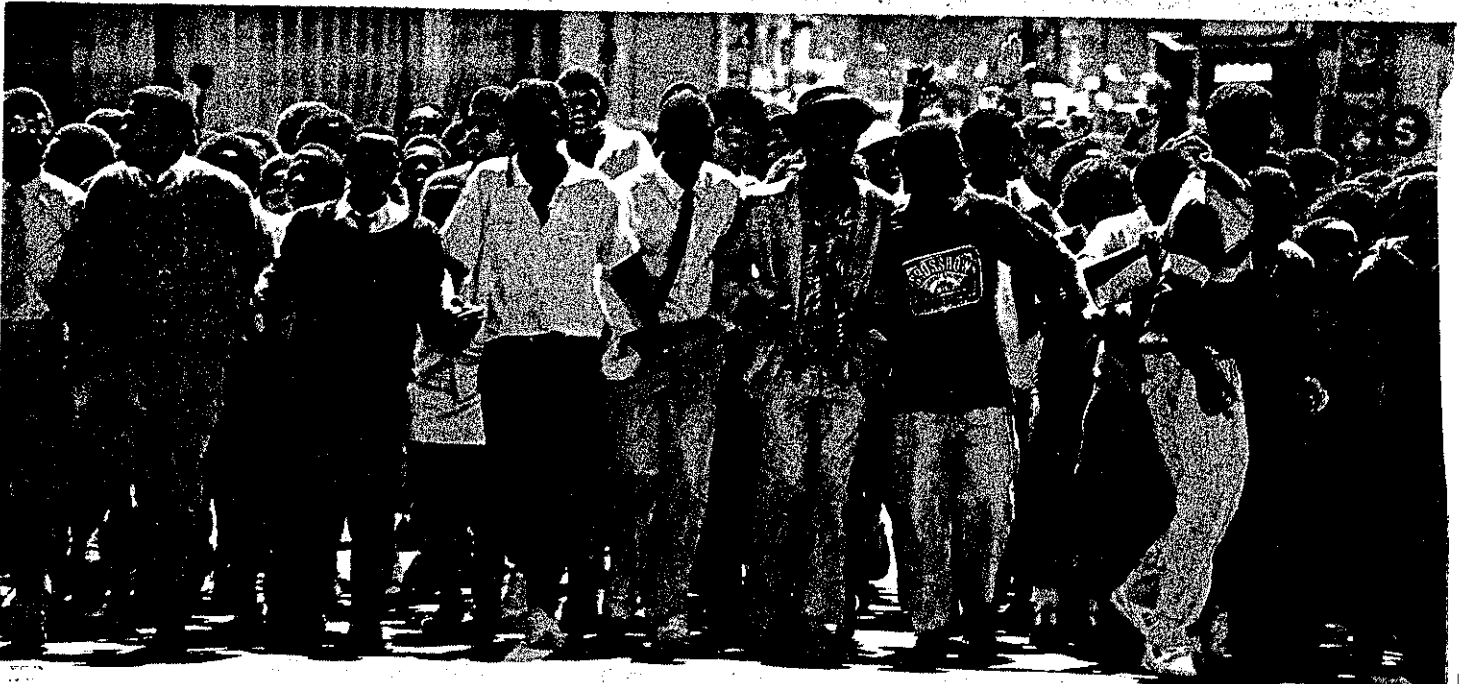
(Last year the government made available an additional R750 million for a crash programme for building more black schools).

● Our Education Reporter reports that a group of 32 mainly female placard protesters who were arrested by police across the road from Tuynhuys during the meeting were released within hours after intervention by members of the education delegation.

Police liaison officer Captain Attie Laubscher said they would appear in court soon on charges under the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act.

A while later more than 250 schoolchildren from Crossroads and Guguletu agreed to put away posters highlighting the overcrowding in black schools and waited patiently for the meeting to end.

The children formed a guard of honour in Plein Street for Mr Mandela as he left Tuynhuys just before lunch.



**EDUCATION PROTEST . . .** School pupils, parents and teachers demonstrating outside Parliament yesterday gathered outside Tuynhuys to form a guard of honour for Mr Nelson Mandela as he and his delegation left after discussing problems in education with the government.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

SA ch...

esday, February 26 1991

## Ex-Azapo boss to take over as director

### Political Staff

**THE** former president of Azapo, Dr Saths Cooper, will be the national director of Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD), it was revealed yesterday.

Dr Cooper told a press conference yesterday that he no longer had ties to any political organisa-

tion. He will leave his post as a senior lecturer in psychology at the UWC at the end of the month to take up the job.

Dr Cooper was a founder member of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) and the Black People's Convention. On December 21, 1976, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

He was released in 1982 and

went on to become Azapo's president. He was also convenor of the National Forum from 1983 to 1987.

Dr Cooper, who completed his PhD at Boston University in 1989, is regarded as a brilliant academic and has authored two books, co-authored two more and edited and contributed to several others.

# Dhlomo institute for multi-party SA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE** leaders of political groupings across the political spectrum — from the Afrikaner Volkswag to the SA Communist Party — had indicated their full support for a new initiative to promote multi-party democracy in a new South Africa.

Launching the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) in the city last night, its executive chairman, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said the new non-aligned body had been established "to make the country safe for democracy".

The birth of the institute follows eight months of intensive planning and consultations with individuals and organisations across the political and racial spectrum which produced unanimous support for the principle of a multi-party democracy in a post-apartheid dispensation.

Dr Dhlomo, the former chairman of the KwaNatal Indaba and ex-KwaZulu education minister, emphasised that the IMPD would jealously guard its non-partisan character and would refuse money from the present or any future government in South Africa.

At the launch last night, Dr Dhlomo described the birth of the new body as a historic event

because those attending represented "the most representative cross-section of South African political opinion that has ever been assembled in one place".

The IMPD will implement a series of practical programmes ranging from voter education to leadership training to help educate South Africans about the need to promote the establishment and maintenance of multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa.

"If we fail to grasp the opportunity and allow one authoritarian system to replace another, we will have only ourselves to blame," he said.

11A

# 'ANC discontent over Hani's fiefdom'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander and SA Communist Party (SACP) leader Mr Chris Hani has become the new "king of Umtata", and this is causing concern within the ANC, says the latest edition of Africa Confidential magazine.

"What upsets some in the ANC is the degree to which the Transkei has become Hani's personal fief.

"He has succeeded in imposing his identity on the ANC's local regional committee, virtually all the leaders of which are Hani's prote-

ges and members of the South African Communist Party," the report says.

Africa Confidential (AC), which is believed to have covert links with the British Foreign Office, lists these as:

● Mr Ezra Sigwelo, regional ANC chairman and a key SACP leader.

● Mr Phumzile Mayaphi, ANC regional secretary and a member of the party's regional committee.

● Dr Zola Dabula, the ANC's regional publicity secretary and a long-standing party activist.

