

BLACK POLITICS

1991

MARCH.

ANC paper grapples with land distribution

NATIONALISATION of land to right past wrongs is the main thread that runs through the ANC Land Commission discussion document released yesterday, although it points out some almost overwhelming defects in such a course of action.

The document is to be distributed among ANC branches countrywide in order to encourage discussion and debate with a view to formulating ANC policy at the organisation's mid-year conference.

The document does not constitute ANC policy, although it quotes both the Freedom Charter, which calls for the land to be "redivided" among those who work it, and the ANC's draft constitutional proposals which propose help for those who have been dispossessed.

The discussion document follows the same format as the report from an ANC workshop on agrarian restructuring held last August, mentioning the pros and cons of nationalising land,

without adopting an equivocal stance on either course.

The discussion document begins with an account of the gradual dispossession of black land by white settlers, until 80% of SA's land was reserved for white ownership.

It says the ANC is angered by President F W de Klerk who, the document says, has assured white farmers their title deeds are safe.

"We remember with pain the time when the title deeds of black South Africans did not safeguard their property rights."

Anger

It also states that the ANC must satisfy the strong desire for land as this is "one of the most important national demands".

"If a radical land reform does not take place, we can expect an outburst of uncontrollable political anger."

State action and the development of a system of land rights law are seen as the main methods of achieving a more

B/day 1/3/91

TIM COHEN

just distribution of land.

The document says government felt until recently that removing racial restrictions on land ownership and allowing people to buy land on the free market would be the method through which blacks would get land.

The document rejects this approach because moneyless people would not gain access to land.

"For this reason we believe that a carefully planned state intervention is required."

The report does not estimate how much land is required, or how much this land would cost the state.

In order to achieve redistribution, the document says the ANC has been discussing a Land Claims Court, which would have certain guidelines to judge who has the best claim to a piece of land.

The guidelines would take into account title deeds, birthrights, inheritance over generations, forced relocations, historical rights and occupation-

al rights and the need to have a place to live.

The state would have to intervene if a change in ownership was required.

As to how the state should achieve this, the document proposes several possibilities, including the banning of private ownership of land and the expropriation of land.

Categories

On the banning of private land ownership, the report says: "This is not the easy solution that we used to think it was", and points to the examples of Mozambique and the Soviet Union where collective farming land is being redistributed to individuals.

Expropriated land could be given to particular categories of people, or it could be rented or sold — possibly using special terms of credit.

But the document calls for discussion on security of tenure and possible sanctions which could result if this were done.

"Some people think that there is no guarantee that state ownership of land offers long-term security," it says, adding that even in East European countries people are now trying to get their own plots of land.

Overseas countries might also refuse to lend the state money and foreign investors might be scared off, the document points out.

The document rules out as "totally unacceptable" compensation in foreign exchange, and says there is a debate about whether all white farmers ought to be compensated at all.

"Prompt cash payment will burden our state budget, limit the speed at which land can be redistributed and contribute to inflation."

The discussion document suggests that compensation should be paid out in part immediately and the rest over 10 years.

It suggests that possibly 25% should be given in cash, 25% in bonds to be paid in 10 years' time, and half in bonds to be invested in SA industry.

ANC report calls for 'land claim courts'

8/Day 1/3/91 TIM COHEN

THE ANC's Land Commission yesterday released a document strongly stressing the need to redistribute land with special courts ruling on individual land disputes.

The document also raises several problems associated with nationalisation — the second ANC paper to do so within weeks.

The generally cautious document envisages a demand-led land policy with "land claims courts" deciding individual claims.

It warns of an "uncontrollable political anger" if radical land reform does not occur and questions whether some farmers should be compensated at all. (119)

But the document also raises the examples of East European countries, the Soviet Union and Mozambique, where land nationalisation failed. (119)

It warns that international sanctions are possible if land is nationalised and raises the possibility that state ownership would not offer farmers long term security.

Land commission member Dave Cooper said yesterday the ANC envisaged a "demand-led" approach to land reform.

Government would not start off by buying up vast tracts of land for redistribution, but would rather respond to specific demands and legitimate claims ruled on by the land claim courts.

The possibility of large-scale redistribution arising from court decisions could not, however, be ruled out.

The document proposes the land claim courts would work according to guidelines which would take account of title deeds, but would not be absolutely bound by them.

The court would take account of birthrights, inheritance over generations, forced relocations, historical claims, present occupation rights and the claimant's need to have a place to live and farm.

Cooper said at a Press conference yesterday the decision of the court would to a great extent depend on how the land was being used at that particular time.

The state would intervene once the court had made its decision, possibly by expropriation and granting compensation.

The ANC was proposing a process whereby people could make claims according to certain criteria. For example,

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Land 8/Day 1/3/91

people who lost their land through forced removals would get priority over people making historical claims on the same piece of land dating back 150 years.

The document also says that there should be flexible forms of land ownership, land should be affordable and land reform should take place at a "careful" speed.

Cooper said while there was a need to redistribute land, this would have to be

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balanced against SA's economic needs. He said there was a role for the market in this process, but that this might not be the free market as it currently existed.

There was a role for people to exchange land on terms they themselves agreed on. Mediation would be necessary only if people were unable to enter the market.

● See Page 11

Idasa's Boraine lashes Mandela on sanctions

THE ANC's position on sanctions is untenable, says Idasa executive director Alex Boraine.

In an editorial in Idasa's latest newsletter calling for the "urgent" end to sanctions, Boraine criticises ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on this issue. ~~IIA~~ (IIA) ~~IIA~~

Boraine writes that on the one hand the ANC rightly demands that reparations be made to those who have been severely discriminated against for so long.

On the other hand, Mandela insists

Political Staff

that sanctions cannot be lifted until there is a new constitution.

"But there is no way in which serious attention can be given to the plight of the dispossessed unless there is significant economic growth, and a new constitution is several years down the road. ~~IIA~~ 1/3/91

"South Africa simply does not have the time to wait until then," he argues. "The new SA must start now."

Boraine writes that hand in hand

with progress on the negotiation front should go constant and urgent attention to the economic plight of the majority of South Africans.

F W de Klerk's "enlightened and courageous" decision to scrap the fundamental race laws which had bedevilled SA society for so long had led to the perception that he was being "rewarded" by a shift in the international community's stance on sanctions.

"And Mr Mandela is seen as the loser at a time when SA simply cannot afford winners or losers."

ANC reveals plans for land reform

Star 1/3/91

11A

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC has proposed a comprehensive Land Reform Act and the establishment of a Land Claims Court to handle the emotive demand for the redistribution of land in such a way that farming productivity is not disrupted.

Imaginative proposals on land reform are contained in a discussion document, released yesterday by the organisation's Land Commission.

At a press conference, spokesmen Derek Hanekom and David Cooper said the document would be widely distributed for debate by the ANC's 14 regions. A final policy document would then be drawn up and presented for adoption at the ANC's national conference in June.

Imbalance

The document stated that carefully planned state intervention was needed to ensure equal access to land and to address the current imbalance whereby 80 percent of the population occupied 13 percent of the land.

However, land nationalisation would be expensive, would scare off foreign investment and was "not the easy solution that we used to think it was".

The ANC's publicity director, Pallo Jordan, said that land nationalisation had never been ANC policy.

"The ANC never spoke of the nationalisation of land, only the nationalisation of industry. There is a strong demand for



Pallo Jordan . . . 'Land nationalisation has never been ANC policy.'

the nationalisation of land, but what people usually mean by that is that the State should intervene to get back their land and then give it to them in the form of private plots."

The document carefully argued the thorny issue of compensation for white farmers, and offers some controversial solutions:

- Certain landowners, such as Anglo American, could afford, and might be willing, to donate their land for redistribution or accept modest compensation.

- Some farmers might disqualify themselves from compensation by refusing to abide by labour laws, being guilty of human rights violations or abandoning their land.

- Cash compensation would

burden the state budget, limit the speed of redistribution and contribute to compensation. Instead, owners could be partly paid in cash and partly in bonds to be cashed over a 10-year period. Payment in foreign currency would not be considered.

Another controversial suggestion contained in the document was to introduce a land tax "to ensure productivity".

It said: "A progressive land tax means that those who own more land pay more and should encourage large landholders to give up or sell land."

Other suggestions included were that:

- A Land Claims Court be set up to devise fair procedures and criteria for the adjudication of land claims. These guidelines would take into account birthright, historical claims, ancestral graves, present occupation rights, inheritance and people's need to have a place to live and farm.

Grants

- To ensure fast redistribution, the state could nationalise all land, with or without compensation. Thereafter, it could give land grants to people, rent out the land to tenants or sell land to individuals and co-operatives.

- Some form of reparation should be given to people who had been unfairly removed from their land.

- Land reform should ensure better use of natural resources, increased productivity and create job opportunities. Rural and agricultural productivity must be stimulated through government-sponsored programmes of affirmative action to ensure equal access to resources, credit, infrastructure and training.

Has the once-mighty UDF outlived its purpose?

Star 1/3/91.

11A

TO BAN the United Democratic Front (UDF) would be like trying to prohibit sex, a journalist wrote in 1985 amid frantic State efforts to clamp down on the mass-based organisation.

Ironically, the unbanning of the ANC on February 2 last year has done what the might of the State could not do: to marginalise the UDF, an umbrella organisation with more than 700 affiliates representing about 2 million activists.

Today, the organisation which fuelled the flames of anti-apartheid resistance to new heights during the 1980s seems to have become virtually inactive.

The unbanning of the ANC has seen a return of activists to their first political home. Many have taken up their natural place in ANC structures and regard the UDF as an unnecessary duplication of activities.

Some of the UDF's top leaders, who have spearheaded the movement in the turbulent 1980s, now work for the ANC full-time. They include activists Mo-

ammed Valli Moosa and Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

This weekend, the UDF will gather at a secluded venue in KwaNdebele to decide whether to disband or redefine its role.

A strong lobby within the UDF is calling for disbandment. They argue that the UDF, formed in August 1983 to challenge political "reforms" introduced by the P W Botha administration, has fulfilled its task.

Maintain

Others say the UDF should maintain its umbrella status, co-ordinating the activities of specific interest groups such as students and women. They also believe the UDF could become an important pressure group in a new dispensation, guarding democracy and demanding accountability from any new government.

Regardless of the outcome, a fine chapter of anti-apartheid resistance will be closed at Goederede this weekend.

Ranking among the UDF's achievements in its

seven-year existence were its constant and successful campaigns against the tricameral parliament and black local authorities.

Its style of noisy confrontation infuriated the Government but consolidated resistance at a level matched only by the Congress Alliance of the 1950s.

Thousands of people responded to the rent boycott campaign launched in 1984, the million signature campaign against the first tricameral elections, the boycott of black local authority elections, Black Christmas campaigns and numerous stayaways.

Through one of its main affiliates, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), banned in 1985, the UDF played a major role in school boycotts.

Unlike other anti-apartheid organisations at the time, the UDF gave particular attention to whites, continuously calling on them not to vote and explaining the role of whites in extra-parliamentary politics.

The organisation's emphasis on local community

struggles unleashed deep-seated grievances caused by housing shortages, expensive services, corrupt councillors, inadequate welfare facilities and poor education. Hundreds of communi-



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . effectively sidelined.



Mohammed Valli Moosa . . . prominent in UDF.



Patrick 'Terror' Lekota . . . place in the ANC.

Crucial decisions on the future of the United Democratic Front will be taken this weekend at a national conference. Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE assesses the UDF's embattled existence.

1985, hosted by UDF patron Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Aggressive mobilisation in Natal led to vicious fighting with Inkatha supporters. Thousands of lives were lost on these battlefields.

What the UDF regarded as "puppet structures" such as black local authorities also came under vicious attack, and many "sell-outs" fell victim to the horrifying "necklace" killings.

The State retaliated with vengeance against the increasingly popular UDF, harassing and detaining thousands of UDF activists under emergency regulations first introduced in 1985, continuously ransacking offices and houses, and cutting off foreign funding in 1986 by listing it as an "affected" organisation.

Subsequently, the UDF and other organisations were declared "restricted organisations", virtually silencing extra-parliamentary opposition in the country.

Several UDF leaders were charged with treason; most walked free after years of detention and final

acquittals by the courts.

At least one UDF leader died in detention under dubious circumstances. Others mysteriously disappeared.

At the time, the UDF alleged that death squads within the security forces were responsible. The State suggested that opposing black political groups were to blame.

The same year saw the birth of the Mass Democratic Movement. Although regarded by the State as a front for the ANC, cracks in the relationship between the ANC and the UDF/Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) appeared even before the ANC's unbanning.

Rewritten

When the exiled leadership returned, these cracks became more evident.

Nelson Mandela's first speech as a free man was said to have been rewritten by MDM leaders. A few days later, his call on pupils to return to school was openly contradicted by MDM leaders.

Some prominent internal

activists, notably those who have criticised Winnie Mandela after the Stompie Sepele scandal, were not given positions in the ANC hierarchy.

MDM leader Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the strong National Union of Mineworkers, surprised if not shocked many when warning, shortly before Mr Mandela's release, that he was just an ordinary member of the ANC.

Mr Ramaphosa was constantly at Mr Mandela's side, but within weeks, the man referred to as Mr Mandela's "gate keeper" became conspicuous by his absence, and is now believed to play a minor role in the ANC.

In fact, few UDF leaders succeeded in gaining top jobs within ANC structures, with former Robben Islanders and exiles mostly being elected to regional executives.

Having been upstaged by the unbanning of the ANC, UDF structures started an intense debate on its future role. The outcome will be decided this weekend. □

of 43c a share and a dividend of 10c. The share is on a par with...
 provision return of 2.5 percent...
 then, the rise in the price...
 are completed.

The fate of the front

W/ Mail 113-713/91.

11A

THE United Democratic Front — the major legal political force outside parliament during the turbulent 1980s — may be on the point of disbanding.

And if it does continue, it will be in a radically different form, the clearest option being a federation of civic bodies emphasising development issues and no longer guided by the Freedom Charter.

The need for the independence of civil society, including civic organisations, is now widely accepted on the left as the key lesson of Eastern Europe.

A final decision on the fate of the front will be made at a crucial national general council (NGC) meeting in kwaNdebele on March 1-3, attended by all the UDF's regions, national affiliates and "fraternal" organisations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

Rather than operating as a true front, the UDF was essentially the above-ground political surrogate for the ANC while the latter was still proscribed.

The unbanning of the ANC has called into question its role and purpose. Many UDF leaders, including general secretary Popo Molefe, president Albertina Sisulu and publicity officer Titus Mafolo, also hold office in the ANC.

Sources add that infighting has left the front with powerful political enemies which would be happy to see it disappear.

At a press conference staged by the front's national executive in Johannesburg this week, Molefe stressed that because the

The United Democratic Front, a strident political voice while the African National Congress was banned, has had to reconsider its future now that the ANC is legal.

By **DREW FORREST**



UDF president Albertina Sisulu

UDF's many affiliates had members outside the ANC, there was no question of the front and the ANC simply merging.

The UDF had "not done much" over the past year, but had a hand in land occupations, in co-ordinating the civic movement and in rural organisation against homeland rule. Realising that "we are now the creators of our future", it had increasingly em-

phasised development questions, setting up a development forum in the Eastern Cape.

Questioned on the role of a revamped UDF, treasurer Azhar Cachalia said it could serve as a co-ordinating front for its affiliates and campaign on "developmental mass issues", such as housing.

"No matter how democratic it is, a new government will not be able to overcome the legacy of apartheid overnight. Whether resources go to a particular community will depend on how much pressure it can exert."

There was a very real risk that local battles, particularly in rural areas, would be sidelined in the absence of a national lobby.

Significantly, the UDF has invited non-Charterist organisations, including Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo, to attend its NGC.

Sources say this is in recognition that a true civic movement should not be ANC-aligned.

"If you live in Soweto, the Soweto civic must represent you, regardless of your beliefs," was one comment. It is thought highly likely that a reconstituted UDF will ditch the Freedom Charter.

Whether NGC delegates vote to disband or relaunch depends to some extent on the backing it still commands in its various regions. In the Eastern Cape, the front is still active and support strong, while in Natal — where internal battles have torn the UDF and political violence has taken its toll — enthusiasm is said to be at a low ebb.

FEELING THE WAY

11A
FIM 113191

"Business should not be euphoric." That's the advice from Tito Mboweni, ANC deputy economics head, on the organisation's new briefing document on nationalisation.

It argues strongly against nationalisation but the ANC has been committed to State control for 35 years and Mboweni admits it will be a challenge to sell such a major shift to members — particularly in the trade unions.

If the branches are against change, the National Consultative Conference in June could vote accordingly — and the nationalisation policy could be retained.

The ANC's move from nationalisation is part of a trend first reported by the *FM* last year (*Current Affairs* October 5.) Its present economic policy, set out in a document issued in September, has been widely accepted in the regions, says Mboweni. It is not clear whether the document could be revised before the conference.

Mboweni says: "Economic policy is fairly complicated. We can't say that by June we will or won't have a certain policy." He adds his department is doing extensive research into other issues, such as fiscal and interest rate policies.

In the latest briefing document, published in the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, the economics department says the organisation "must have convincing proof that nationalising a particular section of the economy carries more benefits than costs."

It continues: "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 an overall economic policy that will begin to solve our problems."

The new approach comes after a year of debate and controversy over the nationalisation policy, ignited when deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated the ANC's support for it shortly before his release on February 11 last year.

The ANC has claimed nationalisation as

part of ANC policy since the Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955. The charter proclaims: "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

Mboweni disputes that this implies nationalisation and, indeed, points out that the word is not in the charter. He says ownership by the people could mean State ownership — or it could mean that enterprises such as banks are "not solely white-owned with white male top management" but offer services and opportunities to all people. At the moment these institutions "are not a reflection of the society they operate in. They reflect a white, male, colonial society."

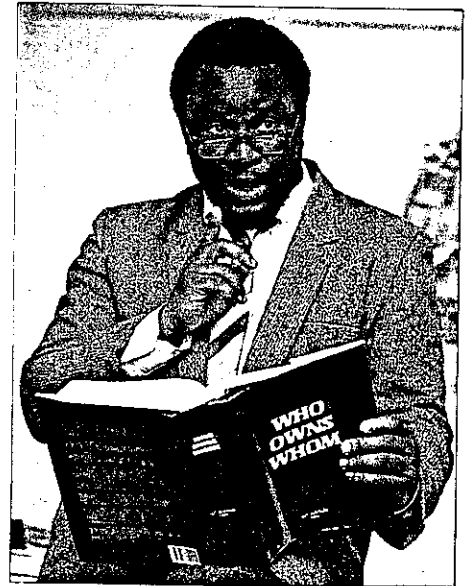
"The Freedom Charter is a very short document," says Mboweni. "We are trying to give more flesh to it, we are not departing from the Freedom Charter. The Land Bank, for example, can be used to serve the interests of all farmers regardless of race; the Development Bank serves the needs of all."

He says major changes will have to take place in the way the mining industry is run. "Botswana has a good example of joint venture between the government and De Beers. In Britain coal mining is wholly owned by the State. In the Middle East oil is seen as a resource benefiting all the people in those countries." Mboweni believes it is important for "people to feel they belong to the economy."

The new nationalisation document notes: "One could argue that nationalising the mines will mean that workers on the mines will get better wages and work under better conditions and that we could use the profits from mining to provide for the poor."

"On the other hand, it could be argued that we cannot afford to spend the R70bn it would cost to nationalise the mines. Even if we borrowed this money it would put us into serious debt for many years to come."

The document points out that such nationalisation will not create jobs and could cause skilled workers on mines — most of whom, especially engineers, are foreign — to leave the country. This would cause the mining industry to "collapse, because we do not have the necessary skilled people. This will result in serious problems for the economy as a whole since mining is the main foreign ex-



Mboweni . . . predicts changes in mining industry

change earner."

Mboweni says the briefing document on nationalisation is the first in a series the economics department will publish in *Mayibuye*. The next paper is expected to deal with the mechanics of redistribution, followed by one on public utilities.

It seems the ANC's economics experts wisely want to avoid a fiasco similar to the one at last year's conference. Delegates refused even to discuss a document — which argued that sanctions should be eased — because they had not been prepared for it.

DEMOCRACY FM 113/91
OSCAR CEREMONY

Picture It: representatives of every significant political grouping in SA — except the Conservative Party (CP) and the AWB — hands joined, praying for peace.

Sounds unlikely, even impossible, but it happened in Cape Town this week during one of the most remarkable political gatherings since President F W de Klerk ushered in the new SA more than a year ago.

It was the launch of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD), headed by former Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dhlomo. The impressive array of political leaders sharing drinks instead of swopping abuse stunned even the most cynical critics of SA's "institute industry."

The attendance and amicable chatter between guests at the subsequent cocktail party overshadowed — perhaps by design — the news value of Dhlomo's address to the gathering.

According to IMPD national director Saths Cooper, there were representatives from the ANC, the PAC, the NP, Azapo, the SACP, the Afrikaner Volkswag, the DP, the Labour Party (LP), Inkatha, Solidarity, the National People's Party (NPP) and Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement.

Dhlomo believes it was the most represen-

tative cross-section of political opinion ever assembled.

And it is understood that De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi would have attended had a logistical hitch not forced a change of plan.

The NP was represented by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, while other high-profile dignitaries included PAC leader Benny Alexander, Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, ANC executive committee members Pallo Jordan and Aziz Pahad, LP leader Alan Hendrickse, Solidarity's JN Reddy and NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi.

The diplomatic corps was there in force and included the ambassadors of the US, Britain, Germany, Italy, France, Canada and Australia.

The combination of Dhlomo as executive chairman and Cooper (a former Azapo president) as Johannesburg-based national director, is further evidence of what the institute has already achieved in reconciling political differences.



Dhlomo

The IMPD's aim is to promote the establishment and maintenance of multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in SA. Its formation followed nearly a year of groundwork, in which all significant political groupings — including the CP — were

briefed on and who expressed support for its aims. Leaders of many of the organisations took part in two seminars, at which the institute's aims were discussed in detail.

Dhlomo says the IMPD wants to develop a "covenant on democracy" in conjunction with political organisations to clarify the precise meaning of multi-party democracy and then get the organisations to commit themselves to the covenant.

He says the IMPD will be non-aligned. It is funded mainly by overseas institutes and foreign governments — not by choice, but through necessity.

"It is ironic indeed that we have found ourselves in a situation in which foreign foundations, governments and institutes gave more generously and cared more deeply about the development of a genuine multi-party democracy in SA than did South African businessmen. These are the same businessmen who look forward to doing business in a stable and democratic socio-political environment in the not-too-distant future."

Dhlomo believes there is room for the institute and that it will not duplicate the work of others or compete for the same funds.

He says that it differs in that its trustees represent a "uniquely wide range of socio-political thinking" in SA; it is politically non-aligned; its primary aim is mass education rather than high-profile conferences involving leadership elites; and it is a black initia-

tive, which will widen its scope and effectiveness compared to most other "advocacy organisations" which tend to be white initiatives.

There's no doubt that it got off to an impressive start, but the real work lies ahead. Establishing a democratic culture in a country that's never known one is no easy task. ■

datory tactics used by some supporters of Winnie Mandela and her co-accused in the kidnapping and assault case at the Rand Supreme Court.

ANC spokesperson Gill Marcus says Mandela's nine-page speech was longer than required by the club. It had to be cut to 15 minutes.

The editing process removed much of the meat of the speech. In the paragraph referring to bully-boy tactics, Mandela was to have said: "I am duty bound to stress that such zeal is misplaced and misdirected if its outcome is to compromise the integrity of our movement and violates the principles we hold dear." He "unreservedly" condemned such tactics.

The following two pages of the original speech were directed at "the vexing problem of tolerance and the rights of the individual." Mandela said tolerance should not be "understood as the grudging accommodation of

an opinion one does not hold . . . we must begin from the premise that truth is elusive and can only be derived from the untrammelled competition of differing opinions and through debate."



Mandela

He said such tolerance applied equally to government and

extra-parliamentary bodies, saying that the use of repressive legislation and "weapons of war" by the State to enforce, or repress, viewpoints had affected "the political culture of our country . . . by the evident inability of many of us to engage in sober debate without recourse to threats and even physical abuse."

In an important indication of the ANC's commitment to the suspension of armed action, and the cessation of violence in the townships, Mandela also wrote: "An appeal to tolerance cannot be invoked to legitimate the advocacy of murder, let alone its commission . . ."

"We suppress such advocacy and the commission of such acts, not because of our absolute certainty that we are correct, but because of the universal recognition that such advocacy is absolutely wrong."

However, in a subtle allusion to why some people may feel compelled to use bully-boy tactics in support of his wife, Mandela touched on the application of law in SA. He said he had become a lawyer because the law was not "an instrument that afforded the citizen protection, but rather the chief means of his subjection."

Not only did this make the administration

TOLERANCE FM 1/3/91

VOICE OF REASON (11A)

The ANC deputy president has "unreservedly" attacked those who use "bully-boy tactics" in support of Winnie Mandela during her court appearances.

In a finely crafted speech — much of it not actually delivered to the audience for which it was intended — Nelson Mandela also gave a reasoned argument for political tolerance and a subtle explanation of why some people perhaps resorted to unacceptable tactics.

However, those parts of his speech — at the Johannesburg Press Club last Friday — were cut out, along with several other chunks, because the organisers insisted on a time limit. Mandela was there to receive the Newsmaker of the Year Award with President FW de Klerk.

The ANC has come under fierce attack from the media for not condemning intimi-

continue

of justice "well-nigh impossible" but it led to "many in our country holding the law in contempt because of a widely held perception that it is oppressive and has been systematically used to deny millions rights which other people take for granted."

He said the most effective way to build "a law-abiding society is 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."

Adhere to terms of talks pact - ANC

11A
So what
11/3/91

ONE of the major difficulties in the process leading up to negotiations is an attitude on the part of the Government that its legitimacy should not be brought into question.

From the outset of talks with the African National Congress, the Government has adopted the attitude that "the law is the law" and that as the Government of the day it has to uphold the statute book and rule as it deems fit.

Nobody expects the Government to abandon the administration of the country without anything to fill the gap that would be created.

But for progress in the negotiation process to be uninterrupted, the Government has to accept that the majority of South Africans do not recognise its right to rule over us.

Nor do the laws - especially discriminatory and repressive laws - hold any moral force over the multitudes of South Africa.

Advance

The agreement reached between the ANC and the Government on 12 February 1991 concerning the implications of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action and related activities, is an important advance in this regard.

It implicitly gives recognition to the fact that Umkhonto we Sizwe exists as an army in this country.

The agreement states: "The working group noted the historical fact that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe had placed arms and cadres within the country."

Yet the agreement does not compel or oblige the ANC to disband units of MK inside the country.

It furthermore, does not compel the ANC to hand over arms

ANC media officer for the PWV region, **RONNIE MAMOEPA**, offers his organisation's analysis of the "ceasefire" agreement with the government.



Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani

and ammunition in the possession of MK inside the country.

The agreement does not require of the ANC to shut down its military camps outside the country or to discontinue building and training its army at these bases.

Noteworthy in the agreement is the Government having explicitly conceded "that the population at large has a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations."

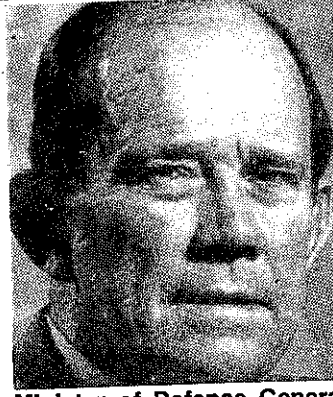
Peaceful

Hopefully the Government would give effect to this by ending its war against peaceful protest - or mass action, as we call it.

The agreement also calls on the security forces to "take cognisance of the suspension of armed actions and related activities".

And, furthermore, it establishes a joint liaison committee to investigate "all allegations of unlawful activities or activities contrary to the spirit of this agreement, by the security forces."

Two very significant points



Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan

arise here: Firstly, it directly brings into question the role of the security forces and secondly, it compels the security forces to not only uphold "the law" but also, very importantly, the spirit of the agreement.

The ANC has agreed that the following would not take place: Attacks by means of firearms, etc., military training inside the country, infiltration of men and material, the creation of new underground MK structures and threats of armed action.

Victory

The agreement is a victory for it now clears the way for the release of all political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles by April 30 1991, the deadline set by the 1990 National Consultative Conference of the ANC.

All this with the ANC having finally succeeded in getting the Government to accept that it has suspended armed actions, and not terminated the armed struggle.

The armed struggle will only be terminated when significant progress is made on the negotia-

tions front.

In terms of the Harare Declaration - the document which embraces the ANC's perspective on negotiations (and indeed that of the international community) - "armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated" only after the adoption of a new constitution.

This agreement breaks the biggest logjam in the talks between the ANC and the Government thus far.

It constitutes a victory for the ANC as the logjam was broken after five months of long and hard negotiations without it having to compromise on its strategic orientation.

The major concern, however, of ANC branches is that Askaris and other killer squads have not been disbanded - nor have their activities been suspended.

Notorious

The activities of the notorious CCB continue even after the ANC's suspension of armed action.

All of these so-called special forces were set up to combat the democratic movement in general and the ANC in particular.

That they continue their war of apartheid is evidenced by the murder of ANC Jabulani branch chairman and human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

There is a genuine belief among our membership that the agreements signed on paper are not going to lead to the disbanding of the death squads.

The Government must visibly disband the "counter-insurgency" unit and "dirty tricks" departments.

Failing which, the call from our membership on MK to provide armed defence will continue to intensify.

Memorial services for Sobukwe

11A
Sowetan 11/3/91

THE Atteridgeville branch of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation will commemorate the death of Mr Robert Sobukwe on Sunday.

Local PAC publicity officer Mr Forte Mtimkulu said the service would be held at Mlambo Hall, Saulsville, from noon.

Guest speakers will include PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang

Moseneke, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and national executive member Mr Willie Seriti.

Mtimkulu said all interested people, including non-members, were welcome to attend the service.

Meanwhile, a new branch of Paso will be launched at the Roman Catholic Church in J Section, Botshabelo, in the Free State at 11am tomorrow.

WE CASH CHEQUES URGENTLY

for UNEMPLOYMENT - INSURANCE - GOVERNMENT
- LABOUR - MATERNITY - PENSION - WORKMEN'S
COMPENSATION - LATE ESTATES - SICK PAY -
HOLIDAY PAY - BUSINESS FIRMS - TEACHERS -
NURSES - RESERVE BANK CHEQUES AGAINST
PURCHASES at . .

VEE-EM-WHOLESALEERS

27a COMMISSIONER STREET, OFF WEST ST.,
JOHANNESBURG

Laws of SA have no moral force over the masses

ONE of the major difficulties in the process leading up to negotiations is an attitude on the part of the government that its legitimacy as a government should not be brought into question. From the outset of the talks with the African National Congress it has adopted the attitude that "the law is the law" and that as the government of the day it has to uphold the statute book and rule the country as it sees fit.

Nobody expects the government to abandon the administration of the country without anything else to fill the gap that would be created. But for progress in the negotiations process to be uninterrupted, the government has to accept that the majority of South Africans do not recognise its right to rule over us. Nor do the laws — especially discriminatory and repressive laws — hold any moral force over the multitude in this country.

The agreement reached between the ANC and the government on February 12 1991 concerning the implications of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action and related activities is an important advance in this regard. It implicitly gives recognition to the fact that Umkhonto weSizwe exists as an army in this country.

The agreement states: "The Working Group noted the historical fact that the ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe had placed arms and cadres within the country." Yet the agreement does not compel the ANC to hand over arms and ammunition in the possession of MK inside the country. The agreement does not require of the ANC to shut down its military camps outside the country or to discontinue the building and training of its army at these bases.

(SASA) (11A) W/Mail 113-713191

Just what progress have the government and the ANC made since the signing of the Pretoria Minute?

MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA,
executive committee member of the
PWV branch of the ANC, reports

Noteworthy in the agreement is the government having explicitly conceded "that the population at large has a right to express its views through peaceful demonstrations". Hopefully the government would give effect to this by ending its war against peaceful protest — or mass action, as we call it.

The agreement also calls on the security forces to "take cognisance of the suspension of armed actions and related activities". And, furthermore, establishes a joint liaison committee to investigate "all allegations of unlawful activities or activities contrary to the spirit of this agreement, by the security forces." Two very significant points arise here. Firstly, it directly brings into question the role of the security forces and secondly it compels the security forces to not only uphold "the law" but also very importantly the spirit of the agreement.

The ANC has agreed that the following would not take place: attacks by means of firearms, etc.; military training inside the country; infiltration of men and materiel; the creation of new underground MK structures, and threats of armed action. The agreement is a victory, for it now clears the way for the release of all political prisoners and the granting of indemnity to exiles by April 30 1991 — the deadline set by the 1990 National Consultative Conference of the ANC.

All this with the ANC having finally succeeded in getting the government to accept that it has suspended armed actions and not terminated the armed struggle. The armed struggle will only be terminated when significant progress is made on the negotiations front. In terms of the Harare Declaration which embraces the ANC's perspective on negotiations (and indeed that of the international community), "armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated" only after the adoption of a new constitution.