● Mr Mzwandile Vena, described by AC as "arguably the most powerful of Hani's close associates in the ANC regional committee", and also a member of the SACP's regional committee.

● Mr Dumisani Mafu, also a member of the SACP's regional committee

● Mr Pat Holomisa, a relative of military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is, according to AC, "the most refined thinker in the ANC's Transkei regional committee". President of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), it was

unclear whether he is an SACP member.

ANC leaders visiting Umtata are driven around in government Mercedes or flown in government helicopters, and MK fighters helped General Holomisa's troops suppress a coup attempt last November.

However, says AC, many in the ANC believe that Mr Hani should spend less time in Transkei and more in other provinces, particularly Natal.

"The sight of the lucky few enjoying the good life in Umtata could also increase the bitterness of the ANC exiles who remain in camps abroad."

# A Zulu song in Ghana, never! But hang on ...

Swafar 26/2/91

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A STUDENTS' residence in Ghana is the last place where one would expect to hear a Zulu song.

But as I walked between the prefabricated buildings of the International Students Hostel in Accra, strains of a Mandela praise song reached me.

I had been told there were South African refugees in the hostel in Accra.

My search was over.

The quartet was singing. Nostalgia, longing and hope filled their voices. The song stopped abruptly and the excitement attracted a crowd of about 10 around me.

They fired questions: What's happening back home? What is the truth on the violence we hear so much about? Will we get jobs when we return? Will we be accepted back by our people? Are our girlfriends still waiting?

## Ideologies

They came from all over South Africa at different times only to converge on this piece of African soil where Pan Africanism started. Some are members of the PAC and others belong to the African National Congress.

Though circumstances has forced them to tolerate each other, ideological differences still persist.

Skhumbuzo Theophilus Lande left his home at the height of the Inkatha/United Democratic Front conflict. His wife had just died after his KwaMashu house had been set alight. He was left with four young children.

"There was nothing I could do but to leave my children in the care of relatives and go into exile," he said.

"My main worry is that I do not know whether my children, who should be aged between six

FOCUS



This is the third article by PHANGISILE MTSHALI who toured West Africa recently. Here she meets a group of exiles who are anxious about the events back home.

and 14, are still alive because the last information I heard was that the relatives' home was also burnt down.

"If only I can get word that they are still alive."

Lande was just echoing thoughts and fears of 17 others who sought political asylum in Ghana.

As the South African Council of Churches and political organisations exhaust their

resources and energy on the repatriation of thousands of exiles, those in Ghana are preparing themselves for heartbreak and misery.

"Everyday I pray that at least some of my family members are alive and will be there to meet when I return," Lande said.

Education and self-development is the major pastime for exiles. Two of them have qualified, one as a medical doctor and the other a veterinarian and on my visit they were in London advancing their qualifications..

## Worried

"We are also worried about job opportunities," Lande said.

"Last year we heard Pik Botha and company have been to Eastern Europe recruiting white skilled labourers. How can he do that when we are supposed to be coming back and there is already high unemployment?"

Hunger for South African news is the worst torment for them.

"We follow all South African news with glee," Letinti said.

"Unfortunately we rely on BBC news bulletins and on visitors who occasionally drop in.

We do not get any newspapers from home."

Most of the exiles left the country during the 1984 to 1986 unrests but there are others who last saw their relatives more than 15 years ago.

"I have one serious request to committees that are preparing for our return," Eugene who left home in 1973 said.

"They should set up an extensive rehabilitation programme with good psychologists because some of us will need that service. After being away for so long and the things we have been through it is going to be very difficult for us to settle back into the community.

"The only hope that is keeping our spirits high is the knowledge that the struggle continues inside the country. We are sustained by the hope of returning to our homes free," he said.

"We are studying so that we can contribute positively to the country's development on our return."

\*\*The BBC will be broadcasting Mtshali's impressions on Ghana and Ivory Coast this Sunday at 7.15pm and next Sunday on Nigeria, same time. BBC is on MW 1197khz.



Thoughts from exile . . . PAC members Mr Louis Leboko and Mr Dan Konyana pass letters to Phangisile Mtshali.

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# Benoni home for Tambo?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Unnamed benefactors are thinking of buying ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo an R850 000 home in the heart of a leafy, upmarket suburb in Benoni.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed that "people who thought Tambo should have a home to come back to" were in the process of buying him a house.

The ANC would not be party to

the purchase, should it take place, she said. The figure of R850 000 was "about right", she said

The attractive double-story house overlooks the Korsman's Bird Sanctuary. It has a tennis court and is surrounded by high walls and fences.

Ms Jill McQueen, who lives at the Sunnyside Avenue house, confirmed that Mr Tambo's wife Adelaide and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had been to look at the house, but she said

the deal had yet not been finalised.

She said the price would have to be a bit higher than R850 000 "to make it worthwhile".

Ms McQueen said her house was not even on the market when the offer was made. She and her family had arrived back from holiday to find a note from an estate agent in the letter box.

Mrs Tambo now lives in Wattville, the township adjoining Benoni where Mr Tambo lived before going into exile.



# Ex-rivals promote democracy

FORMER Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo and former president of Azapo Dr Saths Cooper yesterday launched the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Cape Town.

A non-partisan organisation, the MPD's self-defined mission is "to promote the establishment and maintenance of multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa."

Explaining the role of

*Sowetan* 27/1/91  
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

the MPD, Dhlomo said that the institute sought to make South Africa "safe for democracy through the development of a deeply rooted democratic culture".

## Objective

Dhlomo said that the primary objective was to educate the people of South Africa at grassroots level.

"There is no evidence

that democracy has ever been widely practised in South Africa.

"Instead of experience in democracy, history has bequeathed to us a legacy of political intolerance and authoritarian behaviour.

"The majority of South Africans of all races have had no experience of multi-party democracy and the values it embodies.

"At best we regard multi-party democracy as a 'good idea'. At worst we haven't a clue what it is all about," Dhlomo said.

## Support

He said the MPD consulted parties across the political spectrum and everyone "from the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Hand-elsinstituut to the PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the ANC were encouraging and supportive."

He said there would be

a home for anyone in the MPD, which will remain non-aligned.

"We are not a political party and we do not want to behave like one," Dhlomo said.

Cooper, quizzed about his party ties, said that he was no longer affiliated with Azapo.

He said he had also resigned his lecturing post at the University of the Western Cape and would from the beginning of March work full-time as the national director for the MPD.

The MPD has a board of trustees made up of leading business people, academics and intellectuals.

## Trustees

Among them are: Mr Fikile Bam, Mrs Deborah Mabitsela, Ms Nomavenda Mathiane, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, Mr Don Mkhwanazi, Professor Otty Nxumalo, Mr Don Ncube, Professor Herbert Vilakazi, Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Dr Richard van der Ross.



DHLOMO

# PAC to visit 3 African states

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27/2/91

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwethu leads a high-level delegation on a visit to three African countries this weekend, according to PAC representative, Mr Barney Desai.

Desai said the delegation would visit Uganda, Tanzania and Nigeria where they would hold discussions with heads of states.

The visit had been arranged for the PAC leadership to brief African leaders on the latest political developments in this country, and to give them the organisation's views on negotiations.

On his return from the

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

African visit, Makwethu will lead another PAC delegation to Britain at the request of the British government.

The British visit would take place in March, Desai said.

This follows the visit earlier this month to South Africa by British Minister for Overseas Development, Mrs Lynda Chalker.

### Chalker

Chalker met various Government Ministers and leaders of extra-Parliamentary organisations, including the PAC.

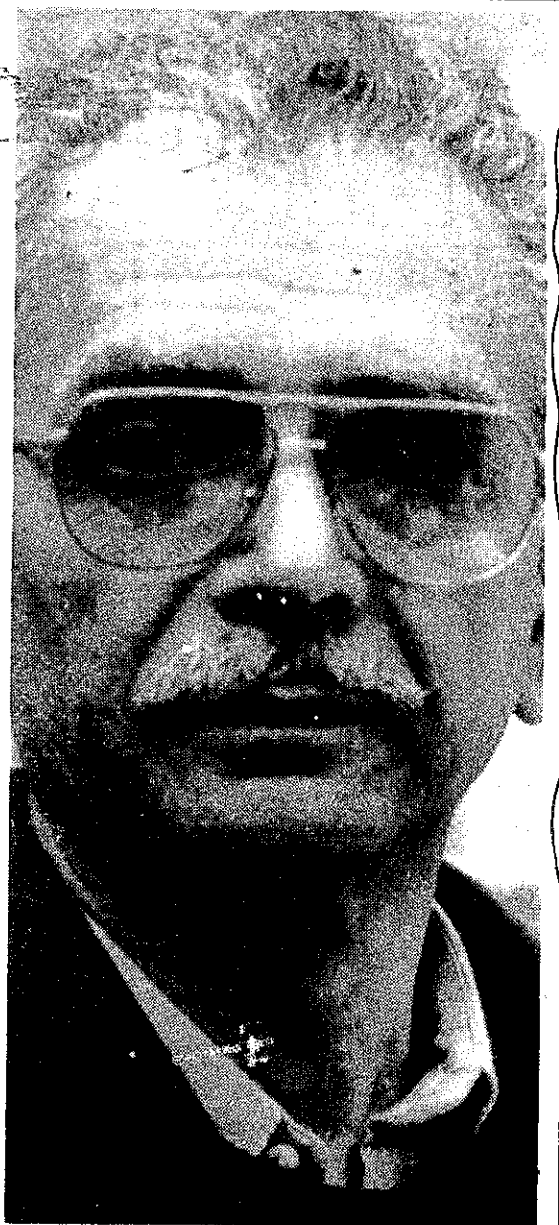
At a Press conference held in Johannesburg be-

fore her departure, Chalker revealed that British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, was looking forward to meeting ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk at his London residence at 10 Downing Street.

This would be at a time convenient to them individually, she said.

Desai also disclosed that PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander would address the United Nations' Special Committee on Apartheid in New York on March 21.

After addressing the UN committee, Alexander will go to Bos-



**PAC group to visit three African states, says PAC representative, Mr Barney Desai.**

ton where he and PAC legal affairs secretary Willie Seriti will participate in a constitutional

conference.

He will also speak on the Sharpeville Massacre of March 21 1960.

# ANC 'may revise sanctions policy'

B/004 27/12/91

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LONDON — The ANC might review its sanctions policy after April 30 if obstacles to negotiations on a new constitution had been removed by then, a senior ANC official said yesterday.

If, however, the April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles was not met, the ANC would review all accords with government including the suspension of the armed struggle, he warned.

ANC NEC member Hermanus Loots was addressing about 200 anti-apartheid leaders at a conference of the Southern Africa Coalition.

The coalition represents more than 100 British organisations lobbying Prime Minister John Major's government to retain sanctions against SA.

Keynote speakers came from British religious groups, trades union, local government and other organisations, and included Loots and SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane.

"The ANC is not unaware it will need at some point to review its stand on sanctions . . . we will have to do so at some time," Loots said.

There were three critical moments in the process towards democracy, when the ANC could possibly review

its stand, he believed.

"The first one will be after obstacles to negotiations have been removed," he said in a reference to the April 30 deadline agreed between President F W de Klerk's government and the ANC's Nelson Mandela for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

This deadline was only two months away, however, and he pointed out current "talks-about-talks" negotiations with the government were complex and time-consuming.

"The second critical moment will be when we have, in place, a constituent assembly.

"The third will be when a new, democratic constitution is in place . . . at that point in time we can all come together and say that sanctions should be lifted," Loots said.

He was asked by a delegate if he was outlining official policy of his organisation. "This is my personal point of view, but more than one person can hold (such) a personal view."

The Southern Africa Coalition conference later resolved to call on the UK government not to lift any sanctions against SA until the 1989 conditions laid down by the UN had been met by De Klerk. — Sapa.

AR66 28/2/91

# Steve Tshwete

## honest broker

HE'S known as the man with the silken tongue, the mediator who has brought the South African Cricket Union and the South African Cricket Board — once sworn enemies — together.

Now he has done it again in the sealing of the historic rugby accord between Dr Danie Craven and Mr Ebrahim Patel bringing unity between the SARB and the SARU.

The accord, which could lead to South Africa's readmittance to international rugby, was reached at talks at Newlands yesterday chaired by Mr Steve Tshwete.

"Unity in these two major sports will have a major impact on the negotiation process. We need unity because it begets reconciliation," he said in an interview.

Steve Tshwete, the ANC's pipe-smoking national organiser and member of the movement's national executive committee, returned to South Africa from exile in Lusaka and is playing a leading role in promoting unity in sport?

The ANC does not have a sports desk, but sport is his portfolio.

He said: "I believe sport can play a very dynamic role in bringing about a true spirit of reconciliation in our country."

### Arrested

"Cricket unity is not only the unity of sportsman, but you're bringing together two South Africas because cricket is an establishment sport mainly patronised by whites.

Springs-born Steve Tshwete was recruiting soldiers for the ANC not long after passing his matric as head prefect at Welsh High School in Duncan Village in 1961.

He was arrested at his home in June 1963.

But deep in the heart of Komga prison, where he was detained, was a man who cared about Steve Tshwete, then part of the regional leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the ANC, and also the unit's secretary.

He was a black policeman. "That man saved my life. He brought me food every night. I would have died if it was not for him."

The passing years and 15 years on Robben Island have robbed Steve Tshwete of the chance to personally thank the policeman.