This agreement breaks the biggest logjam in the talks between the ANC and the government thus far. It constitutes a victory for the ANC as the logjam was broken after five months of long and hard negotiations without it having to compromise on its strategic orientation.

The major concern, however, of ANC branches is that the Askaris and other killer squads have not been disbanded — nor have their activities been suspended. The activities of the notorious Civil Cooperation Bureau continued even after the ANC's suspension of armed action. All of these so-called special forces were set up to combat the democratic movement in general and the ANC in particular. That they continue their war of apartheid is evidenced by the death of ANC Jabulani Branch chairman and human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni. There is a genuine belief amongst our membership that the agreements signed on paper are not going to lead to the disbanding of the death squads.

The government must visibly disband the "counter-insurgency" units and "dirty-tricks" departments. Failing which the call from our membership on MK to provide armed defence will continue to intensify.

Exiled inside an Achebe novel

African National Congress members in exile in Ghana long to come home — but they still see their return as 'if' rather than 'when'. **MARK GEVISSER** spoke to a group of them in Accra

WHEN I arrived here on New Year's Day," says African National Congress exile Mashudu Mphaphuli, who is studying at the Ghana School of Journalism in Accra, "there was a reception committee of fellow-comrades to greet me. We toyi-toyed and sang, and it was great. Then, that night, as I sat in the dining hall faced with a bowl of mashed yams in palm oil soup, I felt I had been plunged headlong into a Chinua Achebe novel."

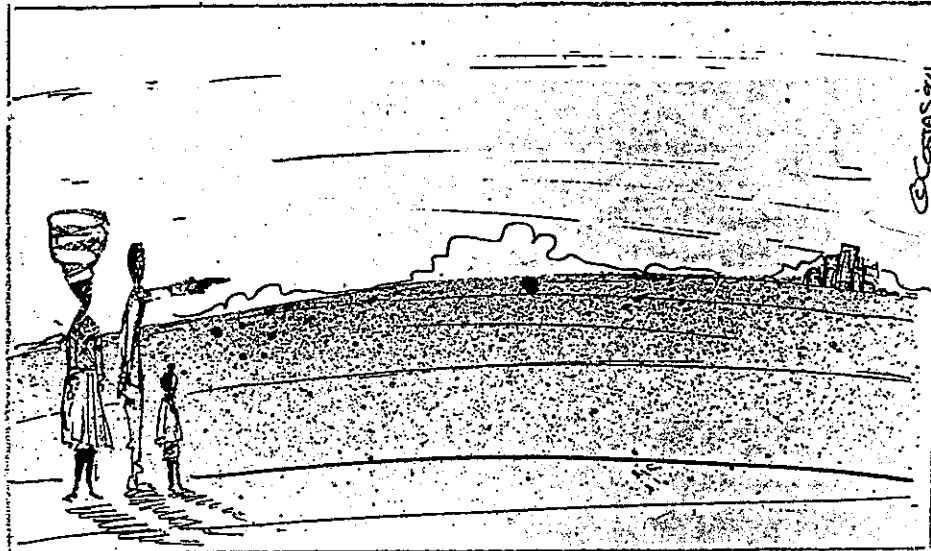
If the ANC students in Accra are indeed participating in a real-life Achebe epic, it would have to be *Things Fall Apart*: as South Africa edges towards democracy, and the plane-loads of exiles begin to jet in from Lusaka, these far-flung cadres in Ghana — 17 men, one woman, and "our youngest comrade", one-year-old Jabu — remain isolated and uninformed.

"We know nothing of the indemnification procedure, and we haven't even received indemnity forms yet," one said, sitting in the International Students' Hostel that suspiciously resembles, from the outside at least, a single-sex hostel on the Reef. "We have written several times to our chief rep in Nigeria, but have yet to get a response."

In Ghanaian style, the inside of the hostel is splashed with cheery shades of pink and blue, and, as I speak to the six comrades assembled in a bedroom covered with ANC posters, they finger my box of Lion Matches as if it were a precious jewel, a home-charm signifying the wives and lives they left behind over a decade ago.

Mphaphuli is a man in his forties, who worked for Bantu Affairs before leaving in 1974. "I had the authority to issue passports, and I arranged for a good many comrades to leave the country on very short notice before I was caught. That's when I decided to leave myself."

He left a wife and young son at home — the child is now 17 — and he spoke to his wife for the first time a couple



of weeks ago. "Now that there is the possibility of return, I feel as if I am in a strange in-between-land," he said. "I am home but not home." Like most of his comrades in Ghana he does not believe he will be back in South Africa for a while yet.

"The first thing we must do," says fellow journalism-student Mbulelo Musi, "is finish our studies. While we are outside, we can get scholarships, but we don't know if this will be possible upon return."

"I would love more than anything to go home," added Dan Pheko, another journalism student, "but I'm worried that once home my studies will be interrupted like they were disrupted constantly before I left. I'm in my thirties now, and I can't afford that risk again."

They are also all anxious because their funders have indicated that resources for foreign study might dry up now that the exiles are expected to return to South Africa. "So we are in a difficult position," explained Mashudu. "We might lose our scholarships if we stay, but if we go back we will be completely on our own."

"Over here, we are a community, all part of the ANC family," added Oupa Mooi, an older man completing his law degree at the University of Ghana, "but

when we are home, it will be each man for himself. There will be no one ensuring we are educated, or giving us food and shelter."

"And because we are educated, we are the lucky ones," said Max Mofokeng, an engineering student who hopes to complete his studies in the United States. "What about all those comrades who left as children and who have had absolutely no vocational training?"

The ANC education department, while doing an excellent job of finding scholarships and placing comrades in institutes all over the world, has offered little or no vocational guidance: Malusi Pane, for example, is a passionate actor who studied with John Kani in Port Elizabeth before leaving the country, but who has tumbled into an electrical engineering diploma in Accra. "An electrician is the very last thing I want to be," he said, "but that's where the scholarship was, and I was desperate to get some education, so I went for it."

Nervousness about jobs is not the exiles' prime concern about coming home, though. "It's security we are worried about," said Pheto. They had all heard, via the BBC, of the murder of lawyer Bhekli Mlangeni, "and this confirms our feelings that some things just have not changed. The movement must

work out some way of defending us. Perhaps we need to be armed."

Educated people and independent thinkers, they have several concerns with the ANC's current policies: about the fact that perhaps too many concessions have been made in the negotiations process; about the ANC's failure in its membership drive; about its inability to revive the mass mobilisation campaign; about the rumours they've heard of its organisational chaos.

They are clearly resentful that the movement they have given their lives to has made no effort to keep them informed, and they are worried that they will not be adequately "looked after" upon return. But they display an astonishing loyalty to the ANC. The movement might be an absent parent, but it is a parent nevertheless, benevolent and all-knowing, and their allegiance is unconditional. While they are quick to point out the problems they have with the ANC, they are even quicker to defend the movement.

And despite their lack of knowledge of the indemnification procedure, they have gone to all ends to remain abreast of South African politics. A *Weekly Mail*, dating from November, has been literally memorised by heart, and through the Ghanaian newspapers

and the BBC, they keep informed.

In the country that has led Africa's opposition to apartheid and is one of the most uncompromising holdouts against relations with South Africa, the ANC students do feel welcome; cars and taxis are emblazoned with "SOW-ETO" and "End Apartheid Now!", and, in the sprawling Nima slum — which equals anything to be found in South Africa — shacks are painted with "Welcome To Mandela City".

Even though Ghana, Africa's first independent nation, is traditionally a supporter of the Pan Africanist Congress (the PAC got its name and its ideology from Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's founder and the father of Pan-Africanism), it has shifted into line with the rest of the Organisation of African Unity, and now lends much support to the ANC.

"All the milestones of our struggle are national holidays in Ghana," said Musi, "June 16, December 16, Mandela's birthday. When Mandela was released a year ago, there was such celebration in the streets of Accra I thought for a moment I must be in Soweto."

"But even though we are Africans in Africa," added Mofokeng, "we are a different kind of African, and we are treated as such. There are no fixed prices in Ghana, for example, and because we are foreigners, we are forced by traders to pay double what the locals do."

Living in Ghana, with its political instability and economic collapse, has prepared the ANC students in many ways for the work they must do at home. "Being in a country with no democracy and no free press," said one journalism student, "I have come to appreciate the need for a democratic post-colonial society, and I have also seen the dangers of personality politics that seem to be Africa's greatest sickness."

But when talking of home amid the ramshackle, sewage-seeped, but friendly chaos of Accra, the ANC students in Ghana still use "if" rather than "when": if we go home; if I see my grandfather before he dies ...

Later that evening, as the ANC students leave the hotel where I am staying in downtown Accra, Malusi Pane pulls me aside. "Please do me a favour," he says, "and tell my mother I'm okay. She is in Port Elizabeth, but I do not even know where she lives anymore, and I just don't know if I'll see her again."

D-day set for exiles' return to SA

Got 7/2/91
1/3/91
1/3/91
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LUSAKA. — The repatriation of ANC exiles to South Africa starts on March 7.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said here that the first group of about 170 exiles would leave on a chartered flight next Thursday. Thereafter, the exiles would leave daily on either regular or chartered flights.

And Mr Nelson Mandela will arrive in Lusaka on Sunday afternoon for talks with the organisation's repatriation committee.

Mr Sebina, who said the Nordic countries had pledged assistance for the repatriation programme, added the exiles had met the indemnity requirements agreed upon between the ANC and the government working group.

There are an estimated 40 000 South African exiles, about 3 000 of whom are ANC exiles in Zambia.

The majority of the ANC exiles were expected back in South Africa by June.

Families in South Africa of the first group of exiles have been informed of their pending arrival. In some cases, they have not seen members of their families for more than 20 years.

Sanctions!

ANC slammed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC's position on sanctions is untenable, according to the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine.

In a frank editorial carried by the latest issue Idasa's newsletter, Dr Boraine calls for an "urgent" end to sanctions, and criticises Mr Nelson Mandela's stand on the issue.

Dr Boraine writes that the ANC correctly demands reparations for those South Africans who have been severely discriminated against for so long.

At the same time, Mr Mandela insists that sanctions cannot be lifted until there is a new constitution.

"But there is no way in which serious attention can be given to the plight of the dispossessed unless there is significant economic growth, and a new constitution is several years down the road.

"South Africa simply does not have the time to wait until then," Dr Boraine argues. "The new South Africa must start now."

Dr Boraine writes that the negotiation process should be accompanied by urgent attention to the economic plight of the majority of South Africans.

President F W de Klerk's "enlightened and courageous" decision to scrap the fundamental race laws which have bedevilled South Africa for so long has led to a shift in the international community's stance on sanctions.

"And Mr Mandela is seen as the loser, at a time when South Africa simply cannot afford winners or losers.

"It would, of course, have been preferable if there could have been a joint statement by the State President and the leader of the ANC calling for an end to sanctions and a plea for investment.

"But the ANC's December conference made that impossible. The ANC's position on sanctions is untenable," Dr Boraine writes.

He also stresses the importance of initiating an all-party conference as soon as possible.

Every effort should be made to persuade the PAC, Azapo and the Conservative Party to change their decision not to attend the conference, Dr Boraine said.

R850 000 home for Tambo?

11A
Sowetan
11/3/91

A BENONI woman who is allegedly intending to sell her plush home to ANC president Oliver Tambo for R850 000 is living in fear of her life.

Mrs Jill McQueen, who lives in an upmarket suburb overlooking a lake, said she had received several death threats from individuals and political organisations since word got around that she intended to sell her house to the ANC leader.

It was revealed yesterday that Tambo had visited four luxury houses overlooking a lake in the East Rand town with a view to buying one.

But there could be a snag. There are rumours that whites in the neighbourhood are opposed to Tambo's possible settlement in the area.

A man curiously asked Sowetan journalists yesterday if the report about

By SONTI MASEKO

Tambo moving into the area was true.

Reports said unknown benefactors were planning to buy the house for a massive R850 000.

McQueen confirmed that she had had negotiations with the Tambos. She said, however, that nothing had been finalised.

She had been harassed by unknown callers and political organisations.

Abusive

"A black man phoned me the other day and said he was calling from Lusaka. He said my life must be very cheap if I could deal with the ANC."

She was also visited by people from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who were "downright abusive and threatened my life".

McQueen said her house had not been put up

for sale. She was approached by Tambo who "liked the house".

She said she had also been visited by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Tambo's wife Adelaide.

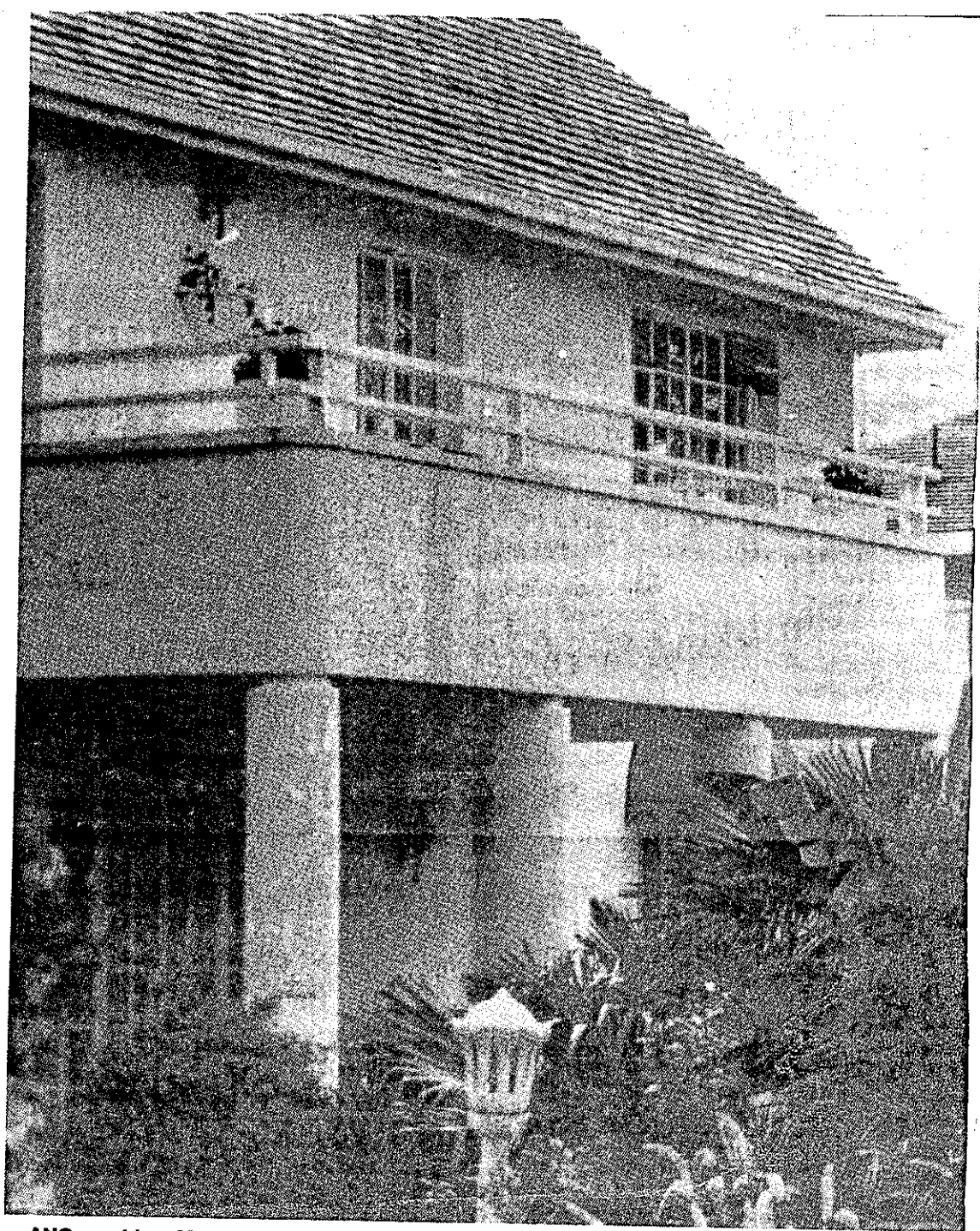
"Adelaide just fell in love with me. I also liked her as a person. She is an incredible woman.

"She is planning to set up community services and I am interested in working with her because I am involved in fundraising."

McQueen said she was highly impressed by Mandela and described him as a "gentleman".

"Nothing has been finalised yet," she insisted and dismissed as "totally fictitious" the report that the house was to be sold for R850 000.

It is not clear whether the house is to be bought by an unnamed benefactor as it was claimed by the ANC or whether the Tambos were buying it themselves.



ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and his family may soon move into this plush Benoni home.

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PAC: Land issue crucial

GRAHAMSTOWN. — The PAC would negotiate with the government only if the land issue was firmly placed on the agenda, PAC national organiser Mr Mpolose Manqongwana told a meeting at Rhodes University here on Thursday night.

"We will meet the government at a neutral venue with a neutral chairperson to discuss one issue — that Africans want their land."

● The ANC's "ill-considered demands and claims" over land distribution were unacceptable for organised agriculture, SA Agricultural Union president Mr Nico Kotze said in Pretoria yesterday.

He said the SAAU was opposed to artificial redistribution. — Sapa

Treurnicht and Holomisa meet

CAM - TIPS 2/3/91

11A

13000

Political Staff

IN a surprise development in Parliament yesterday, Transkei Military Council chairman General Bantu Holomisa and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht held talks for the first time.

The meeting was a closely guarded secret until General Holomisa and his delegation swept into Parliament at 10.15am.

The four-hour discussions with the outspoken ANC supporter threaten to prove controversial for the CP as it approaches next Wednesday's Maitland by-election.

But Dr Treurnicht denied that General Holomisa's relationship with the ANC had any bearing on the discussions: "I did not talk with him as an ANC member, but as a head-of-state recognised by the govern-

ment of South Africa and other people of the country."

General Holomisa said after the meeting that he had initiated the talks as part of the process of "consulting each and every political party and organisation".

A variety of subjects had been discussed, he said.

He had briefed Dr Treurnicht on what Transkei "has achieved and what it is doing". The discussions had touched on a possible future constitution for South Africa and Transkei's referendum on reincorporation into the Republic.

All political philosophies had to be considered when South Africans got round the negotiating table, he said.

"It was my desire to approach the CP to share some views and listen to their wisdom as old people," said the general.

Asked how he reconciled his own political beliefs with meeting the CP, General Holomisa said he was anxious to hear from all people who represented South Africans and took a swipe at the National Party, saying it had "shifted the goalposts and taken on the stance of anti-apartheid activism".

Dr Treurnicht described it as a "very special private meeting".

He had used the occasion to explain the policies and philosophies of the CP.

They had differed on certain issues and fully agreed on others, he said.

General Holomisa said he hoped the CP would have an opportunity to present its case to a multi-party conference, but Dr Treurnicht said the "present state of affairs" in the country would make it extremely difficult for the CP to take part.

ANC 'underground' to stay

W/E
2/3/91

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Fugitive ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils has announced from hiding that the ANC "underground" will not be disbanded following the latest De Klerk-Mandela agreement on the cessation of armed activities.

In the first public reaction from the underground leadership since the agreement, Kasrils said in a telephone interview: "We maintain our underground structures, intact and in place. The maintenance of the existing underground structures is an insurance in case things go wrong."

He insisted that contrary to widespread speculation, he and his "underground" colleagues were fully committed to the negotiation process and the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela and the ANC National Executive Committee. They did not regard the agreement, announced on February 15, as a "snub" to underground cadres.

Justifiable

"Our understanding is that the existing underground is not at issue in the latest agreement. Rather the ANC has undertaken not to create new underground structures. We don't feel isolated."

The ANC's was a justifiable concession, he said, in that it "places the ball in De Klerk's court. The Cape Town agreement binds the government to the release of prisoners, the return of exiles, progress on indemnity and the suspension of security laws."

Kasrils said the ANC's underground structures were distinct from its military struc-

tures ("the underground is primarily for political, not military work"), and were "perfectly legal".

"We're not doing anything treasonous, and we're not acting as a secret force to sabotage negotiations."

Political groups like the Broederbond, some businesses, and "even government in aspects of talks with the ANC", felt the need for some secret activities, Kasrils said.

"It's not a crime to conduct a certain degree of activities in secret where prudence is demanded. And in view of the maintenance of the Internal Security Act, prudence is a necessity."

Kasrils said he and his colleagues would "love to come out of the shadows and be part of healthy democratic debate and activities, but we remain in place until instructed to surface by the ANC leadership, and until indemnity is granted."

Camouflage

There was still deep concern in ANC circles about the Government's capacity to "return to the use of violence and repression," Kasrils added.

"This is a cloak to camouflage repression as reform, and I believe it poses the greatest threat to the democratic process in the coming years."

Kasrils, a member of the ANC's NEC and a former intelligence chief who has been sought by police since the middle of last year, raised the possibility that some of his underground colleagues might be able to surface before him.

Kasrils bitterly attacked newspaper reports depicting him as "a sinister figure waiting in the wings," saying this was "irresponsible".



Nelson Mandela (centre) introduces his grandson Bambata to musicians he invited to lunch at his Soweto home yesterday. The musicians have returned from exile.

Russia curses: Vodka rationed

MOSCOW. — The traditional home of Russian vodka has introduced a monthly ration of one small bottle a person to the sound of curses, moans and

limited to a half-litre bottle a month. Green and blue coupons marked "March Vodka", "April Vodka", "May Vodka" promise a sober year ahead.

a bottle, or a ninth of the average monthly salary. Vodka practically disappeared from Moscow shops at

Shelves heaved under full stocks delivered on the eve of the rationing.

Many customers, unaware of the advent of the rationing,

W/E
2/3/91

PAC rejects proposals for all-party talks

11A
E/News
3/3/91



BRITISH Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has urged the PAC to suspend its armed struggle against apartheid and join talks with Pretoria, the Foreign Office said this week.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Hurd met a PAC delegation, including the president Clarence Makwetu, as part of Britain's policy of maintaining contacts with all parties in South Africa.

"The foreign secretary urged the PAC to join the process of peaceful change through negotiations and to suspend the armed struggle," the spokesman said.

But Makwetu told Hurd the PAC rejected President FW de Klerk's proposals for all-party

talks.

"To agree to a multi-racial all-party conference would be disastrous," Makwetu told the foreign secretary, according to a PAC statement.

"It is a concept built on apartheid and it is undemocratic as it will not be based on the principle of one man, one vote," he said.

"It is a fraudulent proposition which will delay power being transferred to the majority in a new South Africa."

Makwetu, who was due to arrive in South Africa from London yesterday, said he also rejected proposals for an interim government as a delaying tactic. — Sapa-Reuter

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

'DOUBLE STANDARDS' WILL NOT SILENCE BCM

C/Pres 3/3/91

C/Pres 3/3/91

~~11A~~ 11A

IN their arrogance towards natives of Africa, the East and West been presumptuous enough to tell us which liberation movement to support even while supporting our cause.

Organisations like the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement have also determined which African liberation movements are "authentic".

This shows gross disregard for African nations' right to determine their liberators.

Swapo in Namibia, Frelimo in Mozambique, Fapla in Angola, the ANC in occupied Azania and Zapu in Zimbabwe have been announced the "five authentics" with the UN rubber-stamping the decision.

It came as no surprise that the supposedly independent Organisation for African Unity followed suit.

As the concept of a multi-party state gains ground in Zambia, Tanzania and Kenya thanks to the frantic efforts of the UN, OAU and the Western media, the concept of a one-party state is being supported by the same forces in occupied Azania.

Whether this is being done unwittingly or not, this article aims to highlight these double standards.

These international organisations have chosen the ANC as their own "blue-eyed boy" from the liberation movements of Azania.

The PAC, on the other hand, has reluctantly been recognised as "authentic".

Unfortunately the same cannot be said about the movement I belong to - the Black Consciousness Movement.

Though the BCM literally "carried" the struggle for a decade after the banning of the ANC and PAC, its immortal contribution to the Azanian cause is being ignored.

GOMOLEMO MOKAE of Azapo's education secretariat takes a look at what he calls "apartheid among anti-apartheiders" - international organisations like the United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement

Though sanctions, sporting and cultural isolation campaigns and the impetus for the historic student rebellion of 1976 are largely attributable to the BCM inside the country; it remains "the black sheep" of liberation movements.

Even the glory due to the BCM's founding father, Bantu Steve Biko, has been eclipsed.

Other leaders receive praise for their contribution. They may have been jailed, but were spared the fate of BCM leaders like Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mapetla Mophapi and Mthuli ka Shezi.

It would appear that those who advocate a multi-party state in other African countries and a one-party state in Azania are afflicted with "selective amnesia".

In their eyes the internal flag-bearer of BCM - the Azanian People's Organisation - and its structures like Imbeleko, the Azanian Students' Convention and the Community Health Awareness Project, do not exist.

But the external Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has suffered the most at the hands of those with "selective amnesia".

Its armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, has had to become self-reliant as the UN and OAU have refused

them aid because they do not recognise the organisation as authentic.

They refuse to accept that the BCM has as much right to exist as the ANC and PAC.

One would think they'd leave it to us to determine who is authentic.

This "apartheid" practised by the UN, OAU and the western media has led to the internecine violence of the late 80s.

Believing that theirs is the only authentic organisation, some groups have tried to liquidate their rivals, notably the BCM.

Despite not receiving military aid from either the West or East, the BCM has survived.

A former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* - who is now a foreign correspondent and holds brief for the ANC - told an American audience at the height of violence between Azapo and the UDF that Azapo was dead.

"If Azapo is dead," asked an impassioned black American journalist, "why are there reports of battles between Azapo and the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Soweto, Natal and Northern Transvaal?"

The propagandist was dumbfounded. A noted activist with ANC leanings once addressed a London audience also claiming Azapo was dead.

As he left the hall, he met Azanian exiles selling Azapo's publication *Frank Talk*.

"Oh that looks like a good mag. How do I subscribe?" he asked.

"It will be easy for you, the magazine is from back home!" retorted the exile.

Many have yet to learn that BC burns in the hearts of many Azanians.

It will not be stilled by neo-apartheid or "selective amnesia".

□ GIVING DEMOCRACY A CHANCE

By ZB MOLEFE

T HIS week's launch of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD) gave the impression that we had already arrived at a post-apartheid South Africa.

The political parties represented at the glittering function in one of Cape Town's top hotels told the story - the ANC, PAC, Afrikaner Volkswag, SA Communist Party, Inkatha, the National Party, Solidarity and homeland parties like Ximoko (Gazankulu) and Inyandza (KaNgwane).

There were also political personalities like the Labour Party's Allan Hendrikse, Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi, the Democratic Party's Zach de Beer and KwaZulu's Frank Mdlalose.

Also present were well-known businessmen like Raymond Ackerman and diplomats from more than 20 countries, including US ambassador William Swing and Finnish charge d'affaires Hannu Uusi-Videnoja.

Former KwaNatal Indaba chairman and ex-KwaZulu education minister Oscar Dhlomo hit the nail on the head: "(You) represent what I believe to be the most representative cross-section of South African political opinion that has ever assembled in one place."

Dhlomo, the IMPD's executive chairman, emphasised the institute

New institute to teach SA about tolerance and reconciliation

(Press 3/3/91)



Saths Cooper: first national director.



Zach de Beer: present at the launch.



Oscar Dhlomo: we are accessible to all.

should remain politically non-aligned and "accessible to all".

"Despite the continuing violence in our country there are signs, at least at leadership level, that a spirit of greater tolerance is starting to emerge," Dhlomo said.

"Why then", he asked, "are we going to so much trouble to establish an institute to promote something that the leaders of all major parties more or less agree on?"

Part of the answer, he said, lies in the realisation that South Africa's histo-

ry had left the country without a democratic tradition which could "positively influence and guide our political behaviour in the future".

Dhlomo agreed most South Africans were united in their commitment to root out apartheid "but we do not always realise being anti-apartheid is not the same as being committed to multi-party democracy".

Many interested observers have asked how the IMPD differed from other organisations work-

ing in the same field.

Four areas made the IMPD stand out, he said.

Firstly, the institute's trustees represented a wide range of socio-political thinking in South Africa, enabling the institute to operate in areas not open to less representative organisations.

Secondly, it was committed to following a policy of strictly party-political non-alignment.

Thirdly, the emphasis of the institute's activities would be on mass "education" of the public regard-

ing multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation.

Finally, most advocacy organisations in South Africa have been predominantly white initiatives. This limited their scope and effectiveness, he said.

Dhlomo warned: "There is no doubt that many signs point to the imminent sprouting of long-dormant seeds of democracy in our country. But we must not become dazzled by the prospects of early success.

"There is still a possibility for the democratic shoots to be trampled underfoot," he said.

■ **FORMER** Azapo president Saths Cooper was this week named as the first national director of the IMPD.

Cooper will quit his job as senior lecturer in psychology at the University of the Western Cape.

He told a Press conference he no longer had ties to any political organisation.

Cooper was a founder member of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC).

On December 21, 1976 Cooper - together with other prominent Saso members - was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

He was released in 1982 and went on to become Azapo's president. He read for a PhD at Boston University, United States in 1989.

UDF seeking a watchdog role

THE United Democratic Front is poised to set itself up as a watchdog over other political parties — including the ANC.

Four hundred delegates from the UDF — the umbrella body which represented left-wing politics in South Africa until the unbanning of the ANC — met in KwaNdebele this weekend to plot the organisation's future.

Most members of the UDF's national general council have expressed themselves in favour of keeping the movement alive — although in a changed form.

A prominent member yesterday told the Sunday Times that there was, among grassroots organisations, a strong sense that the ANC had made too many concessions with little in exchange.

"There is a need for a non-politi-

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

cal pressure group acting in the interests of the community which is not open to political point-scoring. Many of us feel there is a need for an independent body that does not play to constituencies," he said.

"There have been good lessons from Eastern Europe and the rest of Africa — it would be naive to think that any government is entirely above abuse of power.

"An example of this is the National Party's development attempts. These were purely for its own political gain, concentrated in its own constituencies."

UDF press secretary Titus Mafolo yesterday said options open to the UDF were:

● Disbanding and directing its

resources towards building up the ANC. Some people felt that a continuation of the UDF in its present form would hamper the growth of the ANC and sow confusion among affiliates.

● Forming a broad front of grassroots civic, student and women's organisations with the focus on socio-economic development and reconstruction. Whether such a front should be politically aligned or subscribe to a broader base focusing on entire communities was also up for debate.

Central to the question of non-alignment was the UDF's adoption in 1987 of the ANC's Freedom Charter. Some people had refused to join civic associations because of their association with the Freedom Charter, said Mr Mafolo.

Should the UDF decide to be-

come an independent body it might be forced to ditch the Freedom Charter.

In April 1990 the ANC urged the UDF to continue its function, but official Gill Marcus said yesterday the ANC had no official position on which course it would like to see the UDF taking.

Speaking in his personal capacity, Walter Sisulu, husband of the organisation's co-president, Albertina Sisulu, said he believed the UDF had a role to play in organisation and development.

By late yesterday the UDF's Western and Eastern Cape regions, Southern Transvaal and Border and individual members of the Northern Transvaal had proposed a transformed UDF with new direction. Natal favoured disbanding the movement.

ANC's sad camp of discontentment

STimes 31/5/91
By SIPHO NGCOBO

IT IS a little hell-hole situated in the sweltering bush of rural northern Botswana.

Dukwe refugee camp, 130km north of Francistown, is home to nearly 800 South African exiles loyal to the ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement.

I went there to follow up rumours that the three missing co-accused in the Winnie Mandela trial — Mpho Gift Mabelane, 19, Sibusiso Brian Mabuza, 19, and Jabu Sithole, 18 — were hiding in the camp.

The three — along with a fourth accused, Katiza Cebekhulu, 22, who also skipped bail — were due to stand trial in the Rand Supreme Court with Mrs Mandela and three others on charges of kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

I arrived at Dukwe to see dilapidated buildings — some built of mud — and stretches of match-box cement bungalows. Uncut grass and reeds stand over a metre tall.

The camp is unnervingly quiet, and a mixture of ten-



DILAPIDATED ... this small grocery store is a symbol of the decay at Dukwe. Picture: JOE SEFALE

sion and boredom hangs heavy in the air. Young blacks — in pairs, sometimes in groups of three or more — are scattered around the vast camp.

These youngsters, some in their early teens, walk barefoot and use rope as belts on their torn pants.

Strangers, especially those driving cars with South African number plates, are clearly not welcome.

Most of the refugees in the camp are waiting to be sent to other African states or abroad for military training.

Others are awaiting approval of their scholarships in Africa, Europe, Ameri-

ca and Canada.

There are other refugees from countries like Zimbabwe and Angola.

Built more than 15 years ago, Dukwe has accommodated thousands of exiles from different African liberation movements, including Robert Mugabe's Zanu, Joshua Nkomo's Zapu and even Sam Nujoma's Swapo.

It is run by the Botswana government for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

I found no trace of the missing witnesses, but before being hastily kicked out of the camp together with photographer Joe Sefale by the Botswana police, I managed to talk to some of the refugees.

Two teenagers said there was a lot of in-fighting among the 700 ANC members in the camp, largely due to sub-standard living conditions.

"Comrade, there are no bacon and eggs here. There are no salads. We are in the struggle. Some people come here with high hopes and expectations. But once they are here they become disappointed. You eat whatever you can and go on with your mission," said one teenage refugee.

A spokesman for the ANC in Johannesburg, Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed that there were ANC cadres in the Dukwe camp but declined to say how many.

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However, he confirmed that the ANC members were in the camp temporarily and that some of them were waiting for the approval of scholarships.

He said that the others may be waiting to be dispatched elsewhere for military training.

"The cessation of military activities only applies within South Africa. It does not mean people cannot be sent to other countries for military training," Mr Macozoma said.

He added that the ANC had no knowledge of the whereabouts of Mrs Mandela's missing co-accused.

UDF to disband to shake off political ties

THE UDF will disband in August.

Delegates to the anti-apartheid front's national general council resolved at the weekend to disband and form a new umbrella organisation with no ties to any political organisation, including the ANC.

The meeting of 400 delegates held in KwaNdebele decided to disband on August 20 — the UDF's seventh anniversary — and resolved that the UDF would not launch any mass campaigns in the interim.

UDF leaders yesterday refused to discuss decisions taken at the meeting, saying these would be disclosed at a Press confer-

ence today. But delegates said the decision to disband was taken unanimously.

One delegate said it had been felt there was no place for two organisations on the "political centre stage" following the unbanning of the ANC last year.

The new organisation will not have any ties with the ANC and will not subscribe to the Freedom Charter. It will have a "developmental focus" and act as a pressure group on various "grassroots" issues.

Delegates said it was felt the UDF could not continue as a non-partisan political

organisation because of its past political role. A new organisation was needed.

It is envisaged that it could draw support from supporters of organisations outside the charterist fold and including Inkatha, the PAC and Azapo.

UDF regional structures will disband in June and the national body in August.

Sapa reports UDF publicity secretary Titus Mafolo emphasised the need for a new broad front to co-ordinate mass formations. There was no need to have reservations about a front that was not seen to be led by the ANC.

TIM COHEN

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biday 4/3/91

UDF decides to disband on eighth anniversary 11A

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front, a major ANC ally, has decided to disband officially on August 20, its eighth anniversary, sources said yesterday.

Star 4/3/91
But, in a significant move, plans are in the offing to form a new mass-based, non-aligned organisation later this year which will effectively take over the UDF's role of co-ordinating the activities of a wide range of anti-apartheid organisations.

The decision to disband was taken at the UDF's national conference in Kwa-Ndebele this weekend.

Official spokesmen yesterday refused to confirm this information or reveal any resolutions adopted.

However, informed sources confirmed that the 400 delegates unanimously decided that the UDF be dissolved. Regional structures

will be dissolved in June and the national UDF on August 20, they said.

Delegates told The Star a recommendation was passed that UDF structures should, in the months ahead, debate the feasibility of a new non-partisan mass organisation to concentrate on community issues and co-ordinate the activities of civic associations, church organisations, student/youth and women's movements.

One issue which has raised immediate concern within extra-parliamentary ranks is whether a new movement will not duplicate existing structures.

For example, a national civic association is to be launched later this year, following on the successful implementation of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal. A "transformed" UDF, which will inevitably focus on civics, will duplicate these structures.

UDF to disband — new body to follow

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Tuck* *4/2/61* *110*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The UDF will disband in August.

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Sash urges ANC to fight intimidation

Staff Reporter

THE ANC — which had long opposed injustice under the present government — should condemn the intimidation of witnesses, the Black Sash said at its national conference in Cape Town at the weekend.

Referring to the trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela, the Black Sash said it would like to believe that the government of tomorrow, in which the ANC was certain to play a leading role, would establish and stand by a judicial system that was independent and incorruptible.

Resolutions on the distribution of

land, the death penalty, the CCB and Armscor were also passed at the three-day conference.

The Sash said the government had failed to protect witnesses in the Winnie Mandela trial, and also in bringing charges timeously against those involved in the murder of child activist Stompie Sepei.

The Sash also condemned the "apparent indifference" of the ANC to the kidnapping and disappearance of a key witness and the actions of demonstrators outside the court in the name of the ANC.

BCM, black sheep of SA struggle

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Sowetan
4/3/91.

IN the past, Western and Eastern displayed arrogance towards the people of Africa by not supporting our just causes and being presumptuous enough to want to choose which liberation movement to support.

Eastern and Western countries, as well as forums they dominate like the United Nations chose "authentic" liberation movements for African nations struggling for self-determination and independence. This was a gross disregard of these nations' inalienable right to determine who their liberators were.

Swapo in Namibia, Frelimo in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola, ANC in occupied Azania and Zapu in Zimbabwe were appointed the "five authentic" by both West and East, with the UN rubber-stamping the baptismal.

Surprise, surprise, the putative independent Organisation of African Unity (OAU) followed suit.

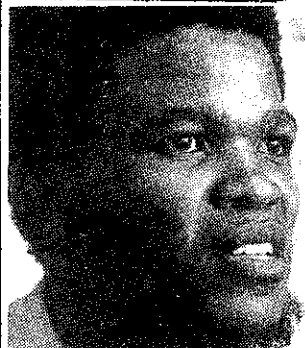
Struggle

Ironically, as the winds of multi-party democracy blow in the Zambias, Tanzanias, Kenyas of this continent - thanks to the frantic blowing of the UN, OAU and the Western media - the spirit of a one-party system is being supported by the same forces in occupied Azania.

The OAU, the UN, the World Council of Churches, the western media and others have chosen their own blue-eyed "boy" among the liberation movements of Azania: The ANC. The PAC has come to be reluctantly recognised by some of these institutions as another "authentic".

Alas! The same cannot be said about the movement I belong to,

FOCUS



Dr GOMOLEMO MO-KAE, vice-president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) defends the "black sheep" of the liberation struggle, the Black Consciousness Movement

the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).

Despite the fact that the BCM literally "carried" the struggle for over a decade after the banning of the ANC and PAC in the 1960s, its immortal contribution to the Azanian cause is now being ignored by these forces.

Rebellion

Although sanctions, sporting and cultural isolation campaigns, as well as the impetus for the historic student rebellion of 1976 are largely attributable to efforts of the BCM inside the country, it remains "the black, sheep" of the liberation movements of Azania in these forces' eyes.

Even its founding father, Comrade Bantu Steve Biko, though he met his death at the hands of settler policemen, has come to be

ANC West's 'blue-eyed' boy says Mokaë

eclipsed in their minds by "heroes" whose lives the enemy spared. Imprisoned they were, but were spared tragic assassinations of BCM leaders like Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Mapetla Mohapi and Mthuli ka Shezi.

Lest we be misunderstood, we recognise those who survived prison, yet we find it odd that they should be canonised when those who were martyred are not.

Violence

It would appear these forces for multi-party systems in the rest of Africa and one-partism in Azania are afflicted with "collective amnesia": remembering those who they choose to remember, and forgetting those who they choose to forget...

In the eyes of people afflicted with this ailment, the internal flag-bearer of the BCM, Azapo, its various structures like Imbeleko, Azanian Students' Convention (Azasco), Community Health Awareness Project (Chap), does not exist.

But is it the external flag-bearer, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), which has suffered the most. Unlike AZAPO, BCMA has opted to engage in a higher level of struggle, armed struggle.

However, its armed wing, Azanian National Liberation

Army (AZANLA), has had to resort to self-reliance as both the UN and OAU have closed doors to any military (and non-military) aid by their continued non-recognition of the BCM as an authentic strand of the broad Azanian liberation movement.

They refuse to accept that it has as much right to exist as the ANC and the PAC.

One would have thought those people will leave it to us to determine who, in our eyes, is authentic, and who is not.

This "apartheid" practiced by UN, OAU, western media and others has had its tragic spin-off; the internecine violence which tore the oppressed of Azania apart from the mid-'80s.

Hostile

Imbued with the false notion of their movement being the "authentic", their members attempted to liquidate perceived ideological rivals, notably the BCM.

It is indeed an excellent reflection of the Azanian masses' attitude to the BCM that, without Eastern military aid, Western dollars, marks or pounds, it withstood these unprecedented attacks.

Surely, if the masses were hostile to it (the BCM), it would not have survived.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Mathaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Saths Cooper - no longer a firebrand

Sowetan 4/3/91

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TIMES change, people change, and in South African politics the results are often spectacular.

The highly qualified psychologist (PhD, Boston University), immaculate in a double-breasted suit and talking with skill and sincerity about the importance of political tolerance, is Saths Cooper.

This morning he leaves behind his university lectureship and re-enters politics, as National Director of the newly-launched Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Johannesburg.

Cooper (40) has travelled a very long road to reach this position.

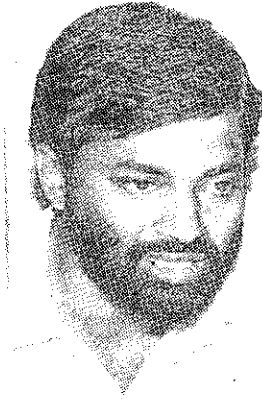
He is best remembered as a comrade of Steve Biko's, a long-term Robben Island prisoner, and a firebrand president of that most uncompromising of political groupings, Azapo.

Now he and former General Secretary of Inkatha Dr Oscar Dhlomo are South Africa's most energetic evangelists in the cause of benign multi-partyism.

Articulate

Cooper is leaving behind the academic world in which he has excelled since quitting Azapo in 1986 and taking up a new political cudgel - one that is wholly unpartisan.

Why is one of the most articulate and effective of South Africa's political leaders, long tipped for high office, eschewing party politics at a time when the prospect of real power beckons?



SATHS COOPER

"For me it is a cherishing of independence, intellectual and otherwise, away from partisan confines," he says.

"I have seen the tragedy of being in a particular cocoon, and having to deny another reality. I wanted to reimpose my very fierce independence."

Details

Cooper concedes, although he will not reveal details, that he has had "several approaches" from political groups since his return from the United States in 1989.

"I decided firmly that I would do what I needed to do on a certain political level, but would not again get embroiled in partisan activities."

Would he recommend his course of action to other activists?

"I'm not saying that people should not believe, and be members of particular formations," he said.

"I'm saying that I have reached a particular intellectual place which is

Shaun Johnson in Cape Town meets former Azapo president Saths Cooper.

very comfortable; I don't hanker to get embroiled in any narrow issues."

Then he added, half seriously: "But maybe it would be a good thing if people didn't join parties. Partisan spectacles mean you can't see the wood for the trees."

He and Dhlomo are excited by the potential of the new institute and, surprisingly, seem now to occupy precisely the same political plane.

"While I was still in Azapo we were aware of each other but had not met. We first came face to face at a function in New York in 1987," he recalls.

"Then after Dhlomo's public resignation from Inkatha he called me and said he was setting up think tanks to look primarily at the feasibility and future of multi-party democracy in South Africa. I got more involved from there."

Potential

Will his political background put off potential supporters of the Institute?

"I can't say whether there are any suspicions about my bona fides," he says, "but I would like to think not."

"I was approached to take the directorship because I think there is a certain anticipation and a certain confidence that I can deal evenly with issues."

He said he has very good relationships with

political leaders in most groups, including some in the Government, and retains "fairly easy relations" with old colleagues.

The "struggle" veteran is unafraid of admitting that his political views have turned in different directions over the years, although he insists that he is on record as having committed himself to multi-party democracy as far back as 1986.

"That brought quite a lot of controversy at the time, within and outside Azapo."

Cooper said he has rethought his attitude toward the importance of nationalism and ethnicity.

View

"A decade or so ago I would have said it's irrelevant. I no longer think it's irrelevant. You can't just turn a blind eye to what people perceive themselves to be. You can't ignore people's culture."

In Cooper's view, what is important in South Africa today is that people are judged "on the strength of what they stand for, rather than where they have come from", and for this reason he has "no problem" in associating himself with a former Inkatha official.

"I'm quite optimistic about the future, with a few cautionary caveats along the way, and that's why I'm involved in this endeavour."

PAC (11A)

Sowetan 4/3/91
honours
founder

By MONK NKOMO

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reiterated its rejection of an interim government and said the appointment of such a government would be illegitimate.

Speaking at a service to commemorate the death of PAC leader Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe at the Mlambo Hall in Saulsville, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander asked how the interim government was going to be elected.

He said: "The election or appointment of that interim government will be based on apartheid structures. That interim government will be illegitimate."

Alexander also rejected the call for an all-party conference.

The organisation, however, agreed to the formation of a united front "to discuss strategies of destroying apartheid and working towards the election of a just government."

Legal secretary Mr Willie Serithi condemned the Government's ruling that exiles should first renounce violence before being granted conditional indemnity.

He called on the Government to release political prisoners and allow exiles to return home unconditionally.

'Tragic decision' as members opt to disband UDF

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front is to disband on August 20 — the day it would have celebrated its seventh birthday.

The first steps in the shut-down will be taken on June 30 when all regions cease to exist.

The national executive committee has been charged with the responsibility of overseeing the disbanding process.

'ALL SO SAD'

The decision to close the anti-apartheid organisation — which was launched in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, in 1983 — was taken at a meeting of about 400 delegates in Kwandele yesterday.

Miss Zohra Ebrahim, national civic co-ordinator of the UDF, who was part of the 40-strong Western Cape delegation to the meeting, said the decision had been a tragic one.

"It was all so sad. It was

only when we went home that we realised what had happened."

She said delegates decided to form a broad social movement, "the mechanics of which still have to be worked out".

She said: "We accepted a proposal that we look into the possibility of forming a broad social movement of organisations outside of political parties.

"Because there appears to be a need for an exchange of ideas and the development of issues and strategies, the UDF is encouraging its affiliates to look at the form and content of such a social movement."

The meeting also passed a resolution in support of the ANC's patriotic front and called on "people to make the ANC a strong organisation".

● More details will be given at a Press conference in Johannesburg today.

ANC call for homes tithe

TIM COHEN (11A)

THE latest edition of the ANC's official publication *Mayibuye* suggests that financial institutions be legally obliged to spend 10% of their available investment funds on housing.

In a focus on Redistribution Strategies, the publication insists redistribution strategies must help the economy to grow.

"It would not be helpful if the (redistribution) strategies used benefited the poor in the short term but damaged the economy's ability to provide jobs and income in the long term", *Mayibuye* says.

It also criticises SA's current tax system for allowing individuals to pay more tax than corporations and the wealthy to pay very little tax. *5/13/91*

It criticises government for favouring whites in spending.

Business people spent most of their excess cash on speculative activity, like buying and selling on the stock market, because it involved considerably less risk than spending money on building a new factory.

US turns a blind eye to alleged ANC misdeeds

D/Don 5/3/91

HA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

case of civil war, for example.

When the human rights officer at the US embassy in Pretoria drafts his chapter he deals solely with what is going on, or is alleged by human rights groups to be going on, in SA.

This also applies to Tanzanian and Zimbabwean affairs. As a result, the alleged activities of the ANC outside SA have tended to slip through the cracks.

If one accepts this explanation at face value, then the fact that the ANC's treatment of dissidents gets a mention at all this year would seem to suggest either that the department thinks the matter serious enough that normal procedures should be bent to raise it, or that someone, somewhere, in the bureaucracy finally decided that it needed flagging.

Given the testimony that those officials most closely involved with SA would have deleted the references had they had the chance, one has to go with the second hypothesis: a person or persons are trying as delicately as possible to blow the whistle.

They are wasting their time. Out of a mixture of cowardice, guilt and largely cynical reasons of state, the unspoken consensus here is that the

The issue is not addressed at all in the compendium's section on SA. Allegations made by a group of former ANC detainees after their return to SA last year are not mentioned. Nor is the fact that one, Siphon Phungulwa, was subsequently murdered in Transkei.

After Cohen's remarks, an official involved in the report's preparation said if the department's SA desk had seen the references in the Zambia and Tanzania sections, it would have sought their deletion.

In a "background" interview last week, a senior administration official (who cannot be further identified under the ground rules of the discussion) was pressed on the issue again. He gave a reply identical to Cohen's. He also brushed aside suggestions that the department might consider actively investigating the "credible" and "reliable" reports.

The only surprise in all this is that the human rights annual mentioned the abuse of ANC dissidents at all. Though there has been some sporadic interest in Congress, the US administration has never before raised the question formally.

The official excuse for this silence is that the report is supposed to focus on the human rights practices of governments. Opposition groups are only discussed insofar as they are felt to be germane to the behaviour of the state — as they might be in a

ANC must be the beneficiary of affirmative action on all fronts, including the moral one. Whatever appalling things its members may have done, or may continue to do, the movement must be exempt from the kind of inquiry or indictment to which the government is regularly, often quite justifiably, subjected.

In Washington, the ANC even receives special treatment before the law. The Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) requires anyone "engaging in political activities for or on behalf of foreign governments, foreign political parties and other foreign principals" to register with the Justice Department and provide public, semi-annual statements describing those activities, how they were paid for and by whom.

A wide array of SA representatives are duly registered, including the embassy's consultants, the SA Foundation, and local law firms acting on behalf of various trade associations and other business interests. So are the Washington offices of the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

The ANC's locally headquartered US mission, on the other hand, is not registered and while a number of administration officials, including counsel familiar with the Act, have privately said they can see no reason why not, the same officials have also made clear that this is a matter better left unpursued.

The Justice Department did take it up four years ago on the instructions, ironically, of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Equally ironically, the ANC's New York mission and its then representative in Washington, Madumane Matubane, were both registered at the time. The New York office agreed to limit itself to UN business, which is exempt from the FARA.

Missing is any record of Lindiwe Mabuza, who arrived in Washington in 1988 to upgrade the ANC's presence here at State Department's urging. Her office on Capitol Hill is described on its letterhead as the ANC's "Mission to the US" and by no stretch of the imagination can it be regarded as a branch of the ANC's UN operation.

To the contrary, Mabuza's position would seem to be exactly that of Unita's Jardo Muekalia, and since he has to register as his organisation's US representative, it is difficult to see why she shouldn't also.

Petty? Perhaps. It may also be said that the FARA is a law that lends itself to political abuse and witchhunting. Nonetheless, it is the law and one easily complied with by those who have nothing to hide.

For the administration to let the matter slide may be politically convenient. However, like ignoring the human rights question, it can only add to the organisation's evident belief it can get away with anything.

— REVIEW —

DOES the ANC continue to detain and abuse dissidents in Tanzania, Zambia, Angola and elsewhere? If it says no, does anybody care to verify its denial? Or is the matter simply too sensitive to be investigated?

The State Department's latest annual human rights compendium states, in its section on Tanzania, that "numerous, credible reports of torture and mistreatment by ANC security personnel of ANC-defector detainees at ANC refugee camps continued in 1990".

The report's Zambia chapter records: "Some former members of South African liberation groups have been subjected to harassment by the organisations which they have left. There are reliable reports that the ANC has imprisoned defectors and detainees".

The official principally responsible for Africa in the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, which collates the report from drafts submitted by US embassies, declined to provide any further information.

The statements took Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen by surprise and he agreed to look into them. A short while later he asserted "my people tell me we have received no such reports" since ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited Tanzania last April.



Sense of sadness . . . The UDF yesterday announced that the organisation, which spearheaded the anti-apartheid movement during the 80's, will disband on August 20. At the press conference yesterday are (from left) executive members Azhar Cachalia, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and co-president Albertina Sisulu. Picture: Stephen Davimes

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter *gar*
5/3/91

The formation of a mass-based structure to co-ordinate the activities of community organisations would play a central role in establishing a democracy in South Africa, United Democratic Front publicity secretary Titus Mafolo said yesterday.

Interviewed on the UDF's decision to disband on August 20, Mr Mafolo said such a federal body could become an important watchdog over a future government.

Non-aligned body to be 'a watchdog of a future govt'

Expanding on the relationship between such a body and the ANC, he said: "Most members of UDF structures obviously support the ANC. They will continue to work for the ANC in their individual capacity."

"However, our members feel strongly that we must not fall into the trap of Eastern Europe, where everyone was con-

sumed in the party.

"While building the ANC as the main force, we must also ensure that the organisations of civil society will be central towards the search for a true democracy."

He said organisations which had not joined the UDF because of its ANC ties might join a new non-aligned front. For example,

taxi associations and organised black business might be brought into the fold.

Mr Mafolo was confident that the UDF leadership's proposal — made at its national conference at the weekend — that a new non-aligned body be formed, will be accepted.

Asked why the UDF leadership would not actively promote this idea in months ahead, he said: "We can't push for that because then a new organisation will be seen as a transformed UDF still associated with the ANC."

11A

Shaun Johnson in Cape Town meets former Azapo president Saths Cooper, a revolutionary in repose

The long and winding road of Comrade

Cooper

Star 5/3/91

(11A)

TIMES change, people change, and in South African politics the results are often spectacular.

The highly qualified psychologist (Ph D, Boston University), immaculate in a double-breasted suit and talking with skill and sincerity about the importance of political tolerance, is Saths Cooper.

Yesterday he left behind his university lectureship and re-entered politics as national director of the newly launched Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Johannesburg. Dr Cooper (40) has travelled a long road to reach this position.

He is best remembered as a comrade of Steve Biko's, a long-term Robben Island prisoner, and a firebrand president of that most uncompromising of political groupings, Azapo.

Now he and the former general secretary of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, are South Africa's most energetic evangelists in the cause of benign multipartyism. Dr Cooper

is leaving behind the academic world in which he has excelled since quitting Azapo in 1986, and taking up a new political cudgel — but one that is wholly nonpartisan.

Why is one of the most articulate and effective of South Africa's political leaders, long tipped for high office, eschewing party politics at a time when the prospect of real power beckons?

"For me it is a cherishing of independence, intellectual and otherwise, away from partisan confines," he says. "I have seen the tragedy of being in a particular cocoon, and having to deny other reality. I wanted to reimpose my very fierce independence."

Would he recommend his course of action to other activists? "I'm not saying that people should not believe and be members of particular formations. I'm saying that I have reached a particular intellectual place which is very com-

fortable. I don't hanker to get embroiled in any narrow issues."

Then he adds, half seriously and revealingly: "But maybe it would be a good thing if people didn't join parties — partisan spectacles mean you can't see the wood for the trees."

Would his political background not put off potential supporters of the institute? "I can't say whether there are any suspicions about my bona fides," he says, "but I would like to think not. I was approached to take the directorship because I think there is a certain anticipation and a certain confidence that I can deal evenly with issues."

He had "very good" relationships with political leaders in most groups — "including some in the Government" — and retained "fairly easy relations" with old colleagues. There were "a lot of new faces in Azapo, whom I only know by reputation and they only know me by either notoriety or repute".

The "struggle" veteran is unafraid of admitting that his political views have turned in different directions over the years, although he insists that he is on record as having committed himself to multiparty democracy as far back as 1986: "That brought quite a lot of controversy at the time, within and outside Azapo."

Similarly, while Dr Cooper says the events of Eastern Europe affected him ("they made an indelible imprint on every thinking person"), he had "always held that the Soviet system was a totalitarian, not an egalitarian one".

However, he had certainly rethought his attitude towards the importance of "nationalism and ethnicity ... a decade or so ago I would have said it's irrelevant. I no longer think it's irrelevant. You can't just turn a blind eye to what people perceive themselves to be. You can't ignore people's culture".

In Dr Cooper's view what is im-

portant in South Africa today is that people are judged "on the strength of what they stand for, rather than where they have come from", and for this reason he has no problem in associating himself with a former Inkatha official.

"I'm quite optimistic about the future — with a few cautionary caveats along the way — and that's why I'm involved in this endeavour. There is tremendous goodwill out there: ordinary folk are not vengeful, they just want their own peace of mind, and their own piece of the cake. They want to be left in peace, and given that chance, they'll thrive.

"I see multiparty democracy very simply. It is the belief that everybody has the right to put forward their positions on a political level. They have the right to form some structure and the right to approach citizens on those views, without harrassing them.

"It should be an informed posi-

tion that people make if they decide to support or not support it. There shouldn't be any duress. I believe that the right to differ is essential to that process. The body politic, the electorate, will decide whether they want to give credence to those views or not.

"I think that this then must include the AWB's right to put forward their positions as long as it is removed from threat, duress, the heavy pressurising that begins to assume a fearsome proportion.

"In general I now believe that the role of government should be extremely circumscribed."

So dramatically have conditions in South Africa changed that Dr Cooper is even prepared to learn a lesson from the previously hated white Parliamentary parties. "There is one very important thing we can learn from them," he says. "They disagree politically, but they don't kill each other over differing views. We have killed." □

Azapo: Perm sees SA aiming for big disaster

CML-Trip 5/3/91
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DURBAN. — Azapo yesterday alleged that the SA Permanent Building Society believed business and the government were solely responsible for the present "economic mess" in South Africa.

At a news conference here, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley claimed that the Perm feared that "South Africa (was) heading for a major disaster" which could see the country degenerate into a Beirut, Lebanon or Ethiopia.

Mr Moodley said he was quoting from a Perm report of an investigation into the country's political, economic and social set-up, released to Azapo on Sunday.

This followed a meeting between the Azapo central committee and Perm officials on Sunday. The Perm team was led by MD Mr Bob Tucker, and the meeting was held at the Perm's request, reporters were told.

A follow-up meeting was in the pipeline, said Mr Moodley.

He claimed the report had attributed South Africa's economic situation to "the plundering nature of big business and the government", who had "robbed the country of its riches without developing its people".

The analysts had offered several ways of resolving the situation and Azapo had asked the Perm for a summary so that these could be studied.

Mr Tucker had told Azapo that the contents of the report had been conveyed to the government, the ANC, the PAC, Inkatha and several other "big businesses".

The Perm's view was that the country could be headed for a major disaster and it felt it was its duty to inform everybody involved, individually and collectively, so that solutions could be found, Mr Moodley alleged.

Perm's response

However, a spokesman for the Perm, Mr Theo Coggin, said Azapo had breached a strict code of confidentiality by releasing the statement.

Mr Coggin said the Azapo statement was a simplistic picture of only one aspect of one scenario.

He said a confidential presentation of different scenarios for South Africa in the 1990s — developed by Mutual and Nedcor of which Perm is a part — was made known to a number of key decision-makers over the past few weeks and was released to Azapo on Sunday.

At the press conference Mr Moodley also said:

● The Indian government had banned all future cultural tours to South Africa because of reports of large financial gains made by performing artists and promoters at the expense of cultural development in the community.

ANC prof welcomes agreement on rights

GM TAB 5/3/91 SWAK 11A
Staff Reporter

THE government's recent acceptance of the need for a bill of rights was an example of apartheid ideology being replaced by pragmatism, Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC constitutional committee told a meeting at UWC yesterday.

Prof Asmal, a visiting professor of law at the university, was a founder of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement during his 30 years in exile. He returned to South Africa last month.

He discouraged a negative view which saw the adoption of a bill of rights simply as a restriction on the powers of a future government.

A bill of rights would mean that those who had been deprived of their rights under apartheid could claim them, while those who had rights all along would be reassured that they would be protected.

Prof Asmal said formal equality under a bill of rights in a future South Africa would have to be supplemented by affirmative action to undo the effects of centuries of racism and sexism.

"Respect for rights in future requires an acknowledgement of the past systematic wrongs," he said.

The UDF ^{11A} disbands

THE UDF yesterday officially announced it would dissolve in August.

It was decided at a weekend conference that the organisation had fulfilled its objectives and should instead assist in building the ANC into a mass based party.

Plans for the formation of a national civic organisation, independent of party affiliation, were, however, well under way, UDF national publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lekota said.

The decision to disband was taken at a weekend National General Council in KwaNdebele where 364 delegates from eight regions decided to dissolve the UDF by August 20, eight years after its formation in Mitchells Plain near Cape Town.

National Secretary Mr Popo Molefe said after the dissolution of the UDF, there may be a need to co-

ordinate its affiliates but the organisation had not seriously explored that question.

"We sought instead to encourage affiliates of the UDF to discuss this issue within their own ranks and between themselves, to look at the form and content of such a movement. If they feel it is not necessary, they will not set it up," he said.

Lekota explained that although the UDF was dissolving, its affiliates would remain in place, organising around bread-and-butter issues.

"Even when the ANC becomes the government, there will always be a need for structures at community level to check whether government policies address community needs," Lekota said.

"It is an important forum within which the ANC may hear critical voices in communities. The ANC would value that," he added.

Press secretary Mr Titus Mafolo explained that civic

organisations should remain independent of political organisations although this did not mean they could not be aligned with political groups where their objectives and principles correlated.

Mafolo explained that civic organisations should remain independent of the ANC as some people in these structures did not subscribe to the Freedom Charter - the ANC's policy document.

"No one must be excluded from participating in a civic, but if the majority of the people involved feel the civic must take a specific line, then it should do so.

"It may occur that one of the (political) organisations policies may be similar to those of a civic. Therefore, it may become necessary for the civic to align itself with that organisation," Mafolo said.

The official announcement of the UDF's dissolution was made by the organisations co-president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu. - Sapa



POPO MOLEFE

Allow free politics in Natal - ANC

Sowetan 5/3/91

CHIEF of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, has called on leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party to publicly state that the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) were free to operate in northern Natal.

This area has until now has been an Inkatha stronghold.

Addressing a crowd of about 4 000 at the launch of the SACP in Natal at Currie's Fountain in Durban on Sunday, Hani said

it was important for people to be able to choose what organisation they wished to belong to.

"There is a great need for political tolerance in South Africa and especially Natal," he said.

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo also made a strong call for peace.

"We must work for peace in this troubled area.

"The killings must stop. From all sides the intimidation must stop," he said.

"For peace to work

we must be able to speak openly to one another."

Slovo said Natal did not belong only to Inkatha or KwaZulu but to all the people living in the province.

Inkatha leaders were fond of preaching democracy and used examples of western multi-party Governments as blueprints for a future South Africa, he said.

"If this is what they believe, the area of KwaZulu must stop being run like a one-party State," he said. - *Sowetan correspondent*

THE "watchdog" body of community and other civic organisations unashed at the UDF conference last weekend may become a powerful political force in a future SA — perhaps overshadowing even an ANC government itself.

Although the official media release issued by the UDF after its conference made no mention of what delegates called a "social movement", it is clear the UDF was disbanding to make way for a non-partisan organisation broader and larger than the UDF itself.

One of the major components of the new group will be a national 'civic associations' body, which will include the highly vocal Civic Associations of the Transvaal (Cast).

But if the UDF's recommendation is acted upon, the organisation will not stop there. It will include other former UDF structures, such as youth and student organisations, and even professional organisations and organisations formerly hostile to the UDF and the ANC.

According to UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia, although UDF representatives did not feel the creation of a "social movement" was a *sine qua non* for the disbanding of the UDF, there was a strong feeling that such an umbrella body should be

UDF successor may overshadow ANC

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established.

While some delegates argued that the UDF should establish an interim committee to set up the "social movement", the argument that the creation of such a body ought to come from the organisations which would be involved won the day, Cachalia says.

In the process of disbanding and future re-formation, the new organisation would free itself from the UDF's association with the ANC, principally symbolised by the UDF's association with the Freedom Charter. The "social movement" will therefore be free to expand its membership to include a host of different organisations with a wide variety of political affiliations.

Cachalia says professional organisations, organisations which are not "mass organisations" and even organisations formerly associated with the NP might join the new body. But realistically the "social movement" will probably consist principally of organisations aligned with the ANC, the PAC and Azapo.

Even so, the organisation has the potential to attract an extremely

TIM COHEN

wide membership, which would give it a powerful influence over the government of the day.

Cachalia explains the necessity for such an organisation by citing the absence of checks and balances on former governments of Eastern Europe. The party became so overwhelming that the whole society developed a lack of vibrancy and gradually destroyed the democratic culture that existed, he says.

What exactly the "social movement" will do is still not entirely clear. Cachalia gives two examples of actions it might take: firstly it would ensure that isolated communities would have a channel to voice grievances. Secondly, it would allow bodies which might normally support the party in power but which disagreed with government on a particular issue a voice unconstrained by political affiliation.

Who will lead the new organisation remains an open question, but

the possibility exists that it will create a home for disillusioned or sidelined ANC members.

Cachalia says it will be "a challenge" for the ANC to accommodate at its June conference both its large external leadership and leaders that emerged out of the UDF. But he stresses that the names which are most often mentioned as falling within this category — Murphy Morobe, Cyril Ramaphosa, Popo Molefe and even Cachalia himself — do not see the "social movement" as an alternative national political home to the ANC.

Nevertheless, a decision by members of a political organisation to recommend the formation of a "social movement" which may threaten its political dominance is so unusual it borders on the unique.

The cynical view is that the ANC could not oppose the formation of the "social movement" for fear of reinforcing suspicions that it is aiming at total hegemony over SA society. Perhaps the more pertinent criticism is that the ANC has not displayed the organisational ability that the UDF did (under more difficult circum-

stances), concentrating as it has on macro political matters at the expense of bread and butter issues.

Cachalia discounts both criticisms, saying the watchdog argument is valid whether the ANC is a good or a bad organisation.

The "social movement" is intended to carry forward the democratic style of organisation which the UDF developed, rather than being a subtle criticism of the ANC, he says.