"The thing is haunting me. I've forgotten his name, but I still remember clearly how he fed me. If he's still alive and remembers me, I'd like to say thank you."

### PROFILE



Steve Tshwete

and were constantly harassed. You counted yourself lucky if you made it through any day."

His mother died while he was in jail. "I thought that I'd accepted her death, but it only hit me after my release in March 1979 that she was dead. I'm still trying to come to grips with the loss.

"She died of a heart attack. She saw me shortly before her death ... I was skin and bone, we all were. I'm certain that this caused her death."

A rugby player for as long as he can remember, he was president of the Robben Island Amateur Athletics Association and president of the Robben Island Rugby Board.

He also found time to master soccer on the island and to follow the fortunes of the Western Province rugby team.

### Morné fan

Legendary WP and Springbok captain Morné du Plessis "was my star" and he had a high regard for former Springbok and Western Province centre Johan Oosthuizen "even if he was a policeman".

He said: "I told Danie (Dr Craven) as much at our first meeting."

Harassment did not stop when he was released. He was served with a two-year banning order signed by Jimmy Kruger.

The banning order expired in 1981 and he got a job as teacher at the high school in Peelson in the Eastern Cape. Two years later, he led a Border delegation to the launch of the United Democratic Front in Mitchell's Plain.

Then he, his wife Pam and children Yonda and Mayihlome left for Lusaka in 1985.

His political activities did not meet with the approval of his father.

"The other children could not go past Standard 6 because I was at school. My father was earning £3 a week and up to today I don't know how he managed to raise us."

He was acquitted on 15 of 16 sabotage charges, but convicted of being a member of the ANC and furthering its aims.

Robben Island was "hell on earth," he recalls. "We had no proper medication, worked hard

CMK  
Tew  
28/2/91

## Prisoners back PAC

Staff Reporter

PAC prisoners on Robben Island told their leaders yesterday that they fully supported the PAC stand that their releases must not be negotiated — even if this meant longer prison terms.

Mrs Patricia de Lille, the PAC's foreign-affairs secretary, said this after her return from the island yesterday.

She had gone there with three other PAC leaders — publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and national organiser Mr Mpolose Mangqangwana — to consult prisoners about the PAC policy on their release.

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# Communists in crisis. But the party has a place in SA

**A** YEAR after it was unbanned and six months after stepping formally from the shadows, the South African Communist Party is still struggling to find its feet.

In many ways, its identity crisis is that of the world communist movement. The ideal, a society free of want and exploitation, remains untarnished, but received notions on how to achieve it have been blown sky-high by the failure of "existing socialism".

Against the background of frantic navel-gazing abroad — the British party has turned itself inside out, while Italian and East German parties have dropped the term "communist" from their titles — 60 militants converged on Wits University at the weekend to examine the role of the SACP.

They have an additional poser: the party's historic links with the African National Congress. What, many are asking, can it offer which is not already available through its allies, the ANC and union movement? And if it has no clear role, why tax the country's already overloaded leadership cadres?

Without doubt, the SACP remains a potent symbol for South Africa's deprived and dispossessed. Ten thousand applications flowed in immediately after the August launch, and 6,000 additional forms have been issued since then in the Transvaal alone, says the region's publicity secretary, Sam Shilowa.

Translating this into organisation is another thing. Many are drawn by the symbolism but know little of the SACP's programme.

The lack of a true head office, leaders with multiple commitments — there are complaints that Joe Slovo is consumed by ANC work — and the problems of melding together exiles, the underground and unionists, have hampered the development of structures and a national approach. Members also lament the departure of Mac Maharaj — seen as a seminal thinker — from the leadership of the party.

In the Transvaal, only eight branches have been formally launched, while all the regions remain under appointed leaders.

A central snag is the SACP's historic role as the handmaiden of the ANC, which it continues to accept as the alliance kingpin. Communists must build the ANC, the argument goes, towards the interim goal of non-racial democracy.

Some leftists reject this on principle, arguing that a communist party cannot

At a little-heralded conference last weekend, a small core of militants grappled with the still undefined role and destiny of the South African Communist Party. **DREW FORREST** reports



Joe Slovo ... Caught up in ANC work

serve as the workers' vanguard when it is harnessed to other interests.

Ideological objections apart, the policy has undoubtedly blurred the party's edges and reduced its independent profile. Its campaigns are those of the ANC; so, with slight differences of emphasis, are its policies — Slovo's economic pronouncements differ little from those of the ANC's Max Sisulu.

Added to this is the huge overlap of membership, particularly in the Eastern Cape. "It's a unique situation — most members of a party being members of another," muses *South African Labour Bulletin* editor Karl von Holdt.

"The ANC negotiates with the government, it deals with people overseas; it is the main force in liberation politics. The party is not involved in



Chris Hani ... Wants 15 or 20 communist MPs in the first post-apartheid parliament



Mac Maharaj ... Left the leadership

politics or diplomacy, has no independent campaigns or struggles. What is it for?"

Some hold the SACP is playing a useful role in "keeping the alliance left", now that alliance structures are up and running. Party leader Jeremy Cronin stresses its contribution to alliance policy on the all-party constitutional conference.

But his central argument is that the SACP is uniquely placed to champion and re-define socialist ideals. "We must hold the line on socialism, show that the current crisis is not the end. But we must also tackle the view — widely held in South Africa for understandable reasons — that everything is OK."

Although the SACP shared the ANC's broad perspective on the econ-



Jeremy Cronin ... Redefine socialism

omy, he added, it was beginning to spotlight "stepping stones to socialism", including the issue of private monopolies.

Some activists, seeing education and branch-building as priorities, are not perturbed by the party's vanishing profile. Others, including Lisa Seftel, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) official and a party leader in the Transvaal, disagree. "Unless you have a profile people identify with, they won't join."

"Because of a concern with the immediate question of power, pressing community issues — land, electrification, low wages, jobs — are not being addressed. The party's focus should be on sustaining the struggle for democracy beyond majority rule."

Workplace democracy and, on the

international front, issues of imperialism such as the Gulf war should also be a focus.

The felt need for greater independence was a key theme of the SACP's weekend conference, sources say. SACP boss Chris Hani reportedly went as far as to urge "15 or 20" communist MPs in the first post-apartheid parliament.

There was a heavy stress on higher-profile campaigning, both through the alliance and other "sites of struggle", and delegates called for a political committee to focus on campaigns and policy. Significantly, both Cosatu and non-Cosatu unions are to be drawn into action on May 1 and the SACP's 70th anniversary on July 29.

A target was set of 30 000 members before the SACP's year-end congress.

Whether this foreshadows a growing estrangement of the party and the ANC is a moot point. Many hold their "non-antagonistic" relationship will come under growing strain as the ANC moves to the centre as it scents power. Cronin suggests another option: the SACP may succeed in shifting its ally to the left and merge with it.