Despite being a member of the ANC himself, Cachalia says it would be a crucial mistake for the ANC to seek control over every facet of life in SA: "It would have been wrong and a mistake for the ANC to try to co-opt organisations involved in the UDF. Life must exist, plants must grow outside the ANC."

Leaders who attended the conference in their capacity as ANC members were commendably non-prescriptive about what the UDF should do, and stressed that without the UDF they would probably not be back in the country, he says.

Even so, the fact remains the ANC has left space open which may be filled by the "social movement". It has done so possibly unconsciously or possibly by default. It may live to rue the day.

CMT-7915 (NA)
6/3/91

PAC to stage Sharpeville re-enactment

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC is to re-enact the 1960 anti-pass campaign which resulted in the Sharpeville massacre on March 21, 1960.

It said in a statement yesterday that the main event would take place in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging.

A grave-cleaning ceremony at 8am on March 21 would be led by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

He will then lead a procession to the venue where the massacre took place.

Similar re-enactments at venues of the 1960 march would take place nationally. — Sapa

Winnie in court today: 'No witness'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial is scheduled to resume in the Rand Supreme Court today with little hope that the state will be able to produce a key witness, allegedly kidnapped a week after the trial began.

The state was granted an 18-day postponement on February 15 to allow police to investigate the disappearance of 21-year-old Mr Gabriel Mekgwe.

His disappearance and the refusal of two other key witnesses to testify, out of fear for their lives, have damaged the prosecution's case against Mrs Mandela, 56, who faces charges of kidnapping and assault.

Police said their attempts to find Mr Mekgwe had been hampered by a lack of assistance.

"We have no witness (referring to Mr Mekgwe). Nobody helped us," police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said yesterday.

In an attempt to unravel the mystery surrounding Mr Mekgwe's disappearance, the police subpoenaed the Conservative Party's chief secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, and journalist Mr Patrick Laurence.

Mr Beyers, who had supplied information to the Patriot that Mr Mekgwe was kidnapped by National Intelligence Service members, refused to divulge the name of his source and had judgment reserved against him in Pretoria Magistrate's Court on February 22.

Mr Laurence, who reported that at the time of his disappearance Mr Mekgwe was seen leaving a Soweto Methodist Church manse with three ANC men, yesterday refused to reveal the identity of his source and was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment, which is renewable indefinitely, by a Johannesburg magistrate.

Mr Laurence told magistrate Mr Hein Verhoef that he was "bound by the journalistic codes of ethics not to reveal his source".

In passing sentence, Mr Verhoef said the jail term should not be seen as punishment but rather "coercive pressure" to get Mr Laurence to reveal his source.

Mr Laurence, who works for The Star, was granted leave to appeal, but refused bail pending the outcome of the appeal.

The attorney-general of the Witwatersrand, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said he was disappointed at Mr Laurence's refusal to reveal his source.

"I think everyone who has an interest in justice is disappointed," Mr Von Lieres said.

He would not comment on the strength of the state's Mandela case without the testimony of its key witnesses.

The two men who have refused to testify, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, and Barend Mono, 21, face imprisonment if they refuse to testify. They have said they would rather go to jail than give evidence.

Death sentence

The witnesses are at the centre of the trial as they were among three of the youths who were abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church in December 1988 and taken to Mrs Mandela's home in Diepkloof where they were allegedly assaulted by Mrs Mandela and seven others.

One youth, 14-year-old child activist Stompie Moeketsie Seipei, was taken from the house a couple of days later and murdered by a former bodyguard of Mrs Mandela's, Jerry Richardson.

In August last year Richardson was sentenced to death for the murder of Stompie. He is currently appealing against his conviction and sentence.

North is (11A)
'Azapo ^{spokesman}
country' 6/3/91
- claim

AZAPO has laid claim to the Northern Transvaal in terms of membership, saying the area was "Azapo country".

Senior officials of Azapo were replying to a question concerning the organisation's numerical strength.

"We have a paid-up membership of between 60 000 and 70 000 in the Northern Transvaal," a spokesman said.

Support

"We can lay claim to Pietersburg and other areas in the far north."

But support in other parts of the country was not nearly as substantial, it emerged.

In Natal, Azapo has only about 500 accredited and registered members, and "quite a few more" in the Northern Cape. -

Sapa.

Disbanding of UDF ends turbulent era

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ITS dogged opposition to apartheid and firm commitment to democracy earned it the honour of being "Public Enemy No 1" at various stages of Mr P W Botha's wrath during the 1980s.

Unshakeable belief in the "justness of its cause" sustained the United Democratic Front during its existence, a large part of which coincided with Mr Botha's last few years in power.

Not only did the UDF outlast Mr Botha, but it withstood everything he threw at it, including the detention and banning of members and outlawing the organisation, during what became known as "the era of the total onslaught".

Now it will disband on August 20 — exactly eight years after its inauguration.

Launched in Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain, on August 20, 1983, the UDF adopted three themes during its history: "UDF unites, apartheid divides"; "From protest to challenge"; and "Advance to people's power".

The first two goals have been realised, said Mr Trevor Manuel, who was regional secretary of the UDF from August 1983 until his resignation in April last year.

"In the struggle for people's power we incorporated the idea of participatory democracy which won't be realised by the present negotiations. It is an ongoing struggle which will be rooted in many communities in South Africa," he said.

The UDF engaged the state from the outset by mounting "don't vote" campaigns against the black local authorities elections in 1983, and the elections for the Houses of Delegates and Representatives in 1984.

The response was repression.

Mr Manuel said that the first 5½ years had been extremely difficult for the UDF because many activists were detained and organising became almost impossible.

Restrictions were slapped on the UDF and 16 other organisations on February 24, 1988. President De Klerk unbanned the front and several other movements on February 2 last year.

But President Botha and his securocrats miscalculated when assessing the fighting spirit of the UDF.

"There existed within the UDF a strong fighting spirit that enabled us to challenge the state. The struggle in our country also came of age in the past seven years, as did the awakening of our people. We also took the struggle out of the confines of the urban areas to the platteland."

One of many UDF leaders periodically imprisoned, he was part of a UDF-led hunger strike against detention without trial in 1989.

"We told Vlok and Coetsee (Minister of Police Mr Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee) to charge or release us or face the possibility of us starving to death. We challenged them and forced them to release us."

POLITICS

"This victory gave us a big morale boost. In our calculations we had one objective: to raise the cost of detention for the government and to put detention back into focus."

Other campaigns, launched at the time when the UDF was banned, included the Defiance Campaign against unjust laws two years ago.

One of the major contributions made by the UDF was the awakening and nurturing of a commitment to the democratic process and accountability.

"The various states of emergency eroded this, but the lessons learnt stood us in good stead."

Was the UDF — as often alleged by the government — a front for the ANC? "No, although we certainly had close ties with the ANC, and drew on the experience of people who were formerly ANC members."

Not only did the UDF have to fend off direct assaults by the state, but danger was lurking everywhere, especially at night.

Four prominent UDF leaders, Mr Mathew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, were murdered on the night of June 27 1985 after they had left Port Elizabeth for Cradock.

Their killers are still at large.

Mr Manuel remembers burying many of his comrades. "The thought of who's next was always at the back of my mind. In those days we did a lot of travelling and there was always a reason to look over your shoulder at every turn."

UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak said he had always maintained that the anti-apartheid front was a "temporary organisation".

"I feel very good about the role that the UDF has played in its short and eventful history."

"I'm not sad or heartbroken by the decision to disband. I only hope that existing political organisations will continue to lead our people in the way the UDF did."

Dr Boesak said that 1983 the internal struggle against the government was being waged on more than one front. "I thought that we could form a more powerful organisation if we united our forces."

But more importantly, Mr Botha and the National Party were dangling a carrot in the shape of the tricameral system to the so-called Coloured and Indian communities.

"This was a final attempt by the government to give permanence to the ethnicity which has always been part of the damned system of apartheid."

"I realised it would be a serious mistake which would never be repaired politically if the two communities were separated from the black majority and threw in its lot with the camp directly responsible for apartheid."

The opportunity was there to form a black united front.

"The UDF gave the concept of non-racialism a new meaning the likes of which our country had ever experienced before."

Not only did the UDF politicise coloureds and Indians, but it restored the political self-respect of the two communities, Dr Boesak said.

WITH the ANC's first full-scale congress since its unbanning just over three months away, internal struggles for control of the organisation and leading positions in it are manifesting themselves in many ways.

But analysts will look in vain for division based on obvious political differences: "moderates vs radicals" or "communists vs nationalists". Rather, the tensions which have arisen are based on more mundane, essentially non-political, issues. And this has given rise to a variety of strange, interchanging alliances.

One of the sharpest divisions is between the old exiled ANC leaders and their younger, internal counterparts. In this struggle the internal leadership has not fared well so far.

The internal leaders — mainly former UDF activists — spent their formative years in the '80s learning about grassroots political and labour organisation, in which answerability and accountability to the constituency are an important part.

It must be said that, other than in the trade unions, these ideals were hardly implemented. The UDF in its mid-'80s heyday was never a particularly democratic institution. Nevertheless, most of that generation of leadership learned from its mistakes. That generation has also benefited from modern tertiary education which was far less available to black political activists 35 years ago.

In contrast, many members of the ANC national executive — particularly the '50s generation like Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi and Joe Modise — are accustomed to leadership by decree.

They are not well equipped for the task of open, conventional political work which is now the ANC's priority. ANC sources say this has given rise to a situation where members of the old guard, seeking to protect their positions, have struggled to exclude their younger, better-skilled counterparts from positions of power. With notable exceptions such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada, the ex-politi-

Mandela factor is crucial in ANC scramble for posts

ALAN FINE

cal prisoners convicted in the '60s suffer similar disadvantages.

The majority of full-time posts in the ANC have been filled by former exiles or prisoners, or local activists uncritical of the old guard's political style. Even Thabo Mbeki, one of the ANC's most competent officials and by no means a member of the old guard, is accused of staffing his international affairs department with "sycophants". (Mbeki also has a job security problem, but this stems from his devoting his time to cultivating foreign contacts and developing relationships with the business community, to the exclusion of building a substantial ANC support base.)

In general, the talents of the internal political leadership of the '80s have hardly been tapped. Only one top UDF person, Mahammed Valli Moosa, has acquired a senior position at the ANC's Sauer Street headquarters, and he is reliably understood to be in the midst of a struggle for his political survival.

These imperatives have given rise to some strange alliances of convenience. And one of the most potent ingredients in this brew is Winnie Mandela.

Alfred Nzo was the person who proposed the controversial appointment of Winnie Mandela to the post of head of the ANC's social welfare department. Nzo is also said to have issued the extraordinary ANC state-

ment, just before the start of Winnie Mandela's trial a few weeks ago, offering support to her as the victim of political harassment.

Why is Nzo (and others like him) so concerned with Winnie Mandela's welfare? It is unclear whether Nzo acted on his own initiative or whether it was at the urging of deputy president Nelson Mandela. Either way, it represents a double opportunity for this strata of ANC leadership to revive its flagging fortunes.

Firstly, Winnie Mandela enjoys widespread support from the militant young lions — the younger, "lost" generation clearly distinguishable from the UDF leadership. She has won this support by developing, as one observer puts it, a "political style attractive to basest instincts". The old guard political style bears little resemblance to Winnie Mandela's. However, by allying themselves with her, members of the ANC old guard can hope that, at NEC election time, they will cash in on the support she enjoys from an important section of the congress electorate.

Secondly, the old guard, because of the stance Nelson Mandela has taken recently, is in the fortuitous position that it can cash in on the "Mandela magic" in its entirety.

When Mandela was released from

prison, it was unclear how he would deal with the "Winnie problem". While still in prison he implicitly showed his disapproval by attempting to force her to disband her football club. He has always been perceived to be a man wedded to "decent" forms of political struggle.

More recently, a combination of personal and political factors — which are extremely difficult to define clearly — has led him actively to defend her honour and to orchestrate demonstrations of support for her during her trying times. Anyone lending his support to this cause is likely to benefit politically from the still extremely potent Mandela aura.

The logic of the old guard/Winnie Mandela alliance becomes even more apparent when it is recalled that the two also share the same enemy — the young upstarts who led the UDF in the '80s, who sent Winnie Mandela to Coventry in 1989 because of her football club's activities, and who might wish to seek senior positions in the ANC at the expense of the older generation.

This is not to say that the entire NEC sees the situation in the same light. The ANC's political committee, a subcommittee of the NEC, is said to have taken an unexpectedly firm stance recently on the Winnie issue by refusing to mandate the two Mandelas to attend the inaugural meeting of the Winnie Mandela Sup-

port Committee — a decision which infuriated her. Joe Slovo and Joe Nhlanhla are two senior leaders said to be risking the Mandelas' wrath.

It is also understood that Department of Information and Publicity head Pallo Jordan is in the dogbox as far as Winnie Mandela is concerned, for refusing to allow the support committee to hold its media activities under the department's auspices. But Jordan, an accomplished and popular intellectual and politician, appears to feel sufficiently secure to be able to ride out the storm.

By coincidence, perhaps, another one of the few internal activists to hold a senior position, Saki Macozoma, is number two to Jordan in the DIP. By further coincidence, Macozoma is formerly of the SACC. The churches are another of Winnie Mandela's pet hates — remember her attack on the Rev Paul Verryn in 1989.

The ANC PWV regional office took a similar stance when approached by the support committee — but only time will tell whether it has the same staying power as Jordan.

The old guard vs young turks battle has also introduced the uneasy scent of racial politics into some ANC structures. Many younger leaders are Indian or white intellectuals, and resentment towards them threatens to turn into a racial issue. Simultaneously, much of the vocal opposition to the ANC's handling of the Winnie Mandela affair has come from branches in white and Indian residential areas.

The Operation Vula affair — where "retired" NEC member Mac Maharaj and activists in the former Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses took a leading and, some say, elitist role in mass mobilisation and building ANC underground structures in the late '80s, has also taken on a racial tinge in certain ANC eyes.

Distasteful political tactics are probably unavoidable appendages to an underground struggle against repression. The ANC's June congress will begin to show whether the organisation has the ability to make the conversion to an open, democratic political style where Machiavellian politics is kept to a minimum.

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela hummed a tune and danced as four young men were being assaulted, a witness claimed in the Rand Supreme Court. Then she picked up a sjambok and began to lash them.

Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, who had previously refused to testify, gave this evidence before Mr Justice M S Stegmann yesterday.

Mrs Mandela, 56, John Morgan, 61, Nompumelelo Falati, 18, and her mother, Xoliswa Falati, 36, have all pleaded not guilty to four counts each of kidnapping and four of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

When the trial resumed yesterday after a two-week adjournment, requested by the State to search for a missing witness, Pello Mekgwe, 22, State advocate Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, said although Mr Mekgwe has still not been found, the remaining two witnesses, Mr Kgase and Thabiso Mono, 22, had nevertheless decided to testify.

The State had tried unsuccessfully to extradite three missing accused, a 17-year-old youth, Mpho Gift Mabelane, 19, and Sibusiso Brian Mabuza, 19, from Botswana (where they were seen at the Dukwe transit camp).

The fourth missing accused, Katiza Cebekulu, 22, had also not been traced. There was a warrant out for the missing four accused's arrest and the trials have been separated.

The State's case is that a group, acting on Mrs Mandela's instructions, kidnapped Mr Kgase, Mr Mono, Mr Mekgwe and Stompie Sepei, 14, from the Methodist manse in Orlando West, Soweto, on December 29, 1988, and assaulted them.

The four young men were taken to rooms at the back of Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof house where they were questioned by men who appeared to live on the property, Mr Kgase said.

They were questioned about sexual misconduct at the manse and told "an authority" had asked for the truth, Mr Kgase said.

Mrs Mandela came into the room and sat on a chair that had been put there "for Mummy". When she stood up she said they were "not fit to be alive", Mr Kgase said.

Then Stompie was accused of being a police spy. Mr Mekgwe and Mr Mono were accused of having slept with Mr Verryn. They all denied the allegations.

Mr Kgase said Mrs Mandela grabbed him by the hair and punched him twice in the face. She also punched each of the others twice, he said.

A second beating began with Mrs Mandela asking questions between her blows, he said.

"After that it was pandemonium," Mr Kgase said, describing a group assault in which the four young men were beaten by a variety of people. "I was punched for a long time and I don't know how it all stopped.

"Mrs Mandela was humming a tune and dancing to the rhythm. All of sudden I saw she had a sjambok. She started with me. I was struck several blows with the sjambok before she said anything."

The hearing continues. — Sapa.



Winnie Mandela

Winnie 'hummed and danced' during assault

APC 1/3/89 (11A) 1/3/89

CITY



COURTS

By Peter Fabricius
and Paula Fray

ANC, Govt clash over census

Star 7/3/91

The Government made a last-ditch effort last night to try to salvage today's census after the ANC rejected it.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw issued a statement slamming the ANC's boycott campaign as "utterly irresponsible" and went on television to try to persuade the population to take part.

He said the ANC's statement yesterday could contribute to an undercount of blacks and this was a "tragedy" as it was needed to plan facilities.

ANC spokeswoman Gill

Marcus denied that the ANC had called for a boycott and said it was asking only for a postponement and re-drafting of the census methods.

The ANC's deputy president Nelson Mandela was to have contacted President de Klerk last night in a bid to postpone the census, Ms Marcus confirmed.

Several major townships surrounding Johannesburg, East London, and Port Elizabeth as well as the TBVC were excluded, she said.

"The Government appears to be intent on carrying out a tawdry sleight of hand which will entail separate and distinct processes for enumerating whites and Africans.

"We reject, with utter contempt, the excuse that certain areas of African residence are unsafe. The continued exclusion of the so-called TBVC regions from official census is equally unacceptable," Ms Marcus said.

The ANC in an earlier statement questioned the Government's bona fides and said it ap-

peared intent on "deliberately miscounting the African population".

Mr Louw expressed the Government's "amazement and disappointment" at the ANC's rejection of the census — especially coming at the last moment.

The ANC had been among the more than 500 organisations which the Government had asked to co-operate in the census. No negative reaction or representation had been received from the ANC.

"The present boycott announcement from the ANC appears to be planned in advance and is utterly irresponsible and can only be counterproductive."

It was "totally absurd" to allege the census had been planned to reflect an undercount.

Reacting to the ANC criticism that the TBVC countries were not included, Mr Louw said that Bophuthatswana and Venda were now doing censuses and that Ciskei and Transkei would do theirs in April and

11A


May this year.
Central Statistical Services (CSS) head, Dr Treurnicht du Toit, said it was naturally "a disappointment to learn at this stage of the ANC's reported reaction to Census '91 but I am convinced that, if they are informed of the facts of the matter, their support could still be depended on".

This information was important for planning education, health and commercial services for different regions.

● Census questionnaires do not

need to be completed by midnight tomorrow.

However, Dr Treurnicht du Toit confirmed that people who blankly refused to co-operate would face prosecution from as early as Friday. He said people had up to the end of March to complete their forms.

Dr du Toit said many people would receive their questionnaires only after March 7, whereafter they had to be completed.

"Although the submission of completed census questionnaires is compulsory in terms of the Statistics Act, the CCS depends on the goodwill of every resident of South Africa to complete and submit his/her questionnaire," he said.

Youth launch 11A

THE ANC Youth League in Guguletu will be officially launched on Saturday at St Mary, Magdalene Church at 2.30pm. *Soweto 13-13/91*

It has been operating as an interim structure since January this year.

According to a statement, the township is "engulfed" by gangster activities and the league have been organising its members into sport and cultural activities to bring the youth together.

UDF stepping out with pride

South 7/3 - 13/3/91

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

THE United Democratic Front will officially disband on August 20, satisfied that it has fulfilled the main purpose for which it was set up in Mitchells Plain in 1983.

Former UDF activists who are now involved in ANC structures will remember with pride its highlights and the repression the UDF stoically endured.

Although its immediate objective was to frustrate and halt the Koornhof Bills and the tricameral parliament, the UDF campaigns were conceived in the mould of the broad national democratic struggle.

In its first year of existence, the UDF mobilised against black local authorities and the success of its campaign translated into a boycott of the elections by 90 percent of voters.

A year later, in 1984, a national campaign against the tricameral system of parliament ensured a 84 percent boycott of the elections for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

Collapsed

In the same year, local government structures around the country collapsed because of pressure on the black local government structures.

The UDF and the democratic trade union movement in 1984 organised one of the first successful stayaways in the Transvaal since the banning of the ANC.

By 1985, the UDF had grown into an organisation of more than 700 affiliates. By this time it had assumed a more direct political role and many of its affiliates had adopted the Freedom Charter.

The state moved swiftly, determined to smash the front.

In July 1985, it declared a state of emergency that was finally lifted on February 2 1990. During this time, more than 50 000 activists — most of them from UDF structures and youth, student and civic organisations — were detained.

Some UDF leaders — including Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Yunus Mohammed, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, and Mr Archie Gumede — were charged with high treason.

Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Moss Chikane and other leaders from the Vaal Triangle, were charged with high treason in the now famous Delmas treason trial.

Announcing the imminent demise of the UDF, its co-president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said on Monday: "We are proud to announce that the UDF has fulfilled the major purposes for which it was set up."

Undemocratic

She said black and white South Africans now agreed that the tricameral parliament was undemocratic and unacceptable. Only "skeletal pieces" of the town council system remained in place.

A significant number of leaders had been released from prison or allowed to return from exile, organisations had been unbanned and the government was beginning to search for a negotiated settlement with the majority of South Africa's people.

Sisulu said the UDF national general council had decided at the weekend that the organisation should disband and instead assist in building the ANC into a mass-based party.

PAC to ^(11A)
⁽²⁰⁸⁾
re-enact
^{Soweto 7/3-13/3/91}
anti-pass
campaign

THE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) will re-enact the 1960 anti-pass campaign which led to the Sharpeville massacre on March 21 that year.

A PAC statement said the main event would take place in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging. After a grave-cleaning ceremony, the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, would lead a re-enactment of the 1960 march to the place where the massacre happened.

A mass meeting would be held afterwards.

Similar re-enactments would be held nationally, the PAC said.

Meanwhile, Mono Badela reports from Johannesburg that the PAC last weekend commemorated the death of its leader and founder, Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto.

Sobukwe died in 1987 in Kimberley, to where he had been banished by the government after serving a prison sentence on Robben Island.

A small crowd of less than 100 attended the commemoration.

Follow your conscience on census, says ANC man

South 7/3 - 13/3/91

THE African National Congress has called on its members to be "bound by their conscience" when deciding to cooperate with the census process.

On the eve of the R55 million census, the ANC objected to the exclusion of 83 African townships and the TBVC areas from the process and appealed to the government to postpone and review the process.

ANC constitutional committee member Professor Kader Asmal said a census "goes to the heart" of the democratic process.

It impacted on future economic and social planning and development and was the only way to determine how many seats were allocated in an election.

"Therefore it is the view of the ANC that the state president's earnestness to

effect political change and transfer to democracy will be determined by his response to the ANC's misgivings.

"Unless a genuine attempt is made to reappraise and postpone the census, it cannot be regarded as adequate."

The ANC slammed the census as a "racist exercise" which effectively excluded the largest areas of African habitation in South Africa and the so-called independent homelands.

Consult

The organisation demanded that all South Africans be part of the census and that the census in the TBVC areas be carefully supervised and undertaken at the same time as the rest of the country.

It said it was prepared to consult with the government when there were problems in reaching all areas.

Civic organisations, trade unions and

community organisations could facilitate the census in African areas, squatter communities and rural areas.

The government could not expect the ANC to cooperate with enumerators, said ANC regional executive member Mr Dullah Omar.

"I personally will have nothing to do with the census although the ANC at this stage cannot call for a boycott of the process without consulting its members," Omar said.

The ANC could also not embark on an "alternative" or "supplementary" census because of the prohibitive costs involved.

It would, however, be extremely interested in the findings of a properly conducted census because of its impact on the future electoral system of South Africa.

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THE CRUNCH

SOUTH 7/3-13/3/91

Funding sources

dry up

SOUTH 7/3-13/3/91

A SOUTH investigation has revealed that many "struggle" organisations face extinction as overseas funding sources begin to dry up.

Among the first to be hit is the South African Council of Churches (SACC) which has been forced to trim its annual budget by R6 million this year.

The SACC's support for families of detainees, trialists, prisoners and other "victims of apartheid" is drastically affected.

For some time now "struggle organisations" have been relying heavily on foreign funding, estimated to amount to R600 million, to conduct their activities.

In the first of a three-part series on foreign funding and development, SOUTH this week probes the implications for a "business" that has become known as "Struggle Incorporated".

● See Pages 6 & 7



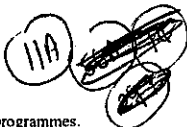
The business of conducting the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa has become a major enterprise. It could be called Struggle Incorporated (Pty) Ltd. It has boards of



directors, trustees, employees and everything a thriving business needs to survive. In the past decade, its income has been staggering and its expenses exorbitant. But its investments have been

paltry. In the first of a three-part series on foreign funding, REHANA ROSSOUW examines where the money for the enterprise comes from.

South 7/31-13/3/91



FOREIGN FUNDING has changed the face of South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle. Thousands of people are employed, hectares of office space are utilised, fleets of cars are available and enough technology is employed to put modernised businesses to shame.

Yet the business is not thriving. Productivity levels have decreased and millions of rands are disappearing into what seems to be a "bottomless pit".

Political organisations, churches, trade unions, education projects, publications, cultural organisations, service projects, civic organisations and advice offices have become heavily dependent on foreign grants to keep afloat.

Most anti-apartheid organisations employ administrative and organising staff and have come to rely on technology to spread their message.

This is all done through the largesse of foreign funding.

This funding represents an important mechanism for governments to "buy" influence and favour among strategically important groups in South Africa. It is a form of "taking out insurance" with the eventual winners in the struggle for power in the country.

There are no accurate figures available of how much money enters South Africa every year in the form of grants for anti-apartheid organisations.

From figures available, however, it can be reasonably estimated that more than R500m was pumped into organisations during 1990.

Most of the money "invested" in the anti-apartheid struggle is channelled by foreign governments into South Africa through non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

This, in turn, has led to a new industry — people employed to administer the funds inside South Africa.

Nearly all financial assistance directed to South Africa by western governments is aimed at supporting the struggle for a democratic state and preparing disadvantaged sectors of the population for an active role in a post-apartheid country.

The largest foreign grant to South Africa last year — R88m — was made by the European Community's (EC) special programme for the victims of apartheid.

The grant was part of the Community's "twin-track policy" of restrictive and positive measures, offsetting restrictive measures like sanctions with financial assistance to humanitarian and

educational programmes.

In the four years the special programme has been operational, R276m was allocated to 350 projects in South Africa and Namibia.

The United States' state department is the second largest donor, with about R70m granted to "disadvantaged" South Africans last year.

The Swedish aid budget to South Africa aimed at "humanitarian assistance in support of victims and opponents of the apartheid system" totalled R38m last year.

The Swedish government, widely regarded as an important ally in the anti-apartheid struggle, allocated some of the money directly to democratic organisations, including trade unions.

The Australian and Dutch governments also contributed a substantial amount of support last year, about R25m each.

The British government aids South African organisations to the tune of R36m annually, in addition to contributing to the EC's special fund.

The Japanese, German, French, Greek, Italian, Spanish and Swiss governments contribute to the costs of opposing apartheid as well, although to a lesser extent.

Besides these more formal grants to anti-apartheid projects in South Africa, a host of religious, educational, professional and humanitarian projects have received funding from independent donor organisations and professional associations abroad for their work opposing apartheid.

The biggest conduit for foreign funding into South Africa is Kagiso Trust, which administers the bulk of the EC special fund.

Kagiso director Mr Achmat Dangor agrees that the fund, designed specifically to help victims of apartheid overcome the effects of apartheid or resist it, has become a whole industry.

The trust has identified new development priorities in the past two years and is preparing to halt funding of projects established to oppose apartheid.

"This industry became a way of life and I think people forgot old traditional ways of working with minimum resources," Dangor said.

He believes that, to an extent, foreign funding has contributed to a culture of expectancy — people believe that because they are "victims of apartheid" the world owes them some kind of payment for it.

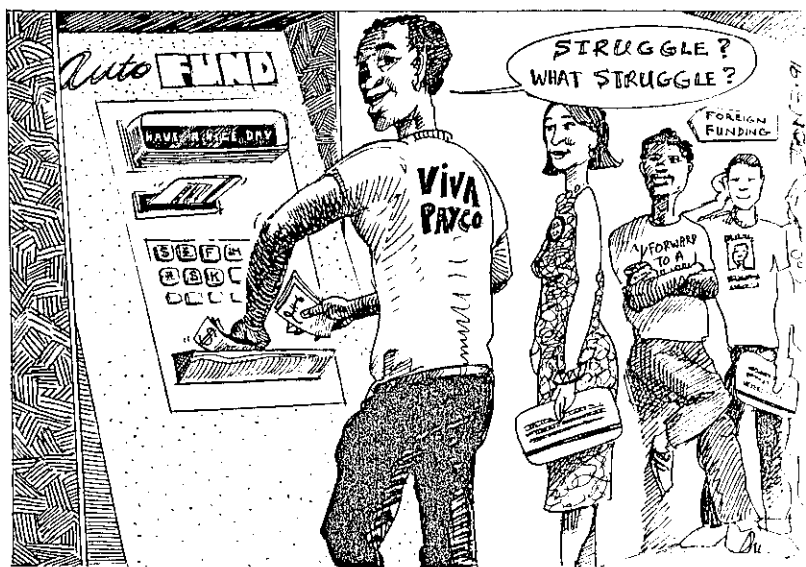
But he also believes foreign funding has had some positive aspects.

"During the worst years of repression, the funding we received was used to support whole families," Dangor said.

"The legal funds we had were used to defend people who were charged with political crimes.

"If that money had not been there, many more of our people would have gone to jail. Many of our leaders today

Unveiling 'struggle incorporated'



would have been in prison and maybe the struggle wouldn't have progressed as far as it has."

Dangor believes problems arose when people began regarding the flow of foreign funding into the country as a welfareist exercise.

The more the resource was available, the more it was requested and the more people became dependent on it to the exclusion of using other indigenous resources.

"It has diminished the capacity of activists to act without being paid to act," he said.

FUNDERS, too, had political agendas. The money was not granted because South Africa was a "worthy cause", Dangor said. There was an element of "wanting to purchase the struggle", and unscrupulous donors were often identified and shunned.

"But unscrupulous donors will still find unscrupulous recipients of money," he said.

"Kagiso Trust has experienced that. When we said no to bad projects, organisations here simply went to other people and found the money."

The trust has decided it will accept money if it sustains the struggle, and provides welfare to those who are suffering because they are victims of apartheid.

They have insisted that the foreign grants must contribute towards greater independence — an investment in training people and building community-based institutions to deal with political and social issues.

"There are many people who have a

'There are charges made that unlimited funding has even encouraged a climate of poor discipline and accountability concerning resources.'

reduces the vast amount of foreign aid they have to give to other Southern African countries."

Dangor said Kagiso did not agree with the simplistic attitude that all money from abroad was evil.

Tapping the well of foreign funding used to be quite an easy exercise. Activists discovered that if they could draft proposals containing just enough political jargon, money became readily available.

In the past decade, the availability of money led to the establishment of several organisations formed to oppose certain apartheid doctrines.

People who had previously participated in anti-apartheid organisations, because of their commitment, became paid fulltime organisers, based in offices.

Dr Wolfram Kistner, former head of the department of Justice and Reconciliation at the South African Council of Churches, said: "Our activists today know all the psychological tricks to get money. They know exactly what word to put into their funding proposals.

"To impress donor organisations, they talk about the good of the people.

"Then there are organisations which want to make a big impression on their funders — to show that they get things done. They do something very visible; they organise big events to show publicly that the money is being spent.

"This goes against the development principle of first spreading skills and money to the community."

Like their counterparts in South Africa, donor organisations throughout the

genuine interest in developing countries such as ours because, without a strong and stable South Africa, their own countries will suffer in many ways," Dangor said.

"Of course, that may be seen as their agenda. A strong economy will enable the Japanese government, for instance, to invest more inside South Africa in plant industry and capitalisation because it is so expensive to do that in their own country.

"South Africa is still a far cheaper country to invest in than even South-Asian countries. It is the one country in Southern Africa that has got the human resources and the infrastructure to manage large-scale industrialisation.

"The European Commission needs a stable South Africa, because that gives them a stable Southern Africa. It re-



Mr Achmat Dangor

'Foreign funding has contributed to a culture of expectancy — people believe that because they are "victims of apartheid" the world owes them some kind of payment for it.'



Dr Beyers Naude

'Unlimited foreign funding has "corrupted organisations", to the extent that some merely provided "sheltered employment" for activists.'

■ NEXT WEEK: Use and Abuse. Has the money improved the quality of work done by organisations? Has the money improved the lot of the millions of unemployed, homeless and under-educated South Africans? How widespread are abuses?

South 7/3-13/3/91

world employ thousands of people to channel millions of rands to assist the anti-apartheid cause.