At the very least, the soul-searching is a welcome signal that the party is trying to shed its "Stalinist" past, characterised by ex-unionist Mike Morris in a recent article, as one of "exclusions, rumour-mongering and open expulsions" of ideological deviants.

Hardliners there are undoubtedly, and Cronin might depressingly refer in a *Labour Bulletin* article to the "science of Marxism", but attempts to foster an open political culture seem real enough. It is significant that a call for a code of conduct to screen out unreliable elements was rejected by conference delegates.

This must in part stem from the influx of labour activists, and there are signs that the SACP's glasnost has influenced former union critics. National Union of Metalworkers' boss Moses Mayekiso believes few Numsa leaders are now standing aloof.

Worker sympathy, a reluctance to further fragment the left by launching another party, the weakness of its far-left rivals and the prospect of a rightward shift by the ANC all work in the party's favour.

The key test will be whether it can come up with a programme, particularly an economic programme, which is both distinct and workable. As a party of the radical left, having shed much of its discredited Marxist baggage, it could yet be a force to reckon with.

■ I THINK you are in the wrong profession. Why do you people not consider taking up law now that you are so versed in this field? The "new" South Africa seems destined

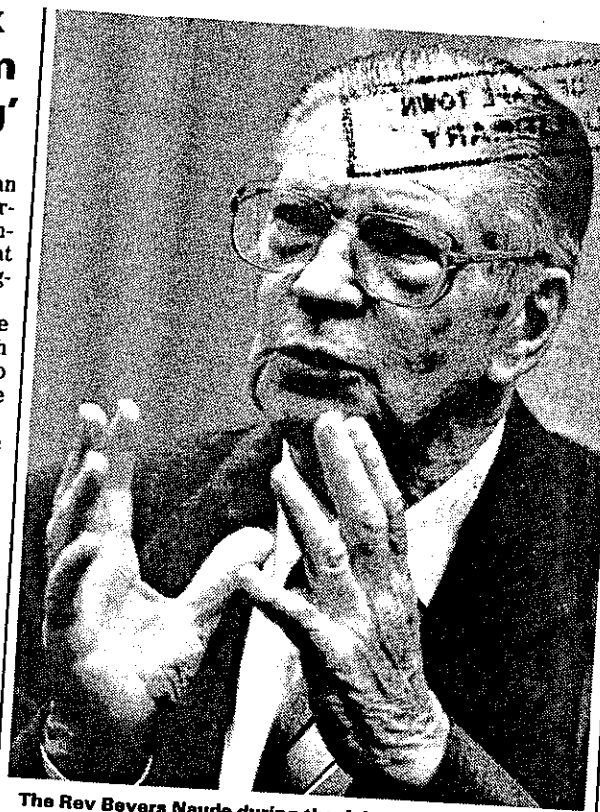
## LETTERS

ed a development on the same site) intends to turn one of South Africa's last unspoiled nature areas, Sandy Bay, into a built-up enclave for the rich

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The Rev Beyers Naude during the debate at Wits Business School.  
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

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# ANC dictatorship mooted in debate

(11A) DARIUS SANAI B/004 28/2/91

AN ANC dictatorship and a "deep political, economic and educational hole" were among the predictions for SA made during a debate on leadership at the Wits Business School yesterday.

Affirmative action to promote blacks in industries would be "a disaster" SA could not afford, said management consultant Tony Manning, who represented the business community in the debate. He said SA was in a hole, and called for new, creative thinking to find a way out.

Panelists, including former DP co-leader Wynand Malan, Musa Myeni of Inkatha and newspaper editors Ken Owen of the Sunday Times and Aggrey Klaaste of the Sowetan, were debating the topic: "What kind of leader does SA need?"

All agreed the basic problem in SA was one of economic unfairness, but they differed widely on how to redress the balance.

Malan accused business leaders of lacking innovation, calling on them to "accept now what is going to happen, and act". He said the ANC-led coalition government he predicted would be similar in form to the National Party of 1948-60.

Manning said most company directors would be suspicious of appointing a black board member, "because they would not know in whose interests he would be working". He called for a substantial re-education of the workforce — both black and white — to avoid disaster.

The panel agreed that blacks needed to be re-educated and to regain confidence.

"Those blacks who could have been leaders have gone into exile; apartheid has destroyed the structures of black society," Klaaste said.

He also said Malan's prediction of an ANC-led government "within two years" could mean a dictatorship: "It could be a very bad dictatorship to get people back into line; to prepare them for democracy".

Theologian the Rev Beyers Naude said visions of a peaceful, multiracial SA were not "a utopian dream" in spite of the doubts of many people. He stressed the importance of a leader with integrity who commanded wide grassroots support.

# Conference to shape the future of the UDF

THE UDF, the umbrella organisation covering many of apartheid's most vociferous enemies, might decide at its conference this weekend to become a civil and human rights watchdog body in a new SA.

The conference is due to be attended by the DP, Inkatha and a host of other former opponents.

But it might also decide to disband the organisation which had championed the extra-parliamentary cause for the last seven years, senior members said yesterday.

"After the weekend conference, the

UDF as we know it may be no more," a statement said.

But the "example of democracy" which the UDF had evolved should be carried into the new SA.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia said the conference might decide the organisation should become a pressure group, once a new constitution had been drafted and elections held.

The three-day conference is to be

held at a holiday resort in KwaNdebele.

Keynote speaker will be ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, while the most likely candidate as opening speaker is UDF co-president Archie Gumede.

Most of the conference will be closed to the public, but the UDF has invited a host of organisations and individuals to attend as observers.

UDF spokesman Titus Mofolo said organisations opposed to the UDF were invited "in the spirit of reconciliation".

## Splinter body attacks ANC

TIM COHEN

THE compromises ANC leaders are making to reach agreement with government are weakening the ANC, says Congress Militant, official organ of the Marxist Workers' Tendency (MWT) of the ANC.

The ANC suspended the MWT in 1984, but it operates as a pressure group.

The Congress Militant reports government wanted the ANC to give up mass action, but agreed to such action without intimidation and violence.

"We want an end to thugery, but is it wrongful 'violence' when slaves rise to break their chains?"

The publication also criticises the ANC for "working with the SAP" and giving capitalists assurances against nationalisation.

"The ANC has agreed not to create underground structures, but... the CCB remains," it says.



In preparation for Red Nose Day on Saturday, when Comic Relief hopes to raise R50 personalities took part yesterday in a television recording for M-Net's 12-hour telethon. Trust Corporation has also spearheaded Red Nose Business Challenge for the business sector. At the recording were, clockwise from top left: comedian Dennis McClean, Comic Relief presenter Ruda Landman, producer Bill Faure, Miss Hillbrow Jan Steiger, Landman and Faure; and McClean.

16/12/91

WTTM S

Standard Bank chief economist Nic



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'Bring back  
moratorium  
on hanging'

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC and the Human Rights Commission yesterday condemned government's announcement that the moratorium on hangings had ended.

The ANC said it should be reinstated until all South Africans had a chance to agree on what should be done. *Blum 28/2/91*

The organisations were responding to the announcement this week that SA's first execution in 15 months would take place soon, following expiry of the moratorium introduced in November 1989 to allow legislation to be reviewed.

An ANC statement said: "What is even more cruel is the fact that those who are facing the death penalty were given false hope. It is reasonable for the public and those directly affected to feel cheated," the statement said.

The HRC said in its statement the most fundamental human right of all was the right to life.

"We fail to see how the deliberate taking of a life can compensate for the loss of another, or in any way set the matter right and prevent a recurrence of the original act."

It suggested the energies of the justice machinery be used to stop extra-legal executions carried out by "shadowy death squads".



# Zambian opposition meets to elect leader

LUSAKA — Zambia's fledgling opposition movement opened its first national convention yesterday to mount an unprecedented challenge to President Kenneth Kaunda's leadership.

"The days of one-party rule are gone," declared Movement for Multi-Party Democracy chairman Arthur Wina.

Mr Kaunda (66) outlawed all opposition groups in 1973.

But under pressure at home and abroad he rewrote the constitution in December to restore Western-style democracy. He also promised free elections by July.

Mr Wina, a founder of Mr Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party and Zambia's first finance minister, told more than 1 000 delegates the Democrats would soon control the nation of 7.5 million.

The three-day convention aims to elect a president and 37 shadow cabinet ministers who will challenge Mr Kaunda and his party in elections this year.

There are four contenders for the presiden-

cy of the Democratic Movement. The victor will challenge Mr Kaunda at the polls.

Fredrick Chiluba (46), popular chairman of the powerful 300 000-strong Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, is the favourite, conferees said.

Mr Chiluba, the son of a worker in copper mines that earn Zambia nine-tenths of its export income, is often compared to Polish President Lech Walesa.

## Detained

He has never been in political power. But in 1981 he was detained under emergency laws for four months for trade union activism.

Ranged against him are Mr Wina (61), former ruling party secretary-general Humphrey Mulemba (58) and attorney Edward Shamwana (57).

Mr Shamwana was freed with other political prisoners last July after 10 years in jail for plotting a coup.

The elections for the presidency of the opposition party will be held today. — Sapa-AP.

## ANC moves on 'pirate' goods

By Stan Hlophe (11K)

The ANC has copyright over its name, logo, colours, flags, slogans and the names of some of its key leaders, and the manufacturers of products bearing any of these have been warned of possible legal action.

At a wholesalers' function hosted by the ANC this week, the organisation's financial head, Vusi Khanyile, said there

had been a proliferation of ANC-related products since the ANC's unbanning and the release of Nelson Mandela.

He urged wholesalers to liaise with the ANC. "We are prepared to produce whatever the market demands, but we would like your assistance to stop the pirate products from being sold. We are now calling on all of you only to buy from the ANC directly."

orders have had a damaging effect on Imam Achmat Cassiem's family life for decades. But the Qibla leader is determined to fight on and even lay his life down for the "struggle of the oppressed".  
Waghied Misbach reports

# No mad mullah but 'true son of Azania'

IIA South 28/2-6/3/91

ON THE whitewashed wall outside Imam Achmat Cassiem's home in Lansdowne, Cape Town, the words, "No peace without justice", is written in bold black letters.

The phrase seems to sum up a man who says revolution is "inevitable" in the struggle for a "just social order" in South Africa.

Cassiem has spent an unsettled life for most part of three decades in detention or under banning orders as leader and founder member of the Cape Town based Qibla, a Muslim organisation alternatively described as "fundamentalist", "ultra left-wing" or "reactionary".

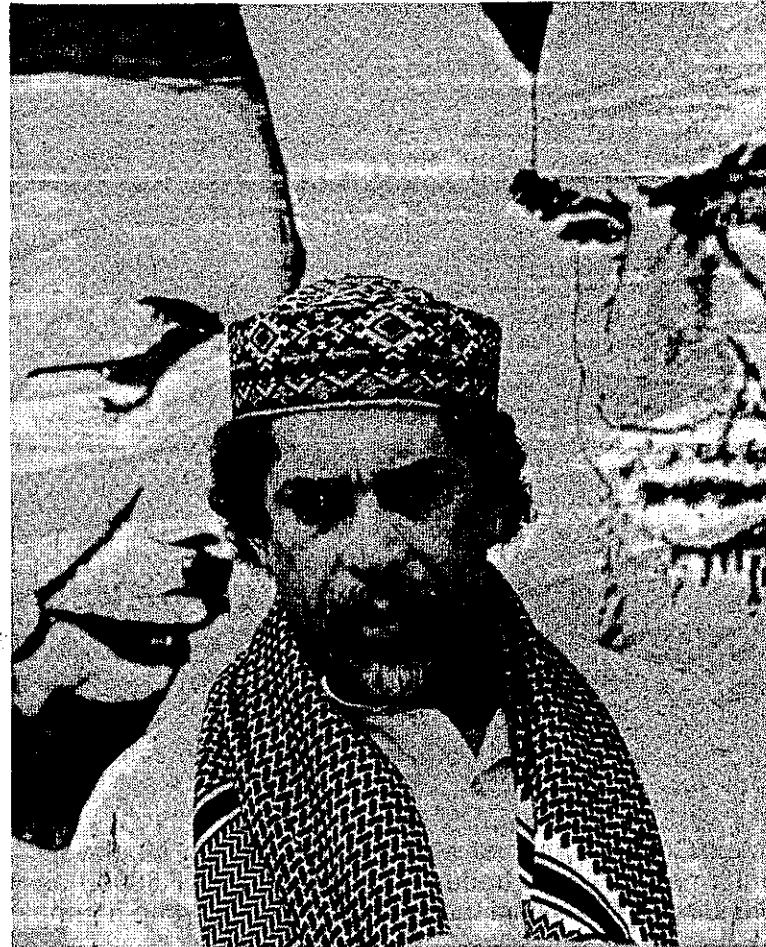
Cassiem, 46, was arrested for the first time as a teenager in 1964 for sabotage soon after he had passed matric at Trafalgar High.

## Terrorism

In October 1988, he was sentenced to six years on charges of terrorism. His appeal will be heard later this year. At the time of sentencing he was serving two years under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

On his own admission, Cassiem is engaged in Jihad or holy war against the state, as are all Muslims in the country if they "uphold the principles of Islam".

But this is no mad mullah with a dagger between clenched teeth and blazing eyes. Achmat Cassiem speaks in soft, precise tones of the struggle



**QIBLA LEADER: Imam Achmat Cassiem**

PICTURE: YUNUS MOHAMED

that has to be waged against the "settler colonialists who control 87 percent of the land".