Kistner believes this is another mini-industry which merely "throws money at apartheid and hopes it will disappear".

"Some of these donor organisations are simply sheltered employment for useless liberals," he said.

"They need people to suffer overseas so that they can keep their jobs. They don't examine the reasons behind the suffering or do something useful to stop it. They simply subsidise the suffering masses of the world."

ROTHER JUDE PETERSE, secretary-general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, believes activists have lost sight of just who it is who funds them.

His church, which is heavily involved in welfare and education projects, gets funding from two sources — individual contact with sympathetic clergy in other countries and the annual Lenten appeals.

"Most of the money comes from ordinary, hard-working working-class people in other countries," Peterse said.

"When we're talking about aid to South Africa from Western governments, we are in actual fact talking about taxes from the wages of the workers in those countries."

"So for every cent spent, we must remember whose money it is."

The impact of foreign funding on organisations and communities is being viewed more critically now that people realise that, without careful management, funding has all too often swamped or critically distorted emerging organisations.

There are charges made that unlimited funding has even encouraged a climate of poor discipline and accountability concerning resources.

Dr Beyers Naude, who was instrumental in securing funding from the EC, believes unlimited foreign funding has "corrupted organisations", to the extent that some merely provided "sheltered employment" for activists.

There was seldom consultation with the community involved when projects were established to supposedly "assist and develop" them, and activists were seldom accountable to their community on how the money was spent.

As a former member of the Broederbond, Naude witnessed the methods used by the Afrikaners when they assumed political control of the country.

"They took their people into sheltered employment, into the railways and government posts, trained them and gave them real political power," Naude said.

"We cannot allow the people we have working now in our organisations to continue working the way they do. We must learn from the Afrikaners."

"What I am saying now is not a loveless criticism. It is an important criticism for the sake of our country."

Cutbacks cause retrenchments

South 7/3-13/3/91

THE Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) has decided to retrench a third of its staff after its foreign funding had been cut in half.

Its parent body, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), is likely to retrench more than 20 staff members soon after funders failed to cover a budget shortfall of R6,34m this year.

The SACC has long been the breadbasket of aid to "victims of apartheid" during the worst years of repression. However, funders recently changed the nature of their funding, slashing grants used for "political purposes".

The SACC has been heavily affected by this change, receiving 24 percent less from funders than expected.

The organisation was forced to reorganise its departments and other areas where they spend money — cutting back heavily on their wage bill.

At the WPCC, up to six staff members from a total staff complement of 18 were going to be retrenched soon as the council could no longer afford to pay their salaries.

Pickets

The announcement of retrenchments was met with protest from staff.

Angry WPCC staff members held a picket outside their offices on Wednesday afternoon, calling for a withdrawal of the decision to retrench.

There were also pickets outside the SACC offices last month.

The staff association of the SACC office sent a message of support to the WPCC staff, saying they were "appalled at the apparent disregard by the WPCC executive of a simple human right" — to be consulted on matters regarding job security.

Like other regions of the SACC, the WPCC did not receive their full budget for 1991 requested from the parent body. Regions were instructed to work with "cash in hand" and no longer rely on pledges from donors.

The WPCC needed R800 000 to meet its commitments for 1991 but only received R400 000.

The restructuring of WPCC follows



Pickets outside the WPCC headquarters

PICTURE: YUNUS MOHAMED

months of assessment and consultation after an SACC review commission reported on the restructuring of the parent body.

Staff members interviewed by SOUTH said the assessment also examined the role of the council in the wake of the unbanning of political organisations and in a post-apartheid society. The staff members did not want to be named.

"A meeting was called with all political organisations in the Western Cape where it was openly acknowledged that the WPCC had been more closely aligned to the ANC," a staff member said.

"The assessment went into full swing from November at the instruction of the executive committee. Staff experienced a breakdown in communication with the executive committee and were told their presence was no longer required at meetings."

"Since then, relations between the staff and the executive committee were strained, with decisions being imposed top-down."

In January, staff presented a memo-

randum to the executive committee raising their concerns about the operation of the WPCC.

A commission of inquiry was established to investigate their grievances and compiled a report to the staff and executive committee.

Constraints

Staff believed the executive committee was not only motivated by financial constraints, but political considerations as well.

The executive committee had decided that the council would "move to base" — be owned by the church, located within the church, coordinate the work of churches and foster ecumenism and unity.

"The assumption which follows from this is that the WPCC has never been based, that the council has never been controlled by the church but by community and political organisations, particularly the ANC," the staff members said.

However, the staff's prime concern was that they were never consulted by the executive committee on how many

people would be retrenched.

Because of the nature of the structure, their jobs had never provided real stability or fringe benefits.

"We expected mutuality between the staff and the executive. Even if financial constraints lead to retrenchments, we want to be part of the decision of which posts are to be dissolved," the staff members said.

Criticism

Responding to the staff's criticisms, the WPCC executive committee chairperson, the Rev Courtney Sampson, said the budget cuts brought with it the "haunting reality" that it was impossible for the council to continue in its former structure.

Sampson said while he sympathised with staff who were no longer secure in their jobs, the reality was that foreign funding was drying up.

"Last year already, the SACC warned that it cannot guarantee to continue paying the salaries of all staff members," Sampson said.

"We have been working with hand-outs from other people for far too long."

"Matters of compassion and morality will be taken into account when we work out retrenchment packages in conjunction with the staff."

The WPCC could not be expected to maintain the same political profile it had in the past few years, although it was still committed to the struggle for liberation, Sampson said.

The WPCC would not make any excuses for being closely aligned with the ANC as its members were in the forefront of political activity in the Western Cape for years.

The WPCC's new structure makes allowance for six staff members which will balance theological research with programmes in oppressed communities. Welfare work and service operations of the council would continue, Sampson said.

He said, politically, the council had to reassess its role.

"The church has had to carry the load of work of political organisations when they were unable to do so. It is arrogant of them to assume now, when they are unbanned, that we will continue."

Sampson said for too long church workers had been "abused and misused by political organisations to the detriment of the church."

SA women out in the cold

THE issue of gender equality has moved up from the bottom of agendas in the liberation movement in the past few years. *South 7/3-13/91*

Some opportunities have been created for women to begin to engage in politics in a way significantly different from the past. But it remains to be seen whether women will use those opportunities effectively.

At a recent Durban conference on "Women and Gender in Southern Africa", it became clear how many complex barriers there are for South African women trying to take up the challenge offered by these opportunities.

In a paper titled "Where have all the women gone? Gender and politics in South African debates", Shireen Hassim of the University of Natal said there was "surprisingly little attempt" in South Africa to understand women's relationship to the political process.

It was not that women were invisible in politics; on the contrary women in South Africa had taken on battles directly with the state, using high-profile strategies.

Visible

"It is rather in the very construction of these activities that the problem lies," Hassim said.

"Women are rendered visible, both in the media as well as in surveys of the resistance movements, but in both cases this occurs within a very specific patriarchal discourse."

Where women were considered at all as political beings, they were treated either as victims of a man-made world of conflict and violence or as heroines battling to restore humanity to a world spinning out of control.

These themes applied equally to African as to white women, and were drawn from a fundamentally patriarchal world view.

"A major part of the explanation for the nature of South African politics must lie in the absence of any organised feminist movement in the country," Hassim said.

"A feminist movement may be defined as one in which there is an organised attempt to challenge and eradicate the oppression of women by men."

In other parts of the world, criticism of the fundamental assumptions of male-dominated political analysis emerged primarily as a result of women's organisations' direct impact on the public (male) sphere.

However, in South Africa, women in the left had publicly and actively denounced the validity of feminism for black South African women.

Feminism

Writing in "African Communist", a reader who gave her name as "Clara" argued that feminism could not be adopted by a movement committed to the liberation of African people led by the black working class.

"Feminism is a reformist ideology," said Clara, effectively undermining independent organisation of women within the left.

In other parts of the world in the past three decades, challenges to the structure of male dominance facilitated the emergence of a strong movement among women, committed to exposing and eradicating gender oppression.

These were largely due to the availability of contraception, freeing women from the constraints of motherhood, the larger availability of education and job opportunities and women's involvement in the civil rights movement.

In South Africa, however, while similar conditions might have existed for white women, they did not for black



South African women will join women throughout the world in celebrating International Women's Day on March 8. Yet, at a recent conference on "Women and Gender in Southern Africa" held at the University of Natal, speakers emphasised how far behind the rest of the world South African women were lagging in addressing gender oppression. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

women. Race, class and gender identities had been inextricably intertwined and undermined any notion of common gender oppression.

While the struggles of white women for equality in the labour market and for political rights have had some positive spin-offs for women generally, their success has been limited by an overriding apartheid order which has developed a very different set of legislation for blacks.

Thus, for example, reforms in legislation governing marriage and divorce have not been uniformly applicable for all women.

At the same time, much of the reform promoted by white women has been financed and made possible politically at the expense of opportunities and civil liberties for blacks.

"Women's organisations which have emerged among white women and, of late, among bourgeois women of all colours, has tended to take up a limited range of issues of interest to professional

women," Hassim said.

"In any case, there has been no joint action by these organisations that would enable us to talk even of a limited women's movement.

"Issues that have elsewhere united women at the broadest level, such as women's concern for children and legal sexual discrimination, have in South Africa been fraught by racial schisms that ensure white 'madams' have little in common with their black 'maids'."

Opportunity

Hassim said the centrality of the national question in South African politics left little opportunity or energy for an autonomous movement of women.

Black women who have been politically active have tended to become involved in broader campaigns against apartheid or in the trade unions, rather than take up women's issues.

This position on the priorities of opposition movements has marginalised issues which are central to feminism,

such as the control of individuals over their lives and bodies.

At the same time, many organisations — including women's — have refused to engage in feminism.

Balecka Kgosotsile, in her article "Are the chains breaking?", argued that "men are so comfortable with being waited on that many are not particularly keen to discuss women's emancipation, even if they are supposed to be revolutionaries."

"Women, on the other hand, are so used to 'catering' for others that they tend to hold on to the roles that retard their development."

Organisationally, women have always been tied to national political and union structures and agendas have been determined by national priorities rather than the priorities of the smaller constituencies.

As a result, even in those moments in which women confronted the male domain directly, they did not articulate their campaigns either in terms of a

struggle between men and women, or an exclusively female struggle against an oppressive system.

Even the most visible of women's political struggles, against the extension of the pass laws to women in the 1950s, was located within the context of the broader national liberation struggle, in which women were seen as part of a popular front rather than within the history of black women.

"The argument that black women in South Africa are uniquely oppressed because theirs is a three-fold oppression as blacks, workers and women has become one of the clichés of progressive literature on women," Hassim said.

"As a result of this narrowness of political strategy, what has been missing from our debates has been a more complex understanding of the nature of patriarchy, which would allow us to draw in a broad range of women into a nonracial organisation."

Scope

"Issues which are central to an understanding of patriarchy, such as the control over women's bodies, women's labour, sexuality and the social legitimisation of violence against women, have had little space in our politics."

Hassim said broadening the scope of politics to include these issues would mean that the ANC's Women's League could begin to appeal to a much wider constituency, not merely those who suffered "triple oppression".

Women in a post-apartheid society will continue to be divided along class and racial lines.

For the Women's League to be truly representative, it would have to confront the different needs and issues that arose out of the different life experiences of a broad range of women.

The most common explanation offered for women's lack of participation lies in the roles accorded to women in society, particularly in women's "double shift" — in the burdens they carry as wage earners as well as managers of families.

"These burdens clearly limit the time and energy women have to participate in political organisations," Hassim said.

Childcare

The most graphic account of the burden carried by women involved in the political struggle was given at the conference by Tammy Shelter in her paper titled "The gender agenda: women's struggles in the trade union movement".

"A woman shop steward brought her baby to a local shop stewards meeting because she had no childcare."

"Her comrades would not let her keep the baby with her as they said it was disrupting the meeting."

"She sat through a two-hour meeting. I was hunting inside, listening to him crying in the room next door, but I knew I could not go to him."

Many activists see the organisation of women employed in factories into unions as an important way of breaking the isolation and drawing women into broader working class political action.

Even then, trade union activists complain that women's responsibility in the home makes them less available for meetings.

Hassim said that, since the return from exile of the Women's League, debate between women's groups and feminists had revolved around the importance of an autonomous women's movement.

"However, I suggest that the debate could be more fruitfully, and perhaps less divisively, conducted around the issue of the empowerment of women."

"Whether women remain in or out of national political structures, and no matter how large or small their numbers within women's political organisations, the ultimate test of feminist politics is the extent to which it can provide women with skills to challenge a male vision of the world and provide an alternative to that vision," Hassim said.

What are we doing here? query MPs

Star 7/3/91

On
The
House
SHAUN
JOHNSON



For what is arguably the first time in several years, the House of Representatives has been debating an important question.

The question is: "What are we doing here?"

As the politically aware reader will know, others outside the tricameral Parliament have been wanting this answered since 1984. Now they are getting some satisfaction in the Reps' twilight days.

The formal topic for discussion was the Budget, but the interleaving

theme was "Our Relevance". (Research shows that the word "relevance" was used in the House this week as often as most prepositions. Indeed, it was frequently used as a preposition.)

"All the signs are that if we do not now act with resolve

we will be written off by history," declaimed Jac Rable (UDP, Reiger Park), at the time of writing the Leader of the Official Opposition. No one was prepared to argue with that.

His proposal to the majority Labour Party (Proprietor: Hendrickse and Sons), was that all

Reps should stop their silly debate and "march to Tuynhuys to deliver our demands to the State President".

It was not immediately clear what

ourable Member?" he demanded.

"He has been in Parliament since time immemorial. It is now the golden opportunity for him to get a golden handshake."

Making allowances for poetic licence — the Hon Member for Bishop Lavis had in fact been in Parliament since the early 1980s, not time immemorial — Mr Roper was touching on a crucial issue.

Those Reps who have been in the system from the beginning already

qualify for parliamentary pensions, while more recent arrivals do not. Hence the consuming interest in matters which may otherwise appear to the casual observer to be somewhat parochial, trivial, and — dare we say it — "irrelevant".

It is a

hard fact that the Reps. have very close to no influence whatsoever in Parliament in these pre-New South Africa days. The time when they could block group areas legislation and embarrass the Government by forcing Bills through to the Presidents' Council has now passed.

Thus the House sees out its autumn in a state of something approaching amiable chaos, contemplating its collective



Jac Rable.



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His proposal to the majority Labour Party (Proprietor: Hendrickse and Sons), was that all Reps should stop their silly debate and “march to Tuynhuys to deliver our demands to the State President”.

It was not immediately clear what these demands were, besides that overarching issue which is concentrating the mind of the nation: “Will the Reps get full pensions when the playhouse is abolished?”

Nic Isaacs (DRP, Bishop Lavis, until a week before himself the Leader of the Official Opposition), was also all for walking out.

“There is no more honour in this House,” he added, begging a question or two.

The Labour Party, which had earlier staged a protest boycott of a parliamentary Joint Sitting (a piece of mass action which seemed to escape the notice of everybody except the Labour Party), got very cross about this.

Boycotts were fine to pressure for more money for the Reps’ constituents, they said, but a permanent walkout was beyond the pale.

Arthur Roper (LP, Alra Park) went straight to the point.

“Who will profit more financially (from walking out) than that Hon-

orary pensions, while more recent arrivals do not. Hence the consuming interest in matters which may otherwise appear to the casual observer to be somewhat parochial, trivial, and — dare we say it — “irrelevant”.

It is a hard fact that the Reps. have very close to no influence whatsoever in Parliament in these pre-New South Africa days. The time when they could block group areas legislation and embarrass the Government by forcing Bills through to the Presidents’ Council has now passed.



Allan Hendrickse.

Thus the House sees out its autumn in a state of something approaching amiable chaos, contemplating its collective navel and convincing itself of the urgent need to continue doing whatever it was doing in the first place, which no one can

quite remember for the moment.

While South Africa changes beyond recognition, the men in the Reps (irreverently known as the “House of Reprobates” or “House of Hyperbole”) stay much the same. The heroines of Hansard carry on filling in party affiliations in pencil because they change so often.

The intensity of insult is raised to an ever higher plane. The Speaker, like the boy with his finger in the dyke, barely manages to avoid scenes of epically unparliamentary proportions.

More than anything else, though, the House of Representatives is home to the most extraordinary characters, all of them under grave threat of extinction in the new South Africa.

Be warned: in the weeks to come, their final acts will be preserved for the historical record.

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

From page 1

Winnie *CMT trials 7/3/91*

She then repeatedly punched Stompie while asking him about being a police informer. "He denied it and she punched him. This kept on for a considerable time," Mr Kgase told the court.

Several people joined in the assault on the four after Mrs Mandela accused them of protecting Mr Verryn. "Pandemonium broke out... others came to help and I was severely punched for a long time.

"I can't remember how it stopped. Mrs Mandela was humming a tune and dancing to the rhythm. All of a sudden I saw her with a sjambok. She started hitting me with it."

Seipei was murdered several days later by Richardson, who was sentenced to death for the crime in August last year.

Another state witness, a physician and long-time friend of Mr Verryn, Dr Martin Connell, rejected as "ridiculous" a suggestion from defence counsel Mr George Bizos that Mrs Mandela would contend she was only performing her "public duty" in trying to protect the four from sexual molestation.

Mr Verryn's only concern was to alleviate the plight of the indigent and homeless, Dr Connell said.

He said the allegation that Mr Verryn was molesting boys was "ludicrous".

Dr Connell described Mr Verryn as an "honourable man".

Chief prosecutor Mr Jan Swanepoel told the court that the second abduction of Mr Mekgwe would not be allowed to hinder the course of the case.

A report in the Johannesburg Star newspaper has linked Mr Mekgwe's abduction to the ANC.

The reporter, Patrick Laurence, was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment on Tuesday for refusing to comply with a law obliging journalists to disclose their sources to police, but released on bail pending appeal.

Thirty journalists protesting in Durban against the arrest of Laurence were arrested yesterday. In Johannesburg protesting journalists were dispersed by police. The Durban journalists, from three newspapers, were later released on bail. Police confiscated posters from about 50 journalists outside the Rand Supreme Court. — UPI, Sapa and Own Correspondent



AT COURT ... Mrs Winnie Mandela gives an ANC clenched-fist salute outside court yesterday after she appeared again on charges of kidnapping.

'Whipping Winnie'

CMT trials 7/3/91
(circled initials)
(circled '11A')

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela repeatedly punched and whipped four people, including a boy of 14, and told them they were "not fit to be alive", a witness in her assault and kidnap trial alleged yesterday.

Mrs Mandela broke off the assaults at one point to begin "humming a tune and dancing", one of the alleged victims, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, told the Rand Supreme Court.

"You are not fit to be alive," Mrs Mandela told the four before beginning to assault each in turn with her fists and a sjambok on the night of December 29, 1988, Mr Kgase said.

Mrs Mandela and her three co-accused have pleaded not guilty to all four charges of assault and four of kidnapping, which carry a maximum penalty of death. Four other accused jumped bail before the trial began.

Mrs Mandela, 56, had ordered the four kidnapped that day from a Methodist Church hostel near her home in Soweto, as she believed they had been having homosexual relations with a Methodist minister, the Rev Paul Verryn, Mr Kgase said.

He and another of the four, Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, 22, had agreed to give evidence at the resumption of the trial yesterday after earlier refusing for fear of their lives.

They declined to testify after a third witness, Mr



SMILING WINNIE ... Mrs Winnie Mandela greets well-wishers at court yesterday.

Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, 21, was abducted on February 10 during the opening stages of the trial. But they reconsidered after Mr Justice Michael S Stegmann adjourned the trial on February 14 to give them time to decide whether to testify or face renewable jail terms of up to five years for contempt of court.

Mr Kgase, Mr Mono, Mr Mekgwe and Stompie Mooketsa Seipei, 14, were taken to Mrs Mandela's house by "a gang of her people" and forced into a room where they were accused by a follower of Mrs Mandela of indulging in homosexuality, Mr Kgase told the court.

Several people took turns to punch, kick and whip the alleged victims in an assault that lasted "a long time" and left him with "lots of pain", Mr Kgase said.

Mrs Mandela started the beating after Mr Kgase had been questioned by Jerry Richardson, the former "coach" of the Mandela Football Club, concerning homosexual relations between young men who lived at the manse and Mr Verryn.

"He told me all he wanted was the truth," Kgase said. He had told Richardson, who was convicted last year of murdering Stompie, that he knew nothing of the homosexual allegations.

One of Mrs Mandela's co-accused, Mrs Xolis Falati, 36, had insisted that Mr Verryn had raped another co-accused, Mr Katiza Cebekulu, and that Mr Kgase had not seemed to care about it.

At a meeting attended by Mrs Mandela, the four alleged victims and other members of the Mandela Football Club, Mrs Falati also alleged that Mr Kgase had homosexual friends, that Stompie was a police informer and that Mr Mekgwe and Mr Mono had had homosexual relations with Mr Verryn.

Mr Kgase said Mrs Mandela had then grabbed him by the hair and asked him why. "I said I didn't do anything and she punched me in the eye."

He said Mrs Mandela hit him again and then turned her attention to Stompie and gave him the same treatment.

She then accused Mr Mekgwe and Mr Mono of sleeping with Mr Verryn and also punched them.

To page 2

ANC man detained in Mafikeng

Copy Times 7/2/91 (10/2) (11A)
MAFIKENG. — The chairman of the African National Congress's branch here was detained in a raid on his home on Tuesday night, homeland police have confirmed.

Bophuthatswana police said Mr Job Mokgoro was detained in terms of emergency regula-

tions still operating in the homeland. They declined to give further details.

In a statement, the ANC's Mafikeng branch said the detention made a "mockery of the statements by (Bophuthatswana President Lucas) Mangope that the ANC is not banned in Bop".

FW, Mandela in census crisis talk

CMC Tent
7/3/91

11A

~~11A~~

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela were drawn into the census controversy last night.

The ANC has rejected the census as "totally unacceptable" because 83 areas, most of which are black, would be sampled and not surveyed door-to-door and because the TVBC states would be excluded.

ANC Western Cape regional convenor Mr Trevor Manuel said Mr Mandela would phone Mr De Klerk to try to persuade him to have the census postponed until these problems could be resolved.

Last night the President's office was tight-lipped about the phone call, and it could not be established what the outcome was.

However, Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw indicated yesterday that the census would go ahead today. He said the government had noted with "amazement and disappointment" the ANC's rejection of the census. Blacks would suffer as a result, he said.

During a press conference at the ANC's Western Cape regional headquarters in Athlone yesterday, the Central Statistical Services (CSS) census was condemned as a "racist exercise" by UWC visiting professor of law and ANC legal and constitutional affairs department committee member Professor Kader Asmal. He said the

census went to the heart of the democratic process.

Ignoring the largest population group in South Africa was both frivolous and fraudulent, he said.

Mr Manuel said the census was "fatally flawed". He did not openly call for a boycott of the census but said that ANC members should be bound by their conscience.

"The ANC demands the government institute a scientific census of the total population of our country, which excludes no portion of the country and does not differentiate among the various race groups," he said.

● Soweto and the black townships around Cape Town, Uitenhage, East London and Durban are those to be sample-surveyed.

The sample survey makes use of aerial photographs to determine the number of dwellings in the area. Dwellings are then categorised and teams of field workers draw a sample of information from each category which would then be multiplied by the number of dwelling units in each category.

● People need not sit up to complete their census forms by midnight tonight for fear of prosecution, said the head of the CSS in Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht du Toit, reacting to growing confusion about a R1 000 fine for people failing to complete their forms.

He said those who point-blankly refused to co-operate would face prosecution from as early as tomorrow.

ANC hopes for last-minute census talks

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were last night due to discuss the ANC's demand that today's national census be postponed.

The ANC has rejected the census as "totally unacceptable" because 83 areas — most of which are black — will be sampled and not surveyed door-to-door, and because the TVBC states will be excluded.

ANC western Cape regional convenor Trevor Manuel said Mandela would phone De Klerk to try to persuade him to have the census postponed until these problems could be resolved. It could not be established by the time of going to Press what

Blomay 713191

TIM COHEN and
BILLY PADDOCK

the outcome was.

However, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw indicated the census would go ahead today.

He said in a statement government had noted "with amazement and disappointment" the ANC's rejection of the census, adding blacks would suffer as a result.

It is believed the ANC is concerned that households throughout SA should be individually surveyed to supply the information for a new national non-racial voters' roll to be used in constituent assembly

elections as demanded by the ANC.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said, however, that the ANC was more concerned about the accuracy of the information gathered in the census.

The envisaged methods would make the results "an absurd farce", she said.

The Central Statistical Service (CSS) is overseeing the census arrangements and its head, Treurnicht du Toit, yesterday defended CSS research methods and expressed disappointment at the ANC's reaction. He said in a statement that if the ANC was informed of the facts, he was convinced its support could be relied on.

11A

Expect some decay under ANC govt, says Wynand

B 10 am
7/31/91
TIM COHEN (11A) (300A)

SA SHOULD expect an ANC-led government within the next two years, an enlarged bureaucracy and "some sort of decay", former DP co-leader Wynand Malan said at a conference yesterday.

Speaking at a seminar hosted by Damelin on Strategies for Business Prosperity in a New SA, Malan said it was possible the ANC would win less than 50% of the votes under a new constitution, but he would not bet on it.

He said if the bureaucracy was not enlarged, it would be necessary to institute a social security system.

There was "room to manoeuvre" within SA's budget constraints for the enlargement of the bureaucracy.

While the ANC was clearly not totally unified on all matters, it was totally unified on its main objectives: the abolition of apartheid and coming to power.

The idea of a possible split in the ANC's leadership was a myth, he said. However, he drew an analogy with the development of Afrikaner nationalism, pointing out that the original Botha/Smuts government had tried to be too accommodating after union, leading to the NP break-away under Hertzog.

Although a similar possibility may exist after a new constitution was negotiated, Malan predicted the ANC would be unified for at least four years after elections.

SA would experience some "decay", and whites would have to contend with a drop of living standards, but the country would not become a Kenya, he said.

ANC denies it worked with CCB

Sowetan 7/3/91.



THE CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) has alleged that it worked with the ANC while the movement was banned.

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

According to reports in an Afrikaans weekend paper, the CCB had operated on a "friendly basis" and "personal level" with the ANC to dissuade the movement that certain operations that the movement had planned were "indiscriminate."

The ANC has dismissed the allegation as unspeakably far-fetched. "These reports are an attempt to avoid the pertinent questions that have been raised in recent days.

"If they (the CCB) say that they advised an ANC cadre not to shoot down a plane - as they alleged - they were failing in their duties.

"Why didn't they arrest them...?," Dr Pallo Jordan of the ANC's department of information and publicity said yesterday.

The reports about alleged co-operation between the CCB and the ANC were made to *Rapport* in a secret and dramatic exchange.

According to the documents released to the Sunday

paper, a plot by the South African Communist Party to take control of the ANC was allegedly thwarted by the CCB.

The document also alleges that a programme was launched (with the help of the CCB) whereby ANC members inflicted with Aids were to be treated abroad.

The document explains that the CCB was to be "the first line of defence outside the country".

Internal operations were limited to the monitor of infiltration and the recording of routes used by guerillas.

These operations benefitted early warning and pre-emptive strikes and hits, according to the document.

The document explains that the idea was to concentrate on the enemy abroad - not the host country - and to make its communication networks obsolete, dis-rupt infiltration routes, find and destroy arms caches in-filtrate "enemy" intelligence units.

"We followed our seniors blindly," the document states.



Charities: Meeting the cash-crunch challenge

w/m and 8/3-14/3/91

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By IAN CLARK
THE goodwill is flowing; the money is drying up. The challenge in South Africa is to meet growing expectations with less. To survive, many wealth-distributing charities will need to grow into self-funding, wealth-creating businesses.

During the 1980s there was a significant increase in funding from local and overseas sponsors (from the public and private sectors) seeking to bring about social and political change in South Africa. Local organisations accepting these funds grew rapidly in number, size and scope of activities. Examples include education, skill development, the arts, preventative and curative health, business development, feeding schemes, legal rights and

housing. The organisations, by their very nature, are conduits to turn sponsor funds into services. There is seldom any motivation to generate funds from the programme's beneficiaries. Because there is little incentive to charge a fee it is possible to grow increasingly distant from the customers and their needs. From the end of 1989 there was a general reappraisal of the need for the activities and the effectiveness of the organisations funded. Sponsors also tend to get bored with existing programmes and are constantly seeking new and exciting programmes.

The net effect of this has been a large number of so-called community organisations suddenly facing financial failure. While the passing of some organi-

As local and foreign funding dries up many leftwing community organisations have run into financial problems. The solution is to run these organisations on sound business principles, argues **IAN CLARK**, director of the Centre for Developing Business at Wits Business School

sations is mourned only by the management and staff, others have played a useful role and should be enabled to continue to do so. New sponsors are appearing but for many organisations the only way to survive is to operate on a commercial basis — gen-

erating income from paying customers. There are five key steps in making the transition successfully.

Step 1: Accept that becoming a "business" is essential for survival. Sponsors, managers and staff must sit down together and carefully consider the implications of steps 2 to 5 for themselves and the constituencies they serve.

Step 2: Identify what services can be sold, to whom, and at what price. Since customers have probably not been expected to pay in the past it may be necessary to change the name and identity of the organisation. There has also been a tendency for subsidised organisations to compete with each other by offering similar products to the same market. If competitive organisations continue to be externally funded it may be necessary to find a new market or significantly improve and/or change the nature of the service.

Step 3: Identify the minimum level of resources required to offer the service. The ease with which sizeable funds were secured in the past may have encouraged a tendency to over-estimate costs.

Step 4: Identify the skills needed to make the "business" work. This is the most difficult part as many of the existing trustees, management and staff may have little to contribute. Hangers-on can be fatal to the success of the venture, consuming resources and frustrating the efforts of those with something to offer.

While a cumbersome committee may be useful in distributing largesse it is essential to give an entrepreneurial manager the flexibility to make quick decisions without having to gain approval. To attract someone who is competent the organisation will need to pay

more than the going rate in non-profit organisations.

Step 5: Develop a simple budget setting out the expected income and expenditure for one year ahead. If expenditure exceeds income then revenue must be increased or expenditure cut.

Income can be increased by selling more, increasing prices or focusing on more profitable items (or all three).

Sponsors can play a useful role in supporting organisations during the change process and by providing outside resources such as accounting and management and marketing expertise. Both the sponsor and the organisation must accept the market determines the nature of the service, and to whom it is provided. This may be particularly difficult for sponsors who are distant from the market.

The disciplines of running a business such as cost control, maximising the utilisation of assets, cash control, sound people management and satisfying customer needs, can often result in greater value being derived by the beneficiaries than that provided by a charity.

Not all subsidised services can be offered on a commercial basis. Some, like preventative health, tend not to be paid for even in an affluent society. Other activities such as feeding schemes are only provided because the beneficiaries are destitute — and by definition cannot afford to pay. Initial focus should be on those organisations that are being subsidised to compete with existing commercial activities — and where the sponsorship compensates for organisational inefficiencies and services that are not valued by the "beneficiaries".

New move to create born-again consumers

By REG RUMNEY
IS NOTHING sacred? In a materialist move worthy of our own Thomas Equinus religious theory has now been roped in to track how faithful people are to their modern graven idols — brands.

Consumer research company Research Surveys has developed a method of looking at markets using the theory of religious conversion. The aim is to measure consumers' faith in the brands they use and the potential for their seeing the light on the road to Damascus for other brands.

Brands are the very soul of marketing. They differentiate similar products in the minds of buyers. More, they command loyalty and even affection.

A gimmick? No, the company assures. Verily, yoking conversion theory to serve Mammon can forecast consumer behaviour, giving manufact-

urers fair warning if their products are about to fall from grace.

Research Surveys is carrying the word to other countries with missionary zeal. Projects using the company's conversion model are being carried out in North America, Australia, and New Zealand as well as South Africa.

Joint-MD Henry Barenblatt explains: "We have created a model which can predict the commitment of consumers to the brand they are using now."

Consumers are on a continuum from those firm as a rock in their commitment, through lukewarm, to those of little faith or "convertible".

The model can also be used to check the varying commitment of consumers to competitive brands, ranging from completely lost souls, or "totally unavailable", to the readily converted.

Tacked on to the usual "usage and attitude" surveys, on a yearly or three-

monthly basis, it can predict which way the market is going for particular products.

So the model can also, says Barenblatt, identify consumers using a competitive brand who could be converted to another brand. And, he says, it tells the marketer what message must be conveyed to bring those people into the fold.

The technique was developed by Dr Jan Hofmeyr, previously a senior lecturer in the University of Cape Town's Religious Studies Department.

The secret is wholly in the type of questions asked. These questions are copyrighted.

Butch Rice, joint-MD, says: "It is not often that you get a religious scientist entering the field of marketing. We are extremely fortunate that Dr Hofmeyr's path and ours crossed." Divine intervention, perhaps.

Winnie witness 'was looking for publicity'

AKG45
8/3/91
11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Kenneth Kgase, who claims that he was one of the people assaulted by Mrs Winnie Mandela, has been accused of being a publicity seeker who implicated her to "peddle" his story.