"If a man stole your watch, he can't tell you that he will give you the band as a present. Even if he were to meet you

20 years later, he cannot say it is his because of the time that has passed," Cassiem says.

It is the kind of terminology and argument that is quite familiar to PAC supporters. In the trial of Cassiem and ex-

ecutive member Yusuf Patel, which included five others, the state alleged that Qibla had agreed to assist the Pan Africanist Congress in its local activities in exchange for military training. They were found guilty of 19 charges including terrorism and subversion.

Last Saturday at a press conference, a day after his release, at which a large PAC delegation was present, including publicity secretary Barney Desai and president Clarence Makwetu, Cassiem was praised by a speaker as a "true son of Azania".

Although Qibla is an independent organisation and not a PAC affiliate, Desai says the two organisations have a close relationship.

Under Cassiem's stringent bail conditions, which include not travelling more than 100km from his home and reporting twice a week to the police, he cannot speak on behalf of the organisation he helped form in 1980 even if he wanted.

"You must understand that I cannot speak on behalf of Qibla, only in my personal capacity," he tells me in his soft voice, adding: "I don't like personalising the struggle of the oppressed."

Qibla is considered one of the more militant of Islamic organisations. Cassiem is determined that social change will only occur through revolution, not through a process of peaceful coexistence with the oppressors.

"Often I am accused of advocating violence.

"Every human being and animal has the right to self defence. I am nonvio-

lent to nonviolent people only," he says.

Cassiem has retained much of his good humour despite the mental and physical effects of prison life.

But there remains a deep-seated hostility against the regime.

"It is not befitting any of the oppressed people to whitewash atrocities of the oppressed by saying the oppressor has integrity. No oppressor on earth has integrity. All oppressors are treacherous. No oppressor has ever had a religion."

He believes that because revolution is inevitable in this country, it is also possible for an Islamic revolution "if the majority of the oppressed convert to Islam".

***'No oppressor on earth has integrity. All oppressors are treacherous. No oppressor has ever had a religion.'***

Qibla's identification with the Iranian Islamic revolution is strong.

On banners of the organisation, Cassiem's face appears next to former Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini, who died in 1987 while

Cassiem was in prison.

"Everytime I watch the video of the death of Imam Khomeini, I weep," he says. Qibla has often been accused of being Shiite by Sunni Muslims in Cape Town because of its support of the predominantly Shiite Islamic revolution in Iran, but Cassiem insists there is little difference between the two sects.

"There is no difference on the main principles, only on interpretation of the Hadith, (the sayings of the prophet Muhammad)."

He contends he is neither Shiite nor Sunni, but "simply a Muslim".

# ANC-PAC split: <sup>stuck</sup> 2/2 - 6/3/91.

## How did it happen? 11A

THE formation of the ANC Youth League in the late 1940s started the trouble between the ANC and the group who broke away from the organisation to form the PAC, says the publicity secretary of the PAC, Barney Desai.

The Youth League was composed of what became the principal actors both in the ANC — people such as Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela — and the PAC, including Robert Sobukwe.

“The Youth League was dissatisfied with petition politics of the old reformist leadership which they ousted and embarked on the basis of a programme of action founded on African nationalism which was confrontational to the state rather than a political programme of petitioning.

“The immediate effect of that ousting of the leadership was the launching of the Defiance Campaign, which led to 8 000 people being sent to jail for defying unjust laws, and the ANC’s membership shot up from 8 000 to 100 000.”

After the Defiance Campaign had petered out, ideological tensions started growing between the original youth leaders.

“The Tambo-Mandela group was effectively now in control of the ANC, and went for more of a multiracial approach — in effect ditching African nationalism as the driving force. Sobukwe and others started the Africanist group within the ANC,” Desai recalls.

The Freedom Charter of 1956 was “the catalyst for galvanising or polaris-

ing the differences, because the major proposition of the Freedom Charter — that this country belongs to all who live in it, and that the land belongs to those who till it — contradicted the Africanists’ viewpoint. They felt this proposition was putting a stamp of legitimacy on land that was stolen.”

Disaffected ANC members, including Sobukwe, broke away in 1958. In 1959 they started the PAC.

Almost 30 years of complete hostility followed. That hostility was more apparent abroad than at home.

“The ANC at every international forum tried with great consistency to isolate the PAC as a non-authentic organisation, claiming it was the sole, authentic liberation movement. The obvious purpose, in our view, was the ANC’s desire to establish complete hegemony over the political process in respect of the oppressed in this country.”

There was a slight degree of cooperation towards the latter part of the 80s. At the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the ANC and the PAC would alternate in speaking on behalf of the liberation movements. Elsewhere they remained apart.

“In fact, the ANC as a matter of policy would not be on the platform with the PAC at any meeting, anywhere in the world.”

Today, both organisations are unbanned. After three decades of rivalry, they are not only sharing platforms but planning joint programmes. With time, they may even share policies and ideologies.

# No easy road to a 'united front'

South 28/2-6/3/91

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WHILE talks of unity between the ANC and PAC augurs well for the future, there are many "points of conflict" that must be resolved.

This is the view of the PAC's publicity secretary, Barney Desai, explaining the historic unity moves between the two organisations and the recent meeting between the ANC's deputy president, Nelson Mandela, and the PAC's president, Clarence Mkwethu.

"Both parties have found difficulties in reconstructing their structures and formalising their support into structures.

"This has been compounded by inter-ecine organisational violence, in particular, principally between the ANC and Inkatha. I think our skirmishes pale into insignificance. Perhaps that is a blessing in disguise, as we are now able to reach some consensus," says Desai.

"We came together for the first time in 30 years on February 4 (when the PAC and ANC met to discuss joining forces for liberation)."

Another reason for the rapprochement, in Desai's view, could be that delegates to the ANC's consultative conference last December had voiced the same criticisms that the PAC had voiced.

"Disquiet was raised there. In a way, people like me — who were in the forefront last year of pointing out the dangers of the kind of negotiating process on which the ANC embarked — have a constituency within the ANC. That might also be one of the elements that has been responsible for creating an atmosphere of unity."

## Tentative

Desai says decisions taken on February 4 were "tentative".

"Without detracting from the historical significance, I would caution people not to read too much into the joint demonstration on February 1."

He warned that many questions would still have to be resolved.

"We agreed on an action together. I know it's the first time we've agreed on joint action — our history has been one of disagreeing on action. But one act of unity does not make a united front.

"There are obvious ideological differences, and how we tackle them will determine whether we can build up an enduring united front. It may be that it only turns out to be a temporary phenomenon, centred on one particular demand — in this case, for a constituent assembly."

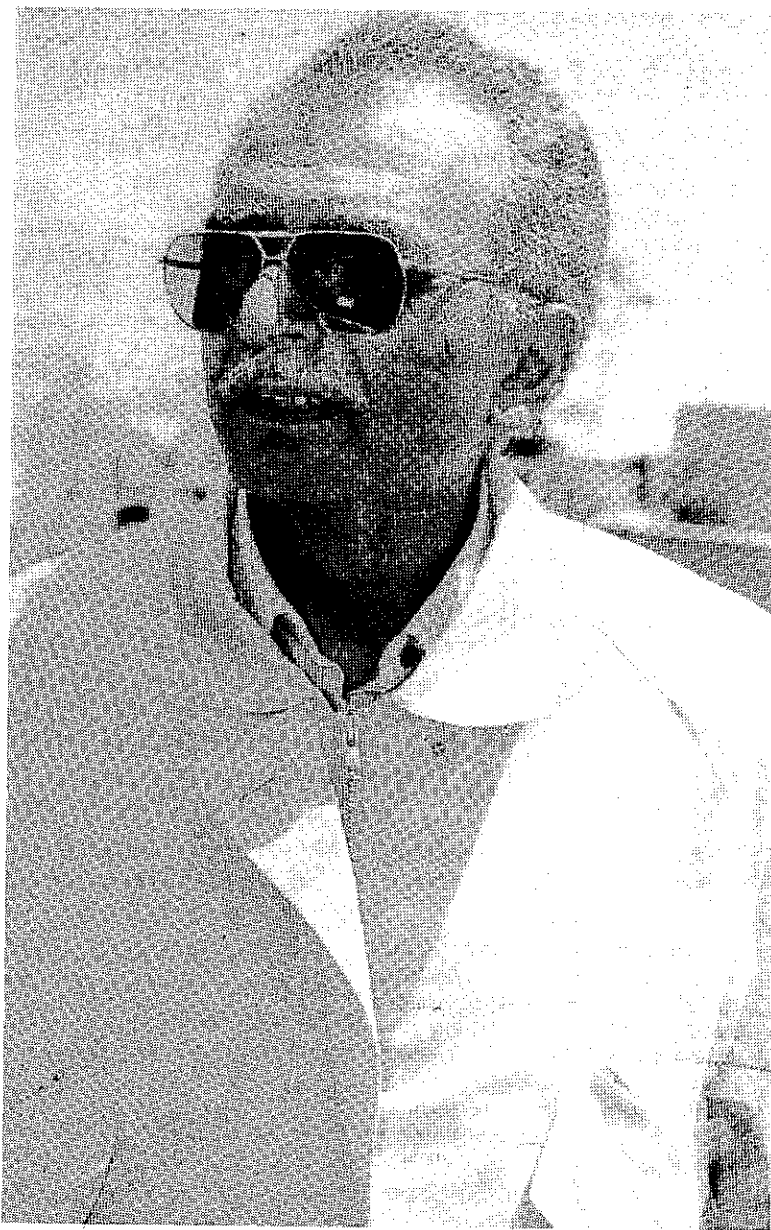
Desai mentions possible points of conflict, however, such as the ANC's invitation to an all-party conference.

Consultation should have taken place between the liberation movements before such a strategy was unveiled.

The PAC had been given the assurance at the February 4 meeting that the tripartite congress alliance — ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party — was not suggesting that the all-party conference should replace the constituent assembly, but should serve as a forum for discussion.

"It goes back to the old question of negotiations. We told the ANC: 'You want to negotiate. Sit down and talk to us first about this so that we can decide what direction we're going to take before you enter into unilateral negotiations with the authorities.' That was not heeded. Now there is a more amenable attitude to that approach."

At the February 4 meeting, the ANC



The need for a united front is now a feature of the ANC's coming to grips with the reality of the divisions in the South African political arena, says the PAC's publicity secretary, Barney Desai (above). The proposition of the ANC being the automatic alternative government can no longer be taken seriously, he told Noel Bruyns

and the PAC were instructed to form a liaison committee of three from each organisation. The committee would discuss "strategic questions related to our strategic goals", in preparation for a joint meeting of the ANC's national executive committee and the PAC's national executive council.

"The other point of difference we have to resolve is our refusal to be part of an interim government."

The PAC also had to clarify its attitude to future joint actions and its reaction if the ANC held future unilateral discussions with the government "outside of the scope of a constituent assembly".

Questions which Desai says has to be considered include: "Do you go on with your all-party proposal with all and sundry? How do you effect a transition the constituent assembly into government? Several issues have to be clarified.

"Nevertheless, the ANC-PAC meeting was an historic moment in the history of South African oppression."

How would Pretoria react to a patriotic front by the liberation organisations?

"If I was on their side, I'd be rather apprehensive because we will be less able to be manipulated when we are united. So, the government must be anxious.

"But if it feels it can use a party with which they have been negotiating to convince other parties. That could be on

the agenda, but certainly is not on ours."

What did the future hold for an ANC-PAC patriotic front?

"I don't know," admits Desai, "but our supporters must not think that there is going to be a merger of organisations. That is not on the agenda. It's not only a question of identity, it's a question of policies. South 28/2-6/3/91

However, there could be unity and yet diversity. 119

"The talks between our organisations augurs well for a future democratic order. Within the unified principle, united front — not popular front — you have an ongoing mutual respect for your ideologically differing parties because you are engaged in a series of actions that are uniting.

## Assessment

"I'm thinking of things like whether the parties will approach the electorate separately or jointly? These are issues that will have to be discussed when the time arrives and when we have made a proper assessment of how far, in fact, we have been able to work together."

On a possible future coalition of different liberation organisations, Desai says the PAC believes in "the unity of people who have a contradiction with the regime".

"I can see us sitting together in government with the ANC more easily than I can see us sitting with anybody else, certainly representatives of the ruling class," he says.

# Future of UDF to be decided at weekend

*Sowetan 28/2/91*

(11A)

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

TO BE or not to be will be the main question at the United Democratic Front's national general council to be held in KwaNdebele at the weekend.

"After the weekend conference, the UDF as we know it will be no more," general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The question whether the UDF continues or not will be decided by conference.

"We are, however, confident the debates and

discussions on the future of the organisation will be informed and inspired by concrete conditions in all our localities and the needs of the national democratic struggle," he said.

Molefe said at least 500 delegates and observers were expected at the conference.

A merger with the African National Congress was not anticipated and those officials holding positions in the ANC and

UDF would decide whether to be UDF officials or ANC officials "to change the perception that UDF is a Charterist front", he said.

"If the UDF continues it will be transformed into a broader organisation away from its Charterist links," Molefe said.

"It will be a coordinating body for its affiliates and would campaign around mass issues such as housing. It will be a front for civic

and community and will challenge government of these issues."

The conference opened on Monday its president M. Gumede.

ANC intern: Mr Walter Sis give the keynote on the state of the On Saturday there will be a session to discuss of the UDF.

Several organisations and business groups have been invited to the conference.

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