But he said: "I have no resentment towards Mrs Mandela, I am not here to implicate her, I am her victim."

Mr Kgase, 31, was extensively cross-examined in the Rand Supreme Court. He is the first complainant to give evidence in the trial.

Mrs Mandela, 56, her driver, Mr John Morgan, 61, Miss Nompumelelo Falati, 18, and her mother Mrs Xoliswa Falati, 36, all pleaded not guilty on February 11 to four counts of kidnapping and of assault to do grievous bodily harm.

Changed their minds

One of the complainants, Mr Pello Mekgwe, 22, was apparently kidnapped on February 10. Mr Kgase and the remaining complainant, Mr Thabiso Mono, 22, earlier both refused to give evidence saying they feared for their lives. But when the trial resumed on Wednesday the court heard they had changed their minds and would give evidence.

Mr Kgase described yesterday how he, Mr Mekgwe, Mr Mono and Stompie Seipei, 14, were kidnapped from the Soweto Methodist manse on December 29 1988.

Mr Kgase said Mrs Mandela was not present at that stage but the three other accused before court were there.

Once they reached Mrs Mandela's house, he said, they were taken into a back room where they were assaulted.

Mr Kgase described Mrs Mandela humming a tune and dancing while members of the group assaulted them and how she personally punched them and lashed them with a sjambok.

Yesterday Mr George Bizos, SC, for Mrs Mandela, questioned Mr Kgase

closely on a number of newspaper articles, which Mr Bizos later said showed Mr Kgase had not really been in fear of his life and was actually "a publicity seeker".

Mr Bizos reminded Mr Kgase that during the Jerry Richardson trial, Mr Kgase had asked to give evidence in camera.

Richardson was convicted of murdering Stompie and was sentenced to death on August 8 last year. He has appealed.

Two pages of the record of what Mr Kgase said during the Richardson trial were read out and Mr Kgase was asked if there was anything he wanted to change. Mr Kgase said he did not.

Then Mr Bizos read an article published in The Star on February 12 1989.

It quoted as its source "the escaper". The court has already heard that Mr Kgase escaped from Mrs Mandela's house on January 7 1989, but Mr Kgase denied that he was "the escaper" quoted in the article.

Mr Bizos put it to Mr Kgase that far from having any real fear for his life, he was a publicity seeker. "You have the right to say it but it is not what I am," Mr Kgase said.

The hearing continues.

Numsa shifts to 'politics of reconstruction'

By DREW FORREST (11A) (10097)
THE National Union of Metalworkers is actively considering a "reconstruction accord", negotiated principally between labour and the African National Congress, which would lay the foundations for economic development under a future state.

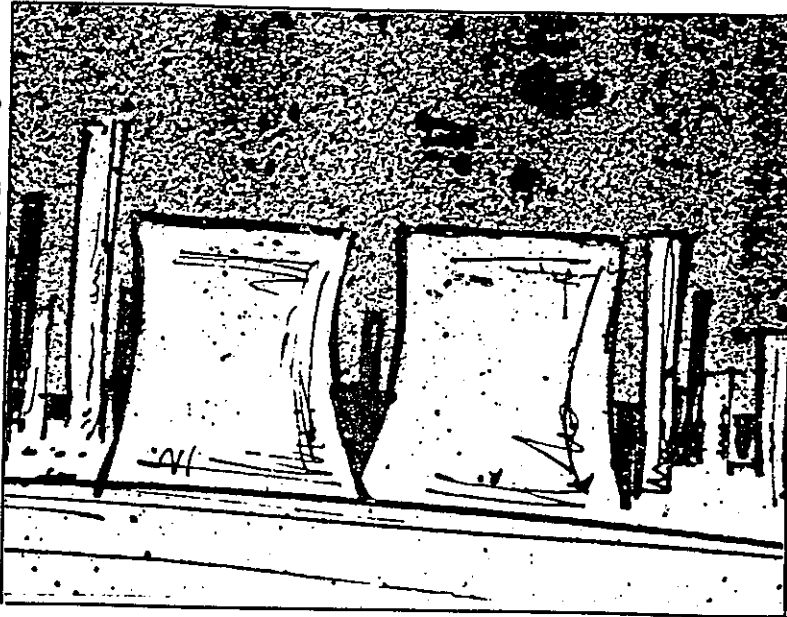
The idea of such a pact, also potentially involving civic, rural and other "progressive" political organisations, was put forward at a recent Numsa workshop and reflects the growing shift from "the politics of resistance" to the "politics of reconstruction" in the unions, reports the latest issue of the *SA Labour Bulletin*. It is still being debated within Numsa's policy-making structures. (11A) (10097)

In essence, Numsa proposes a deal with the state through a future ruling party which would strengthen the push for socialism. The fruit of bargaining between competing interests, it would require labour to have its own economic platform and to maintain its militant independence.

Once concluded, the accord would be presented to business as a basis for negotiations. Numsa is convinced that business lacks vision and a strategy for radical economic change.

At the same time, the bulletin carries an article by one of Cosatu's foremost "workerists", SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union general secretary John Copelyn, which approaches the reconstruction issue in a significantly different way.

Stressing the vital need for autonomous unionism as a check to state pow-



er, Copelyn argues that unions should establish an independent base, and seek to shape social policy, through collective bargaining with employers.

Taking as his model the Saccola talks, he says: "The state should function as an *enabling* institution, enacting in law the agreements reached by organised labour through collective bargaining."

Copelyn calls for national forums in all industries, in which labour and capital can strike deals on such issues as industrial restructuring, education and health and the productive investment of pension and provident fund money.

If employers continue to sabotage industry bargaining, he warns, unions will have no choice but to strengthen ties with political parties to give them access to state power.

The Numsa workshop stressed that the "social contract" advocated by

business, aimed at higher profits, should be avoided. Restructuring should aim at job creation, a living wage, meeting social needs and "positioning the working class for a move to socialism".

Seeing a revitalised manufacturing sector as the main engine for growth, it suggested sector and industry councils, involving the state, capital and labour, to oversee development. Training and skills development was also seen as vital.

The workshop also warned of the dangers of restructuring. Chief among these were job losses through new technology, co-optation as skilled workers are drawn into closer ties with management and a deepening gulf between skilled and unskilled and employed and jobless.

FEARS of being put at a disadvantage in a future election underpin the African National Congress's last-minute bid to postpone Census 1991.

With the census likely to be the last before the country goes to the polls in its first democratic elections, its accuracy is seen to be of paramount importance — whatever electoral system is eventually brought into play.

In Nigeria, a suspect census resulted in that country being plunged into a civil war soon after its independence. Based largely on sample surveys, the census was used to determine the delimitation of seats and proved to be severely flawed, sparking chaos.

Central to the ANC's "utter rejection" of Census 1991 is the decision by Pretoria's Central Statistical Service (CSS) to exclude from a conventional door-to-door survey 83 areas — including all of Soweto, each of Cape Town's black townships and Durban's kwaMashu and Umlazi townships.

Instead, these areas are to be photographed from the air and information about their populations calculated on

ANC gets jitters over the 'eye-in-the-sky' census

the basis of a door-to-door survey of a sample of about 300 households.

Equally unacceptable to the ANC is the exclusion from the census of the so-called self-governing states of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

These factors have given rise to the ANC's allegations that Census 1991 will be biased in favour of South Africa's white population, provide distorted information on the majority of the country's people — and "threaten to subvert the electoral process", in the words of ANC constitutional affairs expert Kader Asmal.

The ANC has accused the government of a "tawdry sleight of hand", charging that it is intent on "deliberately miscounting the African population" — and has called for a proper, scientific census to be done.

Is the ANC being unnecessarily paranoid in its rejection of Census 1991?

GAYE DAVIS reports

But CSS officials argue that they are trying to do just that — and that the ANC's intervention, more than anything else, is likely to result in a distorted picture emerging.

By the CSS's own admission, South Africa's black population was undercounted by 20 percent in the 1985 census. This year's census was designed specifically to redress that distortion, according to John Lynch, director of statistical advice at the CSS.

Because of the haphazard arrangement of many black residential areas, where informal settlements often co-

exist with built homes, aerial photographs and follow-up sample surveys were seen as a solution to the problem of a possible undercount.

Areas were selected for sample surveys a year ago because contracts had to be signed with the Human Sciences Research Council. Some were left out on the basis that they were inaccessible because of "unrest", Lynch said.

However, while it was true that in most of these areas there was no longer any "unrest", other areas where enumerators were intended to go door-to-door had since become "inaccessible" and emergency measures would have to be taken.

Lynch denied that sample surveys, by their very nature, would provide an inaccurate picture.

"It's a paradox, but we expect to get

a higher rate of accuracy from these than from the door-to-door surveys," he said. Sample surveys would be carried out by smaller, more highly skilled teams of enumerators, resulting in "better quality control". The sampling technique was used in all fields of science, he said.

Implications of the ANC's call for a postponement of Census 1991 include the possibility of the sample surveys being inaccurate if people canvassed failed to co-operate. According to Lynch, this would result in "a grossly distorted picture to the disadvantage of all".

He said the TBVC states conducted their own censuses because they were deemed independent under the present constitution.

"What we're sorry about is that we've undertaken this exercise to get information crucial for planning in the future — to suggest we're intent on a deliberate miscount is so far from the truth as to be laughable," Lynch said.

Any delay in Census 1991 will boost its cost to the taxpayer. So far, Census 1991 has cost R50-million, while total costs are expected to reach about R55-million.

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w/m w/ 8/3 - 14/3/91.



The good old days ... Jesse Jackson, Trevor Huddleston and assorted concerned citizens at a British Anti-Apartheid Movement meeting in the heyday of the anti-apartheid campaign

Photograph by Jillian Edelstein

Minty is director of the Oslo-based World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration With South Africa, set up in 1979 at the suggestion of the United Nations, to look specifically at any contravention to the UN arms embargo.

The campaign's work will continue until the embargo has been lifted and this — according to a report by the British House of Commons select committee on foreign affairs — will be the last to go. When it does, Minty hopes to return to South Africa, after at least 33 years in exile.

The International Defence and Aid Fund (Idaf) will move its centre of operations from London to South Africa as soon as structures have been set up.

Ex-South African Bill Frankel, legal consultant to Idaf — which provides funding and support for political trials — said there was no longer any reason for the organisation to be based abroad since its unbanning last February.

"In the light of the prevailing conditions in South Africa and at the request of interested organisations, it is appropriate for a legal resource programme such as Idaf to be handled from within South Africa," he said.

The new organisation would inevitably change its name, and might be in

some way connected to existing local organisations such as the Legal Resources Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights, Frankel said.

The American Committee on Africa, based in New York, will focus in the short term on maintaining sanctions, until, as founder Jennifer Davies says, "the promise of change has evolved into the process".

The committee, which has branches across America, will also work with the 80 cities and 26 states which impose local sanctions against South Africa and continue its campaign for the release of political prisoners as well as providing support for labour movements in this country and organisations tacking apartheid at a grass-roots level.

It will also be involved in human rights and anti-repression work, said Davies.

In the longer term, working with local networks, the committee will move into reconstruction so as to help South Africa develop its role as an integral and important player in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Washington-based lobby organisation, TransAfrica, was founded 14 years ago to represent black Americans and galvanise their opinion towards American policy. Its interests

spread to the Caribbean.

According to director Randall Robinson, TransAfrica will continue to oppose sanctions until all apartheid laws have been removed from the statute books.

"The government still has a considerable distance to go before sanctions can be lifted. I will not believe in the irreversibility of change until blacks have been given the right to vote and I have serious reservations about the extent to which De Klerk is prepared to go," Robinson said.

Once sanctions have been lifted and a democratic constitution drawn up, TransAfrica will focus on trying to create a climate in the United States of assistance to a new democratic government in South Africa.

"Then we would want to play an aggressively constructive role in order to help the new democracy to flourish."

The Holland Committee on South Africa is continuing in the short term to lobby its government to keep sanctions in place, said representative, Kees de Parter in Amsterdam.

In the longer term it will step up its programme of support to democratic organisations and victims of apartheid in South Africa and to that end, will transform from a political action group into a smaller organisation,

aimed at providing information, financial support and material aid to this country.

After celebrating its 30th birthday last year, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Holland is currently debating where to go next.

Editor of their magazine Bard Luirink said he believed that they were on the way to success in their main goal — to destroy the system of apartheid. But the replacement of apartheid laws with democratic ones wouldn't necessarily mean an end to apartheid; this would take many years and a lot of support and the Dutch AAM would help provide that support.

The Swedish Isolate South Africa Committee (Isak) is an umbrella organisation embracing 63 member groups.

Its short term role will continue to be to campaign against sanctions until this is no longer necessary and to support the democratic movements, said publicity officer Lars Hult.

In the longer run, it will encourage a network of different organisations in Sweden to co-operate with their sister organisations in South Africa and to provide financial and moral support.

In the future it is possible Isak will cease to exist.

Wilmad 8/3-14/3/91

(11A) (2020)



RISKY BUSINESS

THE ANC AND ITS LEADERS edited by Willie Esterhuyse and Philip Nel (Tafelberg, 169pp, R24,95).

FM 8/3/91

(11A)

This is an English translation of the Afrikaans version that was conceived in 1989 and published just a year ago. Much has happened since it was first written and to some extent its contents have been overtaken by events. But, in essence, it remains a useful and objective account, particularly valuable for those seeking a brief introduction to the ANC organisation and its policies and prominent personalities.

Written by four Stellenbosch academics — professor of philosophy Willie Esterhuyse, political scientists Hennie Kotze and Philip Nel and economics lecturer Servaas van der Berg — the contents range over the ANC's international relations policy, its economic viewpoints and its relations with the SA Communist Party. As the authors say, gaining a better understanding of one of the most important political actors in SA is an essential starting point for the debate about the future of this country. They provide just such a starting point.

There is no easy way out of the topicality problem. While these may be exciting times for political commentators and publishers, they are also so fast-moving that a written analysis which is put together with any care, runs the risk of being redundant even before it appears.

The alternative — not to publish anything until things settle down — is, of course, not acceptable.

Peter Randall

11A
R **SAMANTHA WEINBERG** looks at their future
RECONSTRUCTION rather than obstruction will be the nature of the involvement of international anti-apartheid movements in South Africa in the future.

From the late 1950s, organisations sprang up outside the country, geared towards fighting apartheid and in particular, pressurising governments and international formations into imposing sanctions against South Africa.

These organisations, many of whom were loosely or more formally tied to the African National Congress, can claim much of the credit for introducing sanctions onto the international political agenda and for keeping them in place.

However, as the apartheid laws begin to crumble and with them, the justification for sanctions, the anti-apartheid movement has started to re-appraise its role and in many cases, to change its name.

Most of the organisations contacted by *The Weekly Mail* this week said there was still a part for them in the future, but this would be more in the realms of addressing the legacies of apartheid and providing support for democratic movements within the country.

But this role would not start until sanctions had been dismantled and in many cases until a democratic constitution had been instituted and a democratic government installed.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in London is holding a conference in July to decide on its future structure and working groups have already been set up to look into whether — and if so, how — the AAM can be involved in South Africa.

In the short term, the priority of the AAM is to ensure the peace process in South Africa succeeds, but in the longer term, there is a role for a "post-apartheid organisation" aimed at trying to resolve the inequalities created by the apartheid system over the last 50 years, according to Abdul Minty, honorary secretary of the AAM and one of its founders.

Minty said the AAM supported the position taken by the Commonwealth — that sanctions should only be removed when the apartheid laws have been dismantled and a position of irreversible change reached. However, as the AAM has never taken a position entirely independent of the ANC, it would still expect to take its lead from them.

Already some of the AAM's constituent organisations, such as the Committee on South African War Resistance (Cosawr), have been dissolved.

W/Mail 8/3-14 2/91
W/Mail
FW de Klerk's reforms have forced the international anti-apartheid industry to change direction sharply and suddenly.

Anti-apartheid omnibus changes gear

MK commanders arrive in SA ~~legally~~ legally

6/Day 8/3/91
11A
THE first group of Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders returned legally to SA yesterday when 94 ANC exiles flew in from Lusaka.

"There are people here who have undergone military training and some of whom are commanders," the ANC's head of repatriation Jackie Selebi told returnees and the media at a church hall shortly after the exiles disembarked at Jan Smuts Airport.

The exiles, the first significant group to arrive in terms of an accord between government and the ANC, were delayed for two hours while police searched their luggage and their indemnities were checked.

PATRICK BULGER

It is believed exiles who had undergone military training have been allowed to return in terms of a Justice Department announcement earlier this week which created a third category of automatic indemnity for people who have undergone military training.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the returnees the ANC had reason to hope the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners would be an uninterrupted process. "We must sound a warning to the regime that the police and Askaris

must not engage in a process of persecuting our comrades."

Arrests of indemnified ANC members increased the ANC's scepticism about government's commitment to fulfilling its undertaking to a democratic transformation.

Jan Smuts was the scene of jubilation and occasional drama as police repeatedly dispersed throngs of toyi-toying youths. At least two people were bitten by police dogs and a man was chased around the car park for wearing camouflage trousers.

The exiles — 74 adults and 20 children — were allowed onto the concourse.

□ To Page 2

MK commanders ~~legally~~ legally

□ From Page 1

6/Day 8/3/91
11A
First through the barrier was Joel Diamond of Port Elizabeth who left SA in 1963. To shouts of "amandla" he was greeted by SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo, Nzo and National Council for the Repatriation of SA exiles (NCCR) members.

Exile Derek Mbatha, 22, said he left SA in 1986 from KwaMashu, Durban, and had since undergone military training in Cuba and Ethiopia. 6/Day 8/3/91

Also in the group was one of the first people to go into exile — 67-year-old Koppi-Ben Baartman. He was banished to

northern Zululand in 1959 after being tried and convicted of incitement in Worcester where he was a senior ANC activist. "I'm not bitter with the regime — I feel very sorry for this white regime. They will toe the line, that is a must," he said.

Fourteen people who were to have returned yesterday changed their minds.

The Swedish government donated the flight tickets. Another four flights are planned over the next five weeks.

● Picture: Page 3

Soldiers and babies among returning exiles

CAP 71-15 8/3/91
11A 2030

JOHANNESBURG. — The first group of Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders to return legally to South Africa were among 94 exiles who were greeted with jubilation at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

The exiles included infants, elderly people, blacks and whites.

Returnee Mr Achmed Qono said he was aged over 60 and had been away more than 30 years.

"It is good to be back," said Mr Joel Diamond, 47, who had been abroad for 27 years.

Also in the group was one of the first people to go into exile — Mr Koppi-Ben Baartman, 67.

Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Joe Slovo, ANC executive members and exiles until their return last year, hugged and kissed many of the group.

Police repeatedly dispersed throngs of toyi-toyiing youths. At least two people were bitten by police dogs and a man was chased around the car park for wearing camouflage trousers.

"There are people here who have had military training and some who are commanders," the ANC's head of repatriation, Mr Jackie Selebi, told returnees and the media at a church hall later.

The Swedish government paid for the flights. Another four flights are planned over the next five weeks. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa



EXILES RETURN . . . People at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday greet a group of returning exiles.

Picture:
REUTERS

'Blood in Winnie's jacuzzi'

JOHANNESBURG. — A man allegedly whipped and beaten by Mrs Winnie Mandela and her Mandela Football Club bodyguards told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he was forced to wash blood off surfaces at Mrs Mandela's home, including the jacuzzi.

Mr Kenneth Kgase said he and three other alleged victims, Mr Thabiso Mono, Mr Pelo Mekgwe and child-activist Stompie Seipei, had to clean up their blood after they were severely assaulted in a lengthy sjambok and fist attack started by Mrs Mandela on December 29, 1988.

Mr Kgase also claimed he was made to take part in the attempted murder of a former member of the notorious football team.

Mr Kgase told the court Mrs Mandela repeatedly punched and whipped himself and the other youths after they were abducted from a Methodist manse in Soweto. The beating was apparently because they refused to admit involvement in homosexual relations with a white priest.

Mrs Mandela, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, her daughter Miss Mompumelelo Falati and Mr John Morgan have pleaded not guilty to charges of kidnapping and assault.

Stompie's last day

Mr Kgase told the court that, during the week that followed the assault, Jerry Richardson, the former MFC "coach" who was convicted and sentenced to death last year for murdering Stompie, ordered him to hold down Mr Leratodi Ikaneng while Richardson stabbed the man twice in the neck with the blade of a pair of garden shears.

Another member of the MFC named Isaac had tried, but failed, to stab Mr Leratodi in the stomach, Mr Kgase said.

"Jerry got angry. He told Isaac to separate the garden shears. Isaac did so. Jerry snatched one of the blades and stabbed him in the neck. He asked

for the other blade, (and) said the 'dog' was not dead yet, and stabbed him again."

Mr Kgase said Mr Leratodi was left to die bleeding in a ditch but he learnt later that the man had survived.

Responding to a suggestion from defence counsel Mr George Bizos during cross-examination that he was a "publicity seeker", Mr Kgase said: "I have no resentment towards Mrs Mandela. I'm her victim."

Describing what was apparently 14-year-old Stompie's last day alive, Mr Kgase said he last saw the youth after Richardson told him to write his name and address on a scrap of paper because he was being taken home.

Stompie was beaten until he could barely move or eat, Mr Kgase said.

Mrs Mandela had "punched and whipped" the boy, and then turned him over to her bodyguards.

Stompie was found dead in Soweto a few days later with his throat slit.

Mr Kgase said that after Stompie was taken away, he, Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe were made to sleep several nights on the floor in one of the back rooms of the Mandela home.

They were prevented from leaving and were told by Richardson they had to obey the rules of the house.

One of these rules was that Mrs Mandela could not be called anything other than "Mummy".

On one occasion, they were told to don gold tracksuits inscribed with the MFC logo, and then made to attend a funeral with other members of the "team".

A week after the abduction and assault, Mr Kgase was told by Richardson to guard Mrs Mandela's house. While the other guard was patrolling the front of the house he escaped by jumping over a back wall.

He took a taxi to Johannesburg city centre where he was helped by Methodist Church workers.

The hearing continues today.

● Police arrested six people in two separate incidents outside the court after they ignored warnings to disperse during the lunch adjournment.

— Sapa and UPI

Whites won't go to heaven, says cleric

11A SOWETAN 18/3/91

GOD would never allow whites in heaven.

This was said by ANC official, the Rev WM Guba, at the funeral of slain BCM cadre, Mr Mashapu Ronald Malatji, at Mawhelereng in Pietersburg at the weekend.

He told a cheering crowd of about 5 000 people that if he were to find "Boers" in heaven, he would turn back.

The priest said Malatji, who died in a shootout between security forces and a unit of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) who had taken sanctuary in a church, had "fallen in the battle to free all black people from white oppression and exploitation".

Tributes

Guba also lashed at "the South African terrorist police" who, he claimed, had violated the sanctity of the church by firing into the pulpit during the shootout.

The funeral, characterised by impassioned



About 5 000 people braved the rain to attend the funeral of slain Azanla cadre Ronald Malatji in Pietersburg at the weekend.

praises of Azanla, was also addressed by Azapo president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and Azayo president Mr Thami Mcerwa.

Mourners braved the pouring rain to pay their tributes to Malatji. Security forces kept a low profile.

The low profile of the forces contrasted with events on Friday when members of the security forces raided several homes of BCM activists.

The mother of the publicity secretary of Azayo, Mr Kagiso Mogale, was detained with her daughter and a

four-month-old baby during the raids. They were held until Mogale handed himself over to the police.

Twelve other people were arrested on Friday at Malatji's house, while they were busy with funeral preparations. By Saturday, they were still detained. - Sapa

An activist without slogans

SO this is a new South African. Sitting on the other side of the desk in his shirt sleeves, unashamedly chain smoking and eating take-away chicken curry, is Oscar Dhlomo. The man who wants to help pilot us towards his vision of the good life — multi-partyism, democracy and tolerance — is freshly back from the triumphant launch of his Institute for Multi Party Democracy in Cape Town.

Dhlomo has a clear picture of what a new South African would be, and there are no prizes for guessing such a person sounds just like a product of the IMPD.

"A person with a new outlook on life who will cherish democratic values. Who will be able to judge people as human beings rather than racial entities. Who will make an effort to reach across to other people of other cultures.

"Tolerance of other cultures and points of view will also have to be part of it."

There are not many of them around, "but there is no reason why there should not soon be more.

"Our socio-political environment has not tended to encourage this disposition. In the past you could live comfortably without bothering to inculcate these values.

"People have not been challenged.

"But there is no reason to believe there will not be more of the new breed soon. There are many factors helping create them: the growing irrelevance of skin colour and race as a criterion for categorising people and deciding their worth. In its place real values are taking over."

There are a number of milestones along his journey towards the new South Africanism he hopes to see flourishing across the country.

At home, as the fifth child in a family of 11, he learned from his parents the value of family life, respect for other people and getting along with them — a gift he acquired from his father who made friends very easily.

From his father, the first black transport operator in the province with a fleet of buses running from Umbumbulu to Isipingo, he also picked up business acumen and an uncanny knack for being able to diagnose car trouble.

He learned a love of education and how to combine commercial interests with deep community involvement.

Another major influence was his university experience which taught him a fierce love of freedom and academic independence.

He spent 10 years as an academic and during his time as a politician he often missed this intellectual freedom and objectivity.

"It was always a struggle to reconcile ideological loyalty to intellectual independence; it produced a strong tension in me."

In the late 1970s he made his first trip overseas, from a society which was rigidly authoritarian and in which grand and petty apartheid were rampant.

"I thought there must be better political systems than this. And indeed there were."

11A w/mail 8/3-14/3/91

FRONT RUNNERS

People who'll mould the new SA



Oscar Dhlomo dreams of his own newspaper for the whole of Africa Photo: RAFS MAYET, Afrapix

The excitement of that first trip is still with him as he recalls: "It was a university travel fellowship to do research on my doctoral thesis. I came to this society which appeared completely free.

"So many newspapers in the streets. I did not know what to buy. I spent a fortune on papers.

"So many channels on the TV. Such questioning of senior political people including the prime minister. I went to Hyde Park Corner. They were virtually insulting the British gov-

ernment, yet there were the police keeping order and allowing them to do that.

"I could stay in hotels and go into train compartments and restaurants without having to look first for a notice saying whites only.

"Then I visited universities and colleges of education and found them relaxed and non-authoritarian.

"As I suspected, there was another way, and I liked it."

Further travel since then has continued this broadening education and confirmed his belief in the need for a more open society.

All this was formative for his role as minister of education and culture in kwaZulu, and his extraordinary competence while in effect kwaZulu's number two politician brought him the attention of a much wider audience.

He also impressed as leader of the Inkatha delegation during peace talks with the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions. The scuttling of those talks and their joint peace plan was due to circumstances quite beyond his control.

The Indaba and the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority put him further in the limelight and enhanced the impression of his competence.

The wide experience of his background combined with his other gifts has made him a highly desirable "catch" for any political organisation — the government offer of the plum ambassadorial posting to Washington, and the African National Congress' eagerness to have him on board are testimony to this.

But he prefers (certainly at this stage) to have a different role, claiming it suits his personality better not to have to forfeit intellectual independence for party discipline, and that he dislikes the insincere social relations which he feels politicians have to practise.

At the moment he is in a kind of political limbo, carving out a role for his IMPD. But he has a quite separate and well developed reputation, so regardless of its success, his personal prestige means he could at any time be called on to play the role that best suits his skills and temperament — as one of the midwives helping bring the new South Africa to birth.

When he allows himself time off he likes nothing better than to put on his sandals, shorts and a slogan-free T-shirt and spend time walking on the beach which borders his South Coast home.

What does he think about? Politics, the future of South Africa. But also perhaps his own road less travelled — if chance had dealt the cards differently he might have been a minister of religion or a lawyer.

And when his beach walk takes him into fantasising about what he might do one day, it could be a pet dream — of establishing a newspaper for the whole of Africa to bring closer together a continent so much in need of democracy, tolerance and communication.

Carmel Rickard

ANC still wants census postponed

CAPE TOWN — A stand-off between the ANC and the Government over the 1991 census continued yesterday, with the ANC sticking to its demand that the R60 million survey be postponed.

Following approaches to the State President's office, the ANC yesterday agreed to appoint a senior representative to take up discussions with the Ministry of Home Affairs, said Caspar Venter, spokesman for the State President.

This followed unsuccessful attempts by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk to contact each other telephonically to discuss the issue, said Mr Venter.

Meanwhile, ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed ongoing discussion between the ANC and the Government on the census, saying: "Postponement is still on the agenda".

The ANC, she said, presumed that the Government realised the census results would not be valid and would postpone it.

"If this doesn't happen, however, we will have to look some form of action."

The ANC earlier charged that the census was discriminatory and relied on unscientific methods to survey 83 townships. It has demanded that the exercise be postponed until broader consultation could take place.

Ms Marcus said she did not know which ANC official had been appointed to take up talks on behalf of Mr Mandela.

Mr Venter said Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela had tried to contact each other by telephone on Wednesday, but this was impossible.

"Following a telephone conversation yesterday between Dr Jannie Roux, director-general of the State President's office, and Mr Mandela, it was agreed that the matter would be discussed with another ANC representative.

"The State President consequently arranged that the Minister of Home Affairs, Gene Louw, would take up the discussion with the relevant ANC official," said Mr Venter. — Sapa.

Don't be fooled by ANC vows'

Staff Reporter

Conservative Party leader An-
dries Treurnicht last night said
South African whites should not
be fooled by the ANC's alleged
"commitment to peaceful solu-
tions" and should be prepared
to defend their families and
property — with Neighbourhood
Watches if necessary.

He was speaking at a packed
CP rally at the Hoërskool Flor-
daan Roodepoort.

Dr Treurnicht said there
were many black leaders who
were prepared to side with the
CP in its resistance to "revolu-
tionary, terrorist organisations"
such as the ANC and the PAC.

Different groups in South
Africa should each be allowed a
separate right to land, freedom
and self determination. Accep-
tance of power sharing was the
betrayal of self determination.

Dr Treurnicht said: "We
won't be governed by FW, or by
Mandela, or by his 'good wife'
Winnie. The CP demands the
right to own residential areas,
schools, facilities and land."

Census goes on, but govt will discuss ANC's objections

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have agreed to set up a high-level, two-man committee to discuss ANC objections to this week's national census.

Government sources said yesterday the census would go ahead and they did not anticipate any serious problems. (10am 8/3/91)

The sources said Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw and ANC general secretary Alfred Nzo had been nominated to discuss the ANC objections.

An attempt to arrange a telephone discussion between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela failed on Wednesday night, although both parties tried to contact each other, a spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday.

A Home Affairs spokesman said it was impossible to postpone the census,

TIM COHEN

which began yesterday.

The ANC has branded it "unacceptable" and "racist" because 83 townships are sampled and not surveyed by individual questionnaires, and the TBVC states are excluded.

DARIUS SANAI reports people who have not yet received their census forms should not be perturbed.

Central Statistical Service director Treurnicht du Toit said yesterday although households were required to list their occupants as on the night of March 7, many areas of the country would not receive their forms for another two weeks.

His statement follows a number of calls to Business Day by people in Johannesburg and other parts of the country who had not received census forms by last night.

Witness in Winnie case questioned about sex

JOHANNESBURG. — Defence counsel in Mrs Winnie Mandela's assault and kidnap trial failed yesterday to have a witness clearly support her pivotal defence, that she had protected and not abducted four black males to save them from a white minister's homosexual advances.

But witness Mr Kenneth Kgase, one of the four allegedly kidnapped from a Methodist Church hostel, acknowledged in the Rand Supreme Court he had heard an unconfirmed "story" that the Rev Paul Verryn had raped one of the male hostel dwellers in his care.

Mr Kgase, 31, denied firm knowledge of anyone being compelled to have sex with Mr Verryn and said he and others had been "comfortable" in the Soweto hostel.

"I cannot make a judgment on homosexuality" in the hostel, Mr Kgase told defence counsel Mr George Bizos, SC, during cross-examination in the trial's ninth day, after two days of telling how he and the three others had been punched and whipped by Mrs Mandela after forcibly being taken to her home.

Three in bed

Mr Bizos questioned Mr Kgase about his first night at the manse, when Mr Verryn and another man joined him in a double bed he was told to sleep on:

He agreed Mr Verryn's action of tickling him when the three men woke in the morning was strange. "I told him not to do it again," he said.

Mr Bizos suggested Mr Verryn had a habit of organising sleeping arrangements so newcomers spent their first night at the manse with the minister and Mr Tom Nkosi on a double bed.

Some newcomers would thereafter continue sleeping with Mr Verryn and Mr Nkosi while others would immediately sleep elsewhere, Mr Bizos said.

Mr Kgase said he had noticed this, but denied being aware of any homosexual interaction at the manse.

Mrs Mandela and three co-accused have pleaded not guilty to four charges of assault and four of kidnapping, which carries a maximum penalty of death. — UPI and Sapa

Is there light at the end of the tunnel?

These are still early days - Mbeki

WHAT is your assessment of the National Party's intention to repeal some apartheid laws?

A lot of the announcements made by De Klerk on February 1 represent an important victory for the struggle.

But of course these are still early days. It will be important to see what the NP actually means when it says some interim measures will have to be introduced after the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

We would also have to see what the maintenance of standards they are referring to means in terms of the Group Areas Act, and whether the repeal will be a genuine one or playing tricks.

There is also the very important issue of land. De Klerk says title deeds will be guaranteed and protected but at the same time says something must be done to make sure people have access to land.

How do you marry the two positions?

So while the announcement to repeal these laws is an important victory, we are not yet out of the woods. Vigilance becomes very important to ensure there is a real, genuine repeal of these laws.

The ANC has expressed optimism the regime will clear obstacles to negotiations before the April 30 deadline. Is there actual progress in this area?

There is an agreement which the government must honour that the process of removing these obstacles must be completed by April 30.

ANC department of International Relations head Thabo Mbeki, in an interview in the latest issue of his organisation's official organ, *Mayibuye*, speaks on the state of negotiations between the government and the ANC. This is an edited version.

APC can be transformed into an Interim Government, Constituent Assembly or both - if given a popular mandate. The statement of the tri-partite alliance says this can happen only if the APC were reconstituted and if the representatives were elected democratically. Is this a contradiction?

Our position on the issue is that an elected Constituent Assembly is the best body to draw up a constitution.

But a Constituent Assembly has nothing to do with governing the country. That would need an Interim Government.

At the APC, the ANC would say the mechanism ought to be an elected Constituent Assembly.

Obviously, from the positions the NP announced, it would go to this conference and say the multi-party conference should draw up the new constitution.

The point made in the January 8 statement is that, in case of a deadlock, you would then go to the people and say: "let the people decide."

With regard to the Interim Government, the regime proposes a

Council of State, with the cabinet and other government structures remaining in place. What is the attitude of the ANC?

I have not seen this proposal. All we have to go by in terms of stated policy of the NP is that the present government should remain in place.

De Klerk said consideration may be given to drawing political leaders involved in the constitution-making process into decision making at both legislative and executive levels.

We cannot accept co-option into existing government structures. You cannot form an Interim Government by appending people to existing government structures. You need a body that actually exercises power.

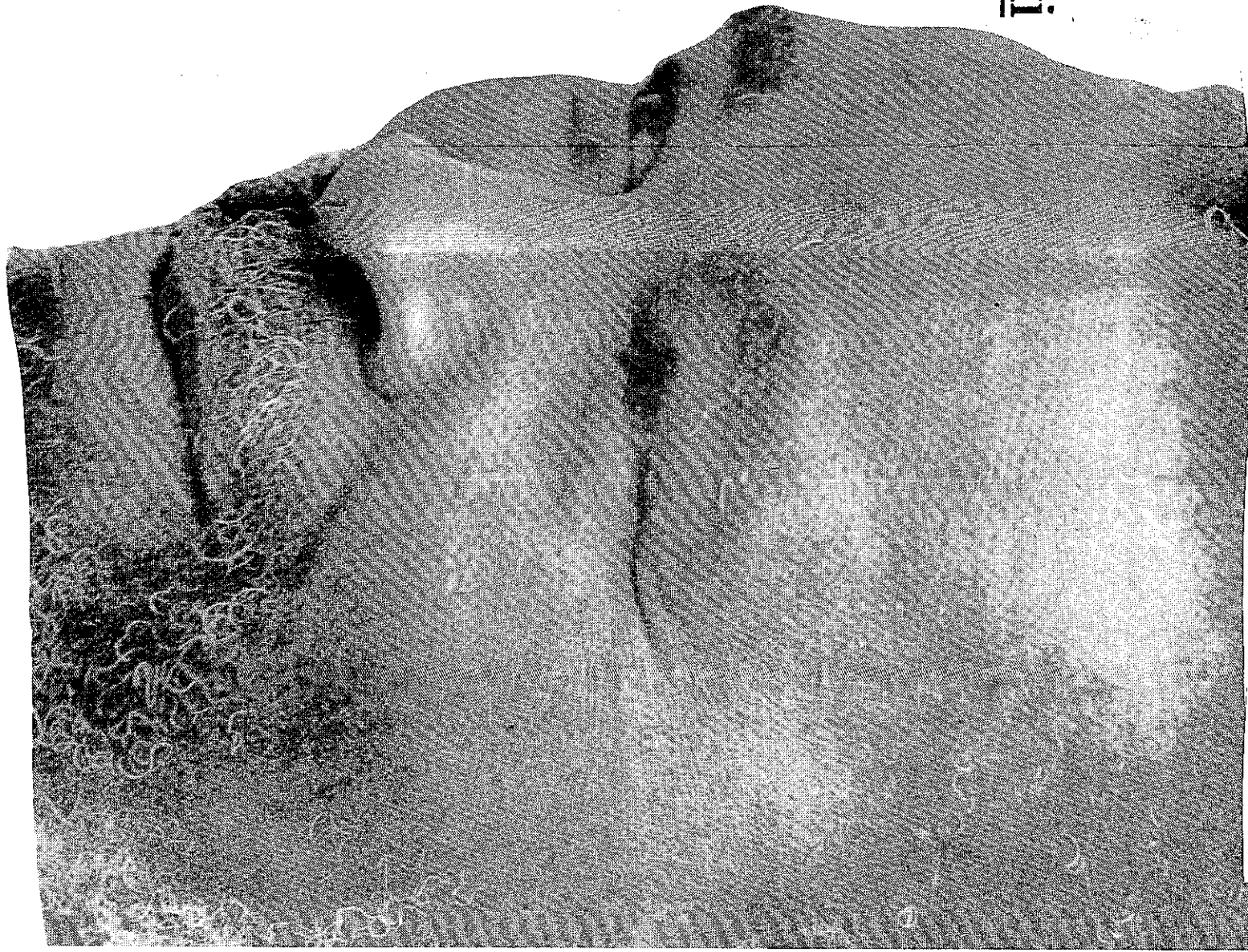
Reading De Klerk's words that you need a body representative of all these political forces and with legislative powers, that obviously would be an important element in an Interim Government.

What then becomes the role, place and power of the existing government? You obviously cannot have two governments.

Of course the Interim Government will obviously have to use some of the existing state mechanisms during the transition.

If there are issues about re-vamping state structures in their totality in future, this is a matter that will be attended to once the new constitution and the new government are in place.

QUOTE
We are not yet out of the woods. Vigilance becomes very important to ensure that there is a real, genuine repeal of these laws.



In the end, though, confidence that these obstacles will be removed is confidence about our own strength to oblige the regime to keep to the agreement.

The next major step in the process will be the convening of the All-Party Congress (APC). What mechanisms does the ANC propose for selecting the parties and determining their strength?

It may be that in terms of political parties and organisations a procedure similar to that followed in Namibia - where political parties had to indicate a certain amount of support at registration - could be adopted.

Specifically what will be done is still under discussion.

Will the APC include organisations other than political parties and movements, such as Cosatu? Constitutions are normally drawn up by political bodies.

By its nature a trade union would include people of different political views. So while making sure that it does make an input on matters of common interest to unionists, you cannot quite treat it as a political party.

How will decisions be taken at the APC? Will it be by vote or consensus?

These are some of the questions that still have to be sorted out.

Among the things the APC is supposed to decide on are the principles to underpin a new constitution. Our approach is reflected in the OAU's Harare Declaration "Statement of Principles".

Now the NP has put forward its "Manifesto for a New South Africa". What are the areas of convergence and difference?

The issue of a universal franchise is central to a democratic process. If the NP understands universal franchise in the way we understand it, as one-person-one-vote on a common voters' roll, then it would mean there is no difference on this issue.

If indeed the NP has dropped the notion of group rights as a constitutional mechanism, obviously that would represent common positions.

Does this apply to the economy?

We have said the economy of South Africa must serve the interests and well-being of all South Africans.

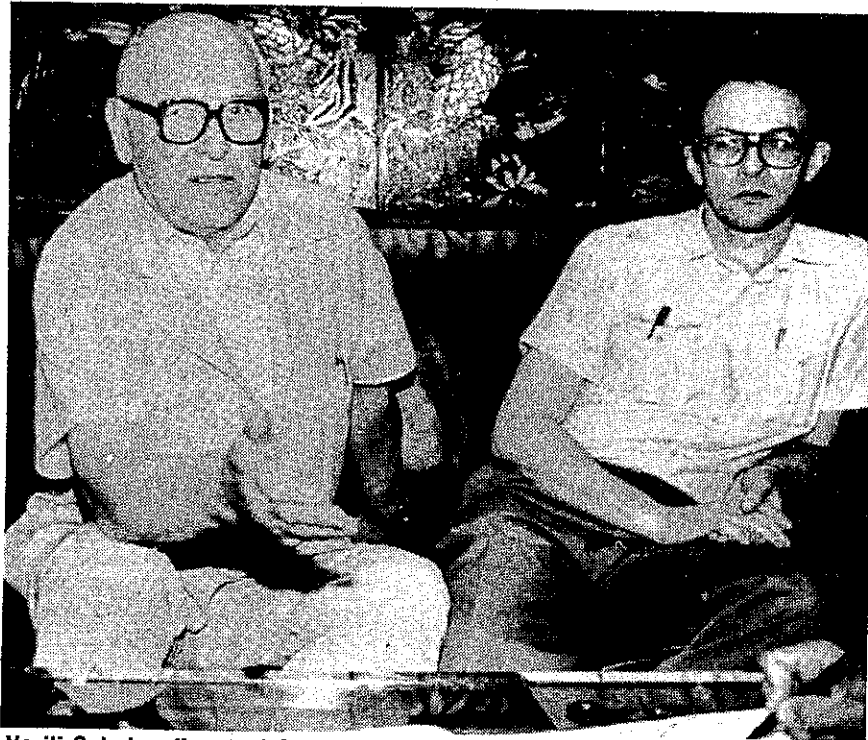
To the extent the regime is talking in those terms - that it is necessary to address poverty and racial disparities in incomes - that also represents important movement on the part of the NP.

But we still have to probe these questions in detail. De Klerk's speech on February 1 still refers to "own community life". We still have to understand what that means.

The January statement says the

ANC's Russian friends visit SA

STimes 10/3/91



Vasili Solodovnikov and Slava Tetiokin this week

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

THREE high-ranking Russians who helped the ANC's liberation struggle are visiting South Africa as guests of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA.

The men are Vasili Solodovnikov, vice-president of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and a former Soviet ambassador to Zambia, Samandar Kalandarov, now secretary-general of the committee, and consultant Slava Tetiokin.

The three are the nearest thing SA has seen to an official Soviet delegation.

They were some of the ANC's most important contact men in the Soviet Union before the organisation was banned.

They will meet members of several political parties and trade union leaders while in SA.

Mr Solodovnikov said: "We are not an official

By DAVID CARTE

committee, but we carry a lot of weight in our government.

"We're a bit like the British Anti-Apartheid Movement — only more influential."

In the only press interview granted, the three told the Sunday Times they had held talks with the Congress of South African Trade Unions immediately after their arrival on Thursday.

They met Foreign Minister Pik Botha as well as the head of the Soviet and Eastern Europe desk of the Department of Foreign Affairs on Friday.

The trio also plan to meet their "old friend" Joe Slovo, of the SA Communist Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and Idasa head, Alex Boraine.

A congenial Mr Solodovnikov said: "Our message

to South Africa is very simple. We welcome this country's move towards democracy and support the current negotiations. We want to see a peaceful transition."

They hinted that the Soviet Union had suspended the supply of arms to liberation movements, but said this might be resumed if the process of democracy was hindered.

The group knows SA intimately, down to the street names of Johannesburg and the whereabouts of the Ellis Park rugby stadium. Dr Tetiokin speaks English and Afrikaans fluently.

But Mr Solodovnikov denied that the two countries would exchange ambassadors in the near future.

"There can be no embassies and no ending of sanctions until South Africa has moved irreversibly away from apartheid," he said.

Buy guns
for target
practise

S/ Tundo 10/3/91

By DE WET POTGIETER
THE SA Communist Party
has urged its members
to arm themselves and
train for self-defence in
the townships.

A two-page article in the
latest issue of the SACP
mouthpiece, Umsebenzi,
tells members of the party
and the ANC to buy airguns
and pistols for target
practise.

These weapons have the
advantage that no licence
is required "and they are
an excellent, cheap and
safe way for teaching
people how to aim and
shoot correctly", according
to the article.

Despite the militant tone
of the article, security
sources said they were
not unduly concerned.

A police spokesman said
he believed the ANC
leadership would handle
the issue with "great
care and responsibility".



ANC faces struggle for power

S/Times 10/3/91

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

By Ezra Mantini

DIPLOMAT Thabo Mbeki and soldier Chris Hani are competing to become Nelson Mandela's successor as deputy president of the ANC.

With three months to go to the ANC's national leadership elections — the first to be held in the country in 30 years — the tempo has increased dramatically.

This week top ANC officials spoke widely on issues affecting the organisation — and the crucial national conference in June.

The main points to emerge are:

- There is a growing power struggle between Mbeki, the ANC's suave director of international affairs who is favoured by the moderates, and militant Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing and a hero of the hardliners and youth;
- A number of the old guard are likely to resign or be axed from the 30-member National Executive Committee in June;
- Undercurrents of racism have emerged, with some black opposition to the appointment of whites to senior posts;
- Rank-and-file supporters continue to demand more consultation between the leadership and the grass roots during negotiations;
- There are plans to boost the size of the 30-man NEC to lighten the burden on key members;
- Unhappiness has emerged with the nomination procedures for the leadership elections.

Contest

Sources inside the ANC predict that certain members of the old guard, such as ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Alfred Nzo and treasurer Thomas Nkobi, are among those who will step down.

ANC president Oliver Tambo will retire because of ill-health and Nelson Mandela will be voted in as president, leaving the way open for the contest between Mr Mbeki and Mr Hani for the influential position of deputy president.

Those who favour Mr Mbeki feel he is the one most likely to bolster support among whites. But the hardliners believe Mr Hani is the one to retain the support of the youngsters in the movement.

The Sunday Times has established that a number of branches have already started campaigning for Mr Hani as deputy president.

Mr Mbeki declined to comment on the reports of the struggle. He did, however, express concern that sweeping old members of the NEC out

To Page 2

ANC power struggle

From Page 1
of office could affect the negotiating process which is at a delicate stage.

He said the organisation was working on plans to increase the present number of NEC members to "a much higher number" after the elections, as the present leadership was overloaded with work.

The ANC leadership is also battling to dispel perceptions by ordinary members that they are being excluded from the negotiating process.

Said Mr Mbeki: "We have a mandate to talk to

government. We would have retarded the negotiations if every document we signed had to be subject to the approval of branches throughout the country."

Mr Mbeki conceded that there was a growing unhappiness about certain white appointments.

He did not mention names, but they are thought to be Ray Suttner, who heads the political education portfolio, and Derrick Hanekom, who heads the land portfolio.

"There are racial problems that some members of the organisation do not

seem to understand. The decision that our movement was non-racial was taken long ago," he said.

"People should realise that we did not join the movement for the sole purpose of getting senior positions. Members of the movement should be happy to serve in whatever capacity they can."

The other tricky problem facing the ANC is the representation status of candidates for election to the NEC.

New candidates will be required to win nomination at both branch and regional level before they qualify for consideration. Sitting members, however, will not have to go this route.

This had led to charges that the present members of the NEC want to perpetuate their positions at the cost of popular leaders coming up through the ranks.

Ex-rebel with a cause peace

S1 Times 10/3/91

HE was once a fearsome, firebrand who left his ideological opponents reeling on the political platform.

Whether you were an ANC ideologue, a PAC intellectual or a security police colonel, you knew of Saths Cooper and his uncompromising political beliefs.

At mass rallies and symposiums and in documents authored by him, he scathingly attacked the ANC's Freedom Charter and the PAC. He publicly dismissed Inkatha as "irrelevant".

Saths Cooper, once president of Azapo, was a Robben Island prisoner for six years and a close associate of the late black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

But today Mr Cooper has turned his back on partisan politics. Mr Cooper has changed.

He has joined forces with his former political rival and former Inkatha leader, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, as director of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The institute is a non-partisan organisation that aims to promote the establishment and maintenance of multiparty democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, everything about Mr Cooper seemed to have changed: his voice, his gestures and even his tone.

He talked passionately about his change of heart

and his new rôle in a rapidly changing South Africa.

"My resignation from Azapo in 1986 freed me of the partisan rôle," he said.

"I have since realised that our country's needs are bigger than narrow ideology."

"The Institute for Multiparty Democracy is clearly not a political party. We are not interested in political constituencies. You can have the best constitution in the world, but it will not guarantee democracy and that is what we are striving for."

Mr Cooper said his propagation of unity and the need for democracy dated back to his days in Azapo, long before he left the country to study abroad.

"If you look back, you will see that in all my speeches I have stressed the question of unity. I have always preached unity and democracy."

However, Mr Cooper has had a turbulent and sometimes controversial political past.

In extra-parliamentary political circles, it is believed that he was partly responsible for turning the Black Consciousness Movement into a third force, free of any attachment to the PAC or ANC. For this, he and others were accused by the ANC and PAC of being power hungry and divisive.

Now he says: "I am vigorously non-partisan, but I am not simply neutral. I am very biased towards a secure democratic future for our country and I cherish my independence from partisan constraints."

What about black consciousness, the school of thought that is almost synonymous with his name? Has it become irrelevant?

"No. Black consciousness is a very important philosophy. It has a major rôle to play in liberating the mind of an oppressed black person. It ensures the rehumanisation of a person.

"I believe every political party has a right to exist, including the ANC, the PAC and the BCM. It is the people who must decide which political party or parties are important to them. Let the people decide."

— Siphso Ngcobo



SATHS COOPER ... 'Look back. I have always preached unity and democracy'

Hani reminds Pretoria of ceasefire deadline

8/12/91 11/3/91
UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) leader Chris Hani hinted yesterday the ANC would resume its armed struggle after April 30 if the government did not meet its demands to "remove obstacles in the way of negotiations".

Addressing more than 2 000 students at the University of Durban-Westville, he said the "criminal regime" still had to release all political prisoners, grant full indemnity to returning exiles and remove all forces from the townships.

"If these commitments are not honoured by April 30, the people must review them. The oppressed are fully justified in using all forms of struggle including taking arms.

"It will be left to the members of the ANC to decide whether or not enough ground has been covered towards the building of a constituent assembly."

Hani reiterated that the armed struggle had been suspended and not terminated.

On the role of the military, he said the ANC "totally rejects any suggestion that the SA Defence Force should be the future army of SA".

"It has always been a loyal subject of the white state and we cannot imagine that in a democracy it will become an army of the people," he said.

Hani added that MK, too, would have

Own Correspondent

to be disbanded after democracy had been achieved.

However, he praised the sacrifices made by MK soldiers and believed the country would not have moved towards democracy if it were not for the armed wing.

"A lot of people today tend to belittle the contribution of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and some dismiss it as a ragtag army.

"But through the darkest hours it has been the conscience of the people. The attacks on Sasol, on police stations and the very headquarters of the SADF imbued the people with a new hope.

"Those bomb explosions which shattered the calm of night in the white suburbs of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town were a call to action."

Hani said: "The task of forming a new army will be in the hands of a new government — and I seriously doubt whether (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan will be around then."

He warned that situations like those in South America, where army generals had led coups against their governments, must not be allowed to develop in SA, and he stressed the need for a neutral army.

Blacks R1 331 493 947
Total R1 543 171 343 and

(b) Budgetary aid to the TBVC states will have to be increased by approximately 6,7% to reach parity with Blacks in the RSA, whilst an increase of approximately 33,6% will be required to reach parity with Whites in the RSA;

- (3) (a) not known and
(b) (i) not known and
(ii) social pensions represent at present 5,42% of the budget in the RSA;
(4) no.

Aids: cases

37. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

How many cases of Aids were identified in the Republic, (a) excluding and (b) including the independent Black states, in 1990?

B102E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Data available as on 14 December 1990:

- (a) 270 and,
(b) no information on Aids cases in the independent states is available.

Sandton: special crime prevention unit

38. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many arrests in respect of each specified offence were effected in 1990 by the special crime prevention unit stationed in Sandton?

B111E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Offence	Number
Housebreaking	8
Robbery	1
Theft of motor vehicle	1
Possession of stolen property	2
Possession of unlicensed firearms	4
Illicit dealing in liquor	1
Dealing in dagga	4
Possession of dagga	197
Illegal immigrants	195

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Consuming liquor in public 310
Trespass 34
Resisting arrest 2
Escaping from lawful custody 1
Total 760

Certain police stations: serviceable patrol vehicles

56. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many serviceable patrol vehicles (i) with and (ii) without radio equipment installed are stationed on a daily basis at the (aa) Sandton, (bb) Bramley, (cc) Wynberg/Alexandra and (dd) Lombardy East police stations and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B113E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) (aa) Sandton
(i) 8
(ii) 24
(bb) Bramley
(i) 0
(ii) 20
(cc) Wynberg/Alexandra
(i) 1
(ii) 23
(dd) Lombardy East
(i) 5
(ii) 6

(b) 14 February 1991

Elucidation:

The crews of the patrol vehicles of Sandton (24), Bramley (20) and Wynberg/Alexandra (23) in which no radio equipments installed, are all issued with portable radios which function effectively.

Mr Stanza Bopape

63. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 2 on 19 June 1990, any progress has been made in the investiga-

tion into the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape from police detention on 12 June 1988; if so, what progress;

- (2) whether he will furnish to the House the names of the members of the South African Police who accompanied Mr Bopape in the police vehicle on the day of his disappearance; if not, why not; if so, what are their names;
(3) whether he will have an independent investigation instituted into the disappearance of Mr Bopape; if so, when; if not, why not?

B179E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) No.
(2) No. It is in the interest of the members that their names are not made known.
(3) Investigation into the disappearance of Mr Bopape has already been instituted by the Detective Branch since his disappearance. This investigation is taking place in an impartial manner under the personal supervision of a Lieutenant-General of the South African Police.

ANC/PAC: members of SAP

70. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:

	1987	1988	1989	1990
(1)	3 775	3 903	3 678	5 456
(2) (a) (i)	357	360	277	229
(ii)	R677 452,66	R699 594,86	R686 135,78	R611 132,48
(b)	R489 187,24	R209 995,75	R182 422,28	R846 317,67

Brits: crime reported

77. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many cases of (a) serious and (b) less serious crime were reported to the South African Police in Brits during the months of (i) October, (ii) November and (iii) December in 1989 and 1990, respectively?

B220E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	1989	1990
(a) (i)	338	391
(ii)	354	402
(iii)	389	418
(b) (i)	826	1 114
(ii)	790	1 116
(iii)	856	1 138

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

We won't review stance on talks, ANC tells Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A

The ANC would never review its position on either negotiations with the Government or the convention of an all-party conference, according to Panuel Maduna of the ANC's legal department.

Speaking at a one-day seminar on a constituent assembly in Johannesburg on Friday, Mr Maduna said the ANC was committed to the negotiation process and would not review its position on negotiations with the Government. Neither would the organisation review its position on an all-party conference, an idea the ANC now supported.

Farcical

Mr Maduna was responding to Azanian People's Organisation deputy president Dr Nchaube Mokoape's statement that, at a still-to-be-held consultative conference of the oppressed, Azapo would call on the ANC "to call off the present farcical negotiations with the De Klerk regime" and to intensify the armed struggle.

Dr Mokoape, who had earlier rejected the ANC's call for an interim government and had

Skw 11/3/91

pronounced "death to the all-party conference", said Azapo was acutely aware that the idea of a national convention espoused in the early '80s was now "trying to sneak in through the backdoor".

He said that just as Azapo was vehemently opposed to the national convention then, adopting the slogan "Death to the National Convention", it was now equally opposed to the all-party conference.

Dr Mokoape also called for the resignation of President de Klerk's Government, saying it had no mandate to rule the country. The Government had "never known democracy" and Azapo would never discuss a new democratic system with it.

"It helps us little," Dr Mokoape said, "that (Mr) de Klerk is a man of integrity. Nor, with due apologies, does it help us for (Constitutional Development and Information Services Deputy Minister) Roelf Meyer, from the comfort of his ill-begotten ministerial seat, to tell us he is sorry. We are not sorry, we are sorrow itself."

He said the Government continued to command "the entire infrastructure in this country", was in control of the security

forces and enjoyed the support of the media.

It was therefore not surprising that in the talks which had been going on since last year, "the Government has surrendered literally nothing to our people while the ANC has surrendered almost everything".

"The armed struggle has gone out the window; so has socialism, so have sanctions and the sports and cultural boycott; so, too, have the unconditional return of exiles and release of prisoners," he said.

Takeover

Azapo, Dr Mokoape said, was not fighting for a constituent assembly but for "the takeover of power by black people, the repossession of their land and the institution of a socialist order in a unitary, democratic Azania".

Also taking part in the Community Development Foundation-organised seminar were Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport.

PAC prisoner says no to release offer

THE sole Pan Africanist Congress inmate at the Johannesburg Prison, Tamsanqa Duma, has rejected political indemnity for the second time in as many months.

In a letter smuggled out of the prison, Duma (33) says he intends sitting out the last three years of his sentence.

He is the only PAC political prisoner among 19 other ANC inmates. *Sowetan 11/3/91*

Refused to respond

In the latest rejection of attempts to procure him an early release, Duma refused to respond to a letter from the Political Prisoners Release Programme, in which the organisation offered to campaign for his early release.

"Although this organisation does not seem to be linked to the Government, I will not respond to them.

"I am a disciplined member of the PAC and its military wing Apla, and will not bother about indemnity or an early release until my leaders tell me to do so," he wrote.

Rejected overtures

Duma claims he also rejected overtures from an ANC delegation which visited its members at the prison in January.

"In January members of the working group of the ANC, who are dealing with indemnity applications, came here, but I politely told them I do not wish to be included in their attempts to get indemnity for their members," Duma wrote.

Duma was arrested and convicted for terrorism in 1987. His colleagues were sent to Robben Island.

He is due to be released in early 1994. - Sapa.

Sanctions should stay - PAC leader

228
11/18

Sowetan 11/3/91.

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu has called on the international community to maintain sanctions until a non-racial democratic political order was established in South Africa.

Speaking at the weekend after a visit to Uganda, Makwetu said "all forms of struggles and pressures" should be maintained.

He said preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration, such as the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles, should not be negotiated but rather unconditionally implemented.

He reiterated the PAC's call for a constituent assembly, elected on a common voters roll.

"Such a democratic forum would ensure the participation of all because representation in the constituent assembly will be proportional to the percentage of votes secured."

He said violence in the country had reached unprecedented heights following State President FW de Klerk's watershed address to Parliament on February 2 1990.

He said PAC investigations had revealed that the violence was instigated by "Government agencies, such as the Battalion 32 made up of the now defunct FNLA in Angola and former Koevoets from Namibia".

Makwetu said the PAC was opposed to granting minority rights as apartheid itself was based on group prejudices and privileges.

He claimed the Ugandan and Tanzanian leaders appreciated the PAC demand for a constituent assembly and the need for a united African position on sanctions and isolating the apartheid regime. - Sapa.



CLARENCE MAKWETU

All-party meeting blasted by Azapo

Sowetan 11/3/91

THE call for an all-party conference was a mechanism designed to legitimise the "racist regime",

the Azanian Peoples Organisation said at the weekend.

About 1 500 delegates and observers on Satur-

day attended the organisation's 10th regional congress at Mangweng in Pietersburg.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the ruling class had initiated the all-party conference and guaranteed it would be under its control.

"The ruling class wants to use this platform to demonstrate to the world that puppet structures and parties are important partners in the resolution of the conflict in Azania," he said.

Nefolovhodwe further rejected the call for an interim government, saying it meant "governing with the National Party regime, with its laws, security forces and its white op-

pressive structures."

He told an emotionally charged crowd that an interim government would not alter power relations between the ruling and working class.

Quoting from a 1981 Azapo document, which advocated a constituent assembly, Nefolovhodwe said the assembly was the only peaceful way to ensure the transfer of power to the people.

The all-party conference, he said, was a disguised form of the "massively rejected and discredited national convention".

Azapo supported the patriotic front because it would accelerate the overthrow of the National Party regime, he said.

said member of Parliament could have contributed to public disturbance, disorderliness or public violence; if not, why not; if so, why was only the member of Parliament for Claremont arrested and removed from the area by the police officer concerned?

Hansard 12/3/91

B302E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (3)

It has in the meantime come to my attention and I have established that a case docket regarding the matter has been submitted to the Attorney-General for a decision. In view of this, the matter is thus *sub judice*, and I can unfortunately not make available any further information in this regard at this stage.

†Brig J F BOSMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would just like to know whether he is not considering any serious action against the policeman who released the hon member for Claremont. [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, that information is also *sub judice*.

New questions:

ANC/SAP: road blocks

*1. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Law and Order:† Hansard 12/3/91

Whether members of the ANC dressed in their uniforms have operated or are operating together with members of the South African Police at road blocks; if so, (a) why, (b) in terms of what statutory provisions and/or regulations and (c) who granted permission for it?

B350E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No, (a) to (c) Fall away.

†Mr A A B BRUWER: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he aware of the fact that on occasion ANC members in uniform operated at a road-block in the Phalaborwa vicinity? If so, does it have his approval?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, on 1 February 1991 the SA Police set up road-

blocks on the Phalaborwa/Mica road and the Phalaborwa/Gravelotte road for the purpose of informing members and supporters of the ANC that a march that had been planned through the White residential area of Phalaborwa had been cancelled.

Uniformed members of the ANC arrived at the road-blocks. They did not operate with the police, but informed members and supporters of the ANC who were on their way to Phalaborwa, that the march had been cancelled. At most there were two ANC members present. They did not in any way meddle or interfere with the duties the police were performing at the road-block.

The question, or the supplementary question as it has now been put, was not whether there were ANC members present. The question, as printed on the Question Paper, was whether ANC members operated together with members of the SA Police at the road blocks on that day.

†Mr A A B BRUWER: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, I would like to ask him whether, should a similar situation arise where uniformed AWB members act on such an occasion, they would follow the same procedure.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the ANC members who were present did not interfere with the work of the SA Police. If the AWB also want to assist in keeping their own people under control and if they will not interfere with the work of the police they will similarly be allowed to do so.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to ask him to tell us what the Pretoria Minute stipulates in respect of ANC members who operate in uniform and what he as Deputy Minister is doing to prevent these specific cases.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the Pretoria Minute is a public document. The hon member can himself look up what it stipulates. [Interjections.]

Meat brought into RSA

*2. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism:†

Whether any meat was brought into the Republic through the agency of his Department

during the past six months; if so, (a) what quantity, (b) from where, (c) when and (d) what was the part played by his Department in this connection?

B353E

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY AND TOURISM:†

Since the official import statistics for the time period referred to have not been released yet, the information requested in (a), (b) and (c) is not available at this stage. Regarding part (d) of the question, namely, the Department of Trade and Industry's role in the matter, the position is that up to 31 December 1990 import permits were issued only on recommendation of the Department of Agriculture. As from 1 January 1991 applications for import permits are considered and recommended by a committee consisting of representatives of the Meat Board, Department of Agriculture and Department of Trade and Industry. The Meat Board acts as convener of this committee. The following import permits for meat were issued over the past six months: beef R43,6 million, pork R23 million, mutton and goat meat R5 million and offal R17 million.

†Mr A A B BRUWER: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to know from him whether the Meat Board has been fully informed about the whole matter.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the permits which have been issued thus far have not necessarily all been used over the years. I think the liaison which now exists after the disruption that occurred, the liaison between agriculture, the Department of Trade and Industry and the Meat Board is satisfactory for the future. I believe there will be no further disruption.

Certain organizations: SAP assistance

*3. Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether, over the past 10 years, any section of the South African Police has directly or indirectly given any financial or organizational support to certain organizations, whose names have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) which section of the Police, (b) to which of these organizations and (c) to what extent;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 12/3/91

B365E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

I refer the hon member to the State President's oral reply to Question 1 in the House of Assembly on 5 March 1991 which I consider to be sufficient.

SA exiles: State funds

*4. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether any State funds have been or are to be made available to assist with the return or resettlement of South African exiles; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is the amount involved, (b) for what specific purposes will it be used and (c) who will be responsible for administering these funds?

Hansard 12/3/91

B368E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The hon member is referred to my media release of 5 March 1991, a copy of which I lay upon the Table.

Media release by Mr Gene Louw, MP Minister of Home Affairs during a media conference regarding the repatriation of South African returnees

Embargo: 11:30 on 5 March 1991

Check against delivery

With regard to the repatriation of South African returnees I have to refer to a press release on 27 December 1990, by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee. It was announced at the time, inter alia, that I had appointed a senior official of the Department of Home Affairs to coordinate the repatriation of South African returnees, within the parameters of government involvement, and to promote their reintegration into the South African society. The appointee had also been empowered to act as liaison officer between government departments and non-governmental bodies involved in the repatriation of returnees. His further duties are to identify possible problem areas concerning the returnees and to bring these

ANC launches campaign for constituent assembly

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The African National Congress and its alliance partners yesterday launched a signature campaign to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Leaders of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SA Communist Party yesterday told a press conference in Johannesburg that a national door-to-door campaign, during which alliance members would "visit every home in South Africa to collect signatures", would go ahead on March 23 and 24.

The campaign would demonstrate "the major divide" between ANC and Government on a constituent assembly and interim government.

SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo said the alliance was worried that Government leaders said contradictory things when addressing the international community and "when they speak to their tribe".

He referred to President de Klerk's speech before the Maitland by-election that "the NP would block any new constitution which it did not like".

"The purpose is to show that we want a constitution accept-

able to the majority of our people, and not to the NP."

Joint rallies "to launch the campaign on the ground" will be staged by the tripartite alliance on March 21.

A statement by the alliance said the Government rejected a constituent assembly because it feared the participation of the masses in deciding the future.

It was afraid the people would elect a constituent assembly which would produce a constitution in conflict with the National Party's vision.

"The people of South Africa have never contributed to the drawing up of a constitution in our country. All South Africans must be active participants," the joint statement said.

The Government should not be in control of the process of transition.

Asked what the envisaged interim government's composition would be, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the ANC wanted the involvement not only of the ANC and the Government but of other parties and organisations as well.

The alliance leadership said the Government's offer of a "super Cabinet" in response to the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government was inadequate.

UNHCR can help bring back exiles - US ambassador

CAPE TOWN - The view that South African sovereignty would be infringed if the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was present in the country to help with the repatriation of exiles, was yesterday described as irrelevant.

Speaking at a Cape Town Press Club lunch, the US ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, said that in a few years South Africa might be doing more business at UN offices in New York and Geneva than in many national capitals.

"Whether the UN is yet ready for a grand re-entry of South Africa through the front door remains to be seen. But there are other routes into the UN system which could be explored now," said Mr Swing.

"One such example is co-operation with the UNHCR on the repatriation of South African exiles. No one disputes that the UNHCR can mount this operation at the least cost to the South African taxpayers.

"Objection to a UNHCR presence on grounds that this would infringe South African sovereignty is an old, increasingly irrelevant argument."

South Africa would also reap substantial diplomatic, economic and scientific benefits should it choose to adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

ANC to call at every home 11A

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC and its alliance partners, the SA Communist Party (SACP) and Cosatu, yesterday launched a mass action campaign aimed at mobilising support for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The campaign, which has been the subject of intense controversy in recent contacts between the ANC and government, avoided calling for worker stayaways and boycott actions.

Instead, the ANC and its partners announced the launch of a signature campaign and said the intention was to visit every home in the country to collect signatures in support of the demands.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said the signature campaign was not an attempt to force a concession from government, which had thus far opposed a constituent assembly.

Rather, the campaign was meant to illustrate the alliance's vision of a democratic SA and to contrast this vision with

that of government.

ANC campaign committee head Mzwai Piliso said: "Only those who fear a democratic outcome oppose the idea of a constituent assembly."

The campaign includes joint workshops over the next week to prepare for the signature drive, rallies on March 21 to launch the signature campaign and visits to every household to solicit signatures.

"In early June a day will be set aside for worker-led marches in all centres to focus on demands for a constituent assembly and workers' rights in a new constitution," Piliso said.

Next month will see lunch-hour demonstrations in industrial areas as a build-up to May Day.

The ANC hopes the campaign will reach a climax on June 16.

● See Page 3

12/3/91

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Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer discussing the transformation of SA at the SA-German Chamber of Commerce yesterday. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

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Peaceful change in SA predicted

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REVOLUTION was not possible in SA and there would be a democratic transformation as both the ANC and government needed each other, Wits University Centre for Policy Studies director Lawrence Schlemmer told the SA-German Chamber of Commerce yesterday. (HA)

PATRICK BULGER

the townships without the co-operation of the majority-based movements. And Nelson Mandela needed President F W de Klerk because he realised it was possible he could end up negotiating with somebody who was more hardline.

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Schlemmer said SA was an unlikely case for a stable democracy as it was an unequal, highly politicised and ethnically divided society. However, he believed democracy could be achieved.

The NP would try to incorporate some of the CP in its new deal just as the ANC had to include Inkatha. This was necessary to consolidate constituencies and strengthen any agreement arrived at.

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He predicted revolution would be avoided by a professional civil service and a sophisticated defence force.

The question was whether the ANC — being more an alliance than a party — would retain coherence in its ranks.

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Societies undergoing transformation were full of examples of social contracts where protagonists became each other's gatekeepers — remaining in opposition but limiting damage to each other.

Talks with a coherent ANC could produce a new constitution ready to be put to a referendum by late next year. Should the ANC lose its coherence the process could be delayed by up to two years, he said.

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Government could not bring stability to

Calm descends on Reef townships after curfew

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VIOLENCE between Inkatha and ANC supporters had virtually stopped yesterday following the imposition of unrest regulations on Transvaal townships on Monday night.

LINDEN BIRNS

Meadowlands and Dube early yesterday morning.

special investigation team which had been set up at the Alexandra police station.

Soweto Police spokesman Capt Joe Ngobeni said the only other reported incident was the petrol bombing of a councillor's car at about 1.20am yesterday.

Late yesterday police in Alexandra were conducting door-to-door searches for dangerous weapons.

Witwatersrand Police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said the new unrest regulations gave police added powers to "stamp out for good" violence in Alexandra near Sandton.

"Everything except traditional weapons — that is knobkerries and shields — we are taking away." He said this included any sharpened sticks or metal rods, pipes, axes, pangas, knives, spears and assegais.

Fighting which broke out in the township officially claimed 45 lives and left 53 people injured, although figures from the Alexandra Health Centre put the number of wounded almost 400% higher.

The discovery of the four bodies in Soweto yesterday morning, brought that area's death toll to 10 since fighting resumed at the Mzimphophe hostel on Sunday night.

Malherbe appealed to all people who had been hurt to report how they had been injured in the unrest to a

Ngobeni said although the affected townships were quiet, it was still too early to assess the effectiveness of the emergency regulations.

A man threw a petrol bomb at an SAP vehicle in Alexandra, but fled into a nearby shack settlement when police opened fire. In Soweto four more bodies were recovered by police in

ANC reacts with 'outrage and deep disappointment'

B/pan
13/3/91

~~13/3/91~~

11A

THE ANC responded with "outrage and deep disappointment" to government's White Paper on land reform tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The organisation said in a statement neither it nor dispossessed rural communities had been consulted on the document.

Land reform, it said, meant land redistribution. "This document explicitly rejects land redistribution."

The statement said the paper was not a land reform document, as it claimed.

"Its effect is to codify the present state of dispossession under the cover of free market proposals. All this emphasises the need for speedy progress in negotiations for a constitution that will be democratic and serves the interests of all the people."

Its attempts to provide ownership rights to blacks who were tenants now would normally be seen as a positive move.

"For the ANC, the restoration of land to the victims of forced removal must form the underpinning of any credible land policy.

The statement said the ANC be-

PETER DELMAR

lieved that to rectify the "gross imbalances" in land ownership, redistribution could not be left simply to the market.

It charged that references to the protection of standards after the abolition of the Group Areas Act was a "thinly veiled protection of white privilege".

Procedures

"The approach to communal tenure also worries us deeply. The government maintains it will allow the system to continue to exist, but has also constrained it by a high level of administrative intervention which will make it very difficult for communities to maintain this system.

"Yet nowhere is there any suggestion that white farmers be subject to similar state control procedures to ensure that they farm within the carrying capacity of the land and do not build their houses on high-potential land."

The ANC criticised the paper for not dealing with the need to restruc-

ture the commercial agricultural sector. Land reform, it said, had to address the challenges of one agricultural system.

The PAC welcomed the paper but said it was not enough.

In a preliminary comment, foreign secretary Patricia de Lille said while it was consistent with the abolition of the Land Acts, it was "not enough".

"The PAC stands for redistribution of the land. Much land is held by the government.

"Provincial and tribal land must be available free of charge.

"Our people were dispossessed by force of arms. It is illogical and insensitive to expect us to buy the land of which we were dispossessed."

The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) said the new legislation did not address economic inequalities and the free market system advocated would only entrench whites' privileged position.

One of the most glaring omissions, a Trac statement said, was that land would not be restored to people dispossessed or the subject of forced removals.

11A

Winnie trial: Witness tells of row in kitchen

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.— The second witness who was allegedly present when Winnie Mandela and her three co-accused assaulted four young men, took the witness stand in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday afternoon.

Thabiso Mono, 22, testified before Mr Justice M S Stegmann.

Mr Mono testified he went to stay at the Methodist manse in Soweto because he was in trouble with the police in Potchefstroom.

He described a row over whose turn it was to wash dishes a few days before the alleged kidnap.

He said Stompie Seipei had been sent to call him, Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Pello Mekgwe to the kitchen. When they did not immediately comply, he said, Stompie was sent back again by Xoliswa Falati.

Mr Mono said that Mr Mekgwe told Stompie: "Voetsak, we said we would come."

Then, Mr Mono said, Xoliswa's daughter, Nompumelelo Falati, came into the sitting room and told Mr Mekgwe that she was "mean and small" and he (Mr Mekgwe) would "see what would happen to him".

Mr Mekgwe, the third surviving complainant, disappeared on February 10.

May be recalled

The first complainant, Kenneth Kgase, 31, was told he might be recalled for more cross-examination.

Mrs Mandela, 56, her driver, John Morgan, 61, Nompumelelo Falati, 18, and her mother, Xoliswa Falati, 36, have all pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

It is the State's case that four young men were kid-

napped on December 29 1988 by a group of people acting on Mrs Mandela's instructions and including the three other accused before court.

It is also alleged the four young men were assaulted at Mrs Mandela's home by all four accused and held there until Stompie Seipei, 14, was murdered on January 1/2 1989. Mr Kgase escaped on January 7 and Mr Mono and Pello Mekgwe were collected by Bishop Peter Storey on January 16.

Earlier, Mr Kgase was cross-examined at length by George Bizos, SC, for Mrs Mandela, on three statements he made to his attorney soon after his escape. Mr Kgase said he was told these statements were for his own protection, that the church wanted something in writing, and that he had not realised the statements would be given to the police.

The hearing continues today.

Violence in focus

VIOLENCE, rights of children and Aids will be the main themes this weekend when the southern Natal region of the ANC's Women's League (ANCWL) holds a regional conference in Durban. (11A)

Also on the agenda will be what is referred to as the "commitment to mobilise the entire national liberation movement to the struggle for the emancipation of women".

In a press release, the ANCWL in southern Natal said it was its main

task as challenging both patriarchy and apartheid "wherever and however they are manifested".

This will be the first regional conference of ANCWL for the region in 30 years, and the organisers have expressed regret that women from the region who are in exile could not participate.

"This is clear evidence that the struggle should continue because political prisoners and exiles are still not back with us", says the statement. - Sapa

13/5/91
Sapa



ANC land commission spokesman Aninka Claassens and ANC head of information Pallo Jordan reacting yesterday to government's land reform proposals. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Communities move to regain land

REPRESENTATIVES of at least 15 of SA's dispossessed rural communities plan to meet soon to discuss strategies to reclaim their land.

ANC land commission spokesman Aninka Claassens said yesterday that representatives of 3.5-million people forcibly removed from their land during the heyday of apartheid supported the ANC's proposal for Land Courts to adjudicate conflicting land claims.

She said there was a largescale move by dispossessed communities like those at Mogopa, Doornkop and the Mfengu to return to their former homes. This would be discussed at the upcoming meeting.

In some cases they were being threatened by local farmers and intimidated by signboards claiming their former land had been landmined.

The National Land Committee (NLC) said government's White Paper on land was not a proposal for serious land reform.

The NLC said the White Paper was based on extending the existing system of land rights.

PATRICK BULGER

"The White Paper explicitly refuses to consider the restoration of land to communities who were forcibly removed. It says this is not feasible and demands that these communities should accept their present position.

"We believe this to be an unreasonable and unfair demand," the NLC said.

"The starting point of any programme of land reform has to be the willingness to acknowledge and rectify the wrongs of the past. Unless this is done no attempt to change the system of land rights will have any legitimacy or credibility."

In early reaction to the paper, the ANC said its effect was to codify dispossession under the cover of free market proposals.

"All this emphasises is the need for speedy progress in negotiations for a constitution that will be democratic and serves the interests of all the people."

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

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The easy availability of foreign funding to community based organisations and projects has resulted in widespread corruption.

This is manifested not only in money being



misappropriated, but in a form of "political corruption" where money is spent unwisely.

Until people in political organisations learn to manage money

effectively, these problems

will continue, experts warn. In the second in a three-part series on foreign funding, REHANA ROSSOUW examines these problems

Easy money spent unwisely

South
14/3 - 20/3/91

THE CONFERENCE for a Democratic Future, organised by the Mass Democratic Movement in 1989, cost R1 million to organise. Some delegates to the two-day conference flew to Johannesburg from different parts of the country, where they were accommodated in a five-star hotel.

Today, R1 million could be used to send almost 300 students to university to complete a degree.

The problems associated with the massive injection of foreign funding into South Africa in the past decade and the corruption which resulted, was publicly brought to the attention of political leadership and funded projects last year.

Kagiso Trust — one of the largest non-governmental organisations channelling foreign funding into South Africa — held a conference last year under the theme "From Opposing to Governing".

Keynote speaker Mr Trevor Manuel, currently publicity secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape, warned of the dangers of the "want on injection" of foreign funding to projects in South Africa.

"At what stage do we introduce questions of setting a very high standard in respect of production?" Manuel asked.

"Too many of us involved in this ever-growing industry called the alternative sector have the attitude that whatever is efficient is associated with management and therefore is associated with capitalism and should be thrown out the window.

"It is okay for us to open our offices at 10am and to go home at 3pm, we are alternative. It is okay for us to sit around in cooperatives and not produce.

"All of this is okay, because there is a never-ending supply of money that will keep us going.

"We must look at every sector of funding, at advice offices, civics, pre-schools, and we have to ask very hard questions about what we are doing.

"We have to ask whether, in a different kind of way, we aren't corrupting an entire layer of people."

These sentiments summed up a growing concern among political leadership in South Africa that foreign funding was "destroying the struggle".

Funds for projects and community based organisations were generally available on request and given to people who wrote the best proposals, not those meeting the needs of their communities.

Fears were raised that political activ-

ists and development workers were becoming too dependent on money to organise people, lacked initiative and self-reliance.

Thousands of rands was spent on rallies, demonstrations and marches.

The Soccer City rally to welcome home the Rivonia trialists in October 1989, is one example.

"As I sat in the stadium, watching 85 000 people enjoying themselves, I wondered why we did not prepare properly and ask them to contribute to our funds," said Dr Beyers Naudé.

"At a soccer match, people normally pay about R5 each and the stadium is filled. If we had asked our supporters at the rally to donate only R1 each we would have raised R85 000 in a single day!"

Student bursary and scholarship programmes have received millions of Rands in foreign funding.

However, there is no check on how the students use their training to benefit their communities.

Some support programmes have tried to rectify this problem by asking appli-

'As I sat in the stadium, watching 85 000 people enjoying themselves, I wondered why we did not prepare properly and ask them to contribute to our funds'
— Beyers Naudé

cants to supply references from community organisations but this is still no guarantee that they will follow a course of studies benefiting society or that they will use their skills to the advantage of the underprivileged.

This has also led to "well-connected" students receiving more than one bursary and "earning" up to R15 000 a year.

Another important area of concern to funders is the provision of employment to activists and professionals in "struggle organisations".

Kagiso Trust has estimated that it is

the "indirect" employer of almost 1 000 people, with salaries ranging from R300 to R3 000.

In many projects, particularly cooperatives, productivity does not compare well to similar operations in the commercial market.

Certain projects do little more than provide "sheltered employment" for political activists.

"During the state of emergency, this situation was understandable. Our activists' lives were threatened and for the sake of their existence and security we had to offer them some assistance," said Dr Naudé, a trustee of Kagiso Trust.

"But all the time we were doing the young activists a disservice.

"Today, they are satisfied with second-rate productivity. They do not know of a meaningful way to use their time, to assist and serve their communities.

"We are responsible for this state of affairs, regardless of what the government did during the state of emergency.

"We cannot blame this problem on the government as well."

Service organisations, which were established to coordinate resources and provide skills training for activists, have also been criticised for their misuse of funds.

These organisations are often characterised by large budgets, centralised skills, duplication of services and incoherent strategies.

The skilled become more skilled and trainees seldom emerge as trainers.

After Kagiso Trust's conference — which was a culmination of a process of evaluation which began in 1987 — funding organisations began examining ways of solving these problems.

The conference endorsed a proposal that Kagiso Trust become a "development agent" and that it develop strategies to help underprivileged communities and their representative organisations to break out of the welfare mentality of need and dependence.

"We have received far less resistance to this than we thought we would — although the resistance we got was fierce," said the director of Kagiso, Mr Achmat Dangor.

"We were threatened that we would be taken to court, as though we had an open-ended contract to support some projects."

Dangor said while it was the overt truth that Kagiso employed about 1 000 people, there were other projects which were not activist driven, activist owned, which genuinely worked with the community and were largely accountable to those communities.

Kagiso Trust has far less of a preponderance of funding to activists — they are far more critical of activist organisations, specially of their capacity to manage what they do — not only in

terms of the funding, but managing the actual work that they do.

One area they examined very critically was the term "adult education". Many projects established to give adult education were in fact providing political education.

Kagiso decided if projects wanted to politicise people then political organisations should take responsibility for it.

"We have now reduced our project portfolio from 330 to just under 200," Dangor said.

"It has been a great deal of strain on our organisation. We have had to visit projects to speak to them about the consequences of what they were doing. In some cases we had to commission evaluations and those evaluations were sometimes rejected by those projects.

"In all cases we had to negotiate with projects a reduction of our funding and then stopping our funding. We have had to make some very hard decisions, like our cultural project comes to an end this year completely. We will not be funding any cultural projects whatsoever.

"We have also located other projects which, in our terms, are worthy of support, they have far less welfare tendencies, they have strategies for self-reliance and they have fairly clear-cut objectives and goals."

KAGISO TRUST is now confident that the projects they support meet those objectives. The rest,

some of them which were in existence before Kagiso Trust was launched in 1986, could continue to survive in the name of the struggle, Dangor said.

He believes though, that many of them will die of their own accord because of changed circumstances. Organisations which are incapable of transforming themselves — moving away from merely opposing apartheid to learning how to deal with reconstruction — are going to die natural deaths.

"We still have a considerable way to go, but we have made some progress politically and in human terms as well," Dangor said.

Kagiso Trust took a leading role in putting the process of critically evaluating the effects of foreign funding, Dangor said.

"We said managing resources badly is not just a technical act, it is a political act," he said.

"Being responsible about resources is also a political act.

"For example, people we fund earned better salaries than us, drove better cars than we did and this was an indication of the scale of the problem.

"We went public about these problems at our conference last year although we had been discussing it quietly with community organisations for

'Managing resources badly is not just a technical act, it is a political act. Being responsible about resources is also a political act'
— Achmat Dangor

a long time, saying we must put our house in order.

Dangor said Kagiso's chief contribution to the struggle in South Africa was to highlight the dangers of political corruption through foreign funding.

"I must stress that there has been very little personal corruption. There has been a lot of political corruption," he said.

"Personal corruption, though is inevitable. You can't have funding and not have corruption."

To overcome and identify instances of corruption Kagiso introduced a system of auditing for the projects they fund.

Their proposal met resistance — activists complained that they were on the run from the police, they were suffering repression, they did not have the time to audit their records.

"We said there are other organisations with people on the run. Even those which were banned were able to provide their donors with audited statements, explanations of how they spend their money and real lines of accountability," Dangor said.

"Initially there was a lot of resistance. We were called all kinds of things — tools of the imperialists, capitalists.

"But to a large degree the problems have been brought out into the open now. The political leadership is very aware of what is happening."

The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC), which channels R15 million from the European Community's special programme to projects in South Africa, has experienced the same problems.

When deciding to fund projects, they insist on community involvement, that skills are shared beyond one or two people and they avoid funding indi-



Mr Trevor Manuel

'We must look at every sector of funding, at advice offices, civics, pre-schools, and we have to ask very hard questions about what we are doing'
— Trevor Manuel



Brother Jude Pieterse

'People are corrupted by the ease with which finance is available, and the idea that they need to work hard for that money is taboo'
— Jude Pieterse

■ NEXT WEEK: The future — how do political developments in South Africa and abroad affect future funding? Will a post-apartheid government meet the needs of the people? How can political organisations use resources effectively. When will projects begin to generate their own funds?

South 14/3-20/3/91

vidual projects as far as possible.
"We have to look very carefully at the budgets presented to us," said Brother Jude Pieterse, secretary general of the SACBC.

"People ask for money to purchase fax machines, motor cars and all sorts of equipment when it isn't really necessary or there are no long-term plans for the organisation.

"With my background as a teacher, I have seen highly qualified teachers in schools with the best equipment who cannot teach.

"The person you employ is more important than the equipment and resources in your office."

PIETERSE also believes that people were employed in certain projects because they were activists, not because of the skills they possessed. Skills training did not take place often enough and once funders began demanding certain standards from paid activists, they could not respond.

He believes that one way of overcoming this problem is to send people, particularly those employed in self-help projects and cooperatives, to industry and commerce for in-service training so that they "know what it means to work".

"Some people have the attitude that they have a right to the funds, because they have been hard done by," Pieterse said.

"Apartheid has been there, sure, there has been oppression, all those people have been cut off from the normal assistance they should have had. But if we end up with an attitude that everything must be handed to us we lose the sense of value of that assistance, that money."

He believed this was a form of psychological corruption.

"People are corrupted by the ease with which finance is available, and the idea that they need to work hard for that money is taboo."

Pieterse said the Catholic bishops were concerned that the ready availability of funding has harmed certain projects.

They have begun investigating what is happening "on the ground" in certain projects, delaying their approval of funding requests until they were sure the money was being used effectively.

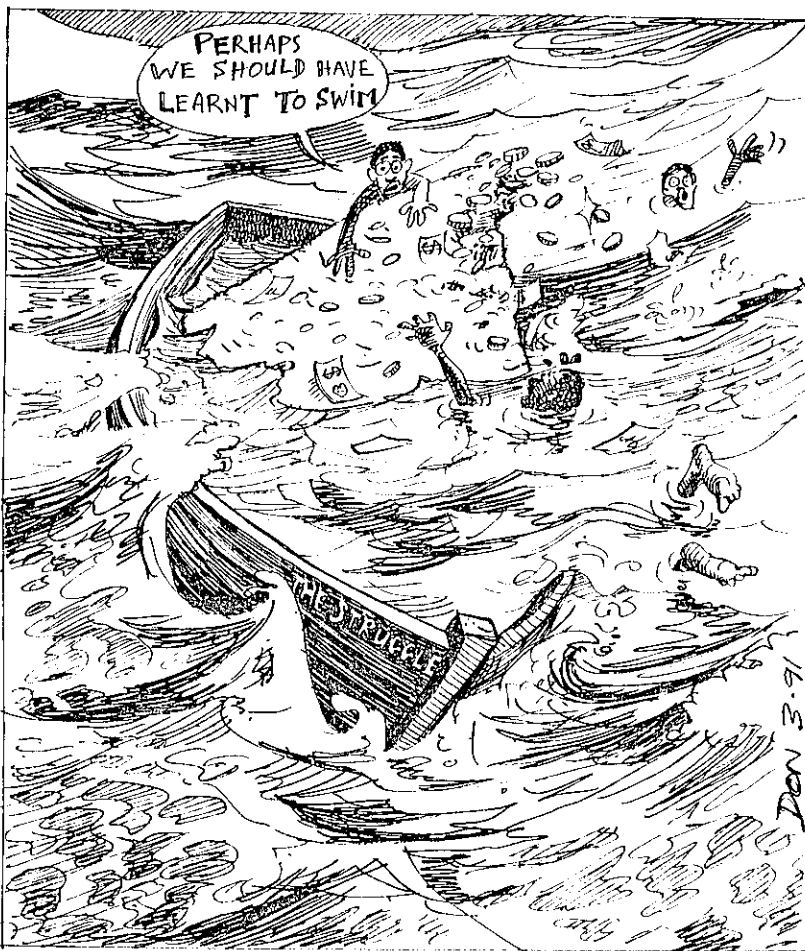
The SACBC is no longer prepared to approve large sums of money on the basis of skimpy motivations.

They are attempting to persuade projects to start small and build up slowly.

"People expect to get a few hundred thousand Rand before they even start working," Pieterse said.

"In the long term, though, there is no guarantee that the money was going where it was needed most.

"You can't be sure, when you're looking back, at times we have to admit the money could have been spent else-



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where... The problems in effectively handling the foreign funding are identified by auditors when preparing statements for funded projects.

Donors are now demanding annual statements and regular reports from projects.

A Western Cape auditor, who cannot be named for professional reasons, highlighted some of the problems he identified when preparing statements for projects in his portfolio.

In some projects, large sums of money were unaccounted for at the end of the financial year, money had been wasted on unnecessary, expensive equipment, unnecessary trips are made to conferences and meetings and cars and equipment was simply written off when they

were damaged because untrained people used them.

"The worst problem is the lack of management of the funds. I don't believe people have misappropriated money on purpose," the auditor said.

"We have seen in the last few years that the community we are dealing with is not financially literate, they are not businessmen. They don't know how to look after their funds.

"I don't believe the degree of misuse is that great. We're not talking here about wanton misuse but ignorance. "There is no gross theft, just a lot of money unaccounted for because records aren't being kept properly."

He held a workshop for treasurers of projects a few years ago and discovered they did not know how to write a cheque

or fill out a deposit slip.

The problem, he believes, is that treasurers are elected in organisations for political reasons, not because they have bookkeeping skills.

"I have no problem with that, but then the people must be trained, it is possible to train anyone.

"Some of these people are given the responsibility of accounting for large sums of money."

Like others, he believes the money is too easily available.

Unless people struggle to get money, they won't care how they spend it. This was also reflected in the manner in which people spent money freely, the auditor said.

"If equipment is purchased, for instance, they don't get competitive

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quotes, just go out and spend freely. "They're spending someone else's money — not their own."

A MAJOR problem is gross overspending on travelling. The auditor has found people fly regularly to Johannesburg for meetings while businessmen showing profits organise telephone conferences. Going to meetings also entailed staying in another city for a few days, hiring a car and booking into a hotel.

Another major problem was the duplication of equipment. In one building, housing five organisations, each would have their own photocopier, fax machine, computers.

What could be done instead is to establish a base where all the equipment was concentrated in one place and could be shared.

"What we need is a businessman's discipline to make a success," the auditor said.

"You don't have to adopt business modes of operation but you can learn a lot from the way he handles his money.

"Normal business principles and etiquette can apply in a struggle project, you can't have such a careless attitude when you're dealing with other people's money, it is a gross misuse of foreign funding.

"Until people with business experience look after the funds, not going to use the money properly."

The auditor has also discovered that projects do not know how to get the maximum use from their money.

The interest rates in South Africa are quite high at present, but some treasurers did not know how to use that to make excess funds.

"A businessman with R10 000 to spend is not going to put all the money in his current account, he is going to invest it so that it can grow," the auditor said.

"I have seen a project with R50 000 in its current account for three years."

The auditor suggests that treasurers of community-based projects undergo regular training.

One way of achieving this was asking local businessmen for training instead of donations to funds.

Another solution suggested by the auditor is that funders decide that they will only supply a certain percentage of the money required for a project.

The project then has to put their portion up front before the funding is approved.

"We have got to work that way, to make people more responsible. I believe they will be responsible when they're dealing with their own money.

"In the past five years grassroots organisations have become used to money being freely available. When the tap is turned off, they'll just collapse."

Hard times hit the family business

THE Board of Directors of Struggle and Struggle Incorporated — a family business complete with scams and godfathers — was in a sombre mood.

These were hard times: The anti-apartheid economy was in recession and the Salvation Army soup-line was in sight for many more employees.

FW, the white knight in Krugerrand armour, was waging a single-handed campaign against the anti-apartheid industry.

Sanctions

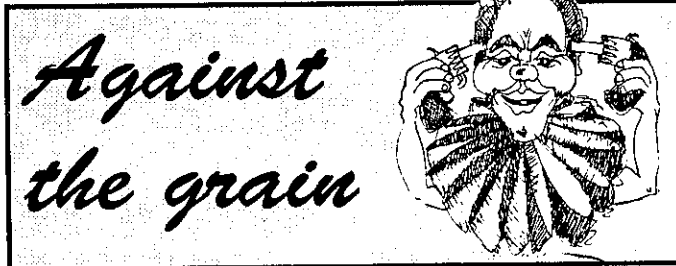
He had succeeded in having sanctions applied against numerous subsidiaries — like Media Pty and Culture Ltd — of the Struggle and Struggle conglomerate.

Foreign investors were withdrawing on a large scale since their moral profits took a nosedive early in February when the apartheid Stock Exchange crashed terribly for the second consecutive year.

What PW Rubicon had failed to do with his Prevention of Foreign Funding Bill, FW had managed to achieve in a 70-minute speech and an advertising agency.

A major funding agency changed to a development agency, although many — including its managers, cashiers and staff at the information counter — were still uncertain about what development banks were all about.

The agency, which had in the past specialised in grants toward anything nonracial, non-sexist and democratic (with recipients prefer-



ably having to pay party political interest), were now implementing their new policy:

"Change shall not come by words alone but perhaps, if it's not too late already — by a little spreading of skills."

Struggle Incorporated was never known for making huge profits — it was more of a Christmas hamper social club or a charitable sheltered employment scheme.

Assist

However, the company did assist significantly in raising the quality of life of a few lawyers who suffered through numerous political trials.

Now and then, a few thousand rand paid by some foreign investor disappeared into personal accounts, but that was called "taking initiative".

Besides, if you didn't have a medical aid, a pension scheme, a housing subsidy and a car allowance — like your doctor and teacher comrades who accepted state funding — did it really matter if you invested in yourself from time to

time?

Clearly, drastic measures needed to be taken to prevent the collapse of the industry and the accompanying mass unemployment.

Clearly, too, a few rummage and cake sales and raffles were not going to be able to guarantee salaries, let alone perks like international travel.

Some Board members were immediately dispatched to foreign investors with the latest — self-conducted — polls showing that sanctions and disinvestment in Struggle and Struggle Incorporated would hurt blacks.

Forbidding

A resolution was passed forbidding the use of five-star hotels for anything other than Board meetings — all other meetings were to be held in church halls.

Crash courses in development jargon and in "how to write a development budget proposal", were offered around the country in an effort to salvage the industry, even if it meant changing the name or creat-

ing new subsidiaries — like Ecology Unlimited.

One Board member recommended that, as there was so much money available for returning exiles, perhaps organisations should transform themselves into reception committees and so be eligible for funding.

Another suggested that full-time Strugglers should be encouraged to go into exile for a few weeks and on their return they could receive a golden handshake from the Swiss government.

Worthy

Others quickly put together boards with high profile Strugglers as Trustees, and sent them on the cocktail circuit to hob-nob with the few funders who were still looking for a worthy cause.

At the end of the day, though, the Board of Struggle and Struggle Incorporated realised that these were only temporary measures and, much as it hurt their pride, they decided to recommend to their workers that they take state employment.

Thanks to their good relationship with the Mayor, the Board managed to obtain employment for at least one category with the City Council.

Those who excelled at being marshalls at walkie-talkie crowd control were made traffic cops.

Exchanging their red bands for helmets, their struggle T-shirts for blue uniforms and their takkies for motorbikes, they were transformed into a taxi driver's nightmare — and received a housing subsidy!

Battle-scarred exile returns

BATTLE-SCARRED and war-weary, exile Thobile Zondani is "very, very much happy to be back home", but an insecure future stares him in the face.

When he left the country in early 1979, Zondani thought he would be back within six months to fight the "Boere", but it took 12 years for his return, and "its all very funny here, lots of things have changed".

He and his Zambian wife, Daphne, and 20-month-old son, Tembani, were among the 94 members of the ANC who returned from exile last Thursday.

Zondani returned with an artificial leg and a damaged eardrum to a very insecure life. He told SOUTH he sustained his injuries when he kicked a bomb planted outside an ANC Department of Information and Publicity office in Lusaka in 1989.

"As I entered the office, I walked past what looked like an alarm system — an object like a PM9 battery with a cord leading to the office. I said to myself that I am going to kick the system and check if the ANC's security was up to scratch.

"I went inside the office and on my way out I casually kicked the thing. The next thing I found my self lying in the University Teaching Hospital without my right foot. People say I was thrown several metres by the powerful blast."

A former rugby scrumhalf at Masibambane High School in Kwazakhele in Port Elizabeth, Zondani does not regret joining the ANC.

He received extensive military training in Angola before joining DIP as distribution officer of the ANC's publications. During this time he also trained in office machine maintenance.



BATTLE-SCARRED: Thobile Zondani, a victim of a bomb attack on the ANC offices arriving in Johannesburg last week

ANC to train defence units

From Muff Andersson
Durban

THE African National Congress' military wing Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) is to assist in the training of self-defence units (SDUs) — regardless of the agreement with the government that the ANC would stop recruiting and training MK cadres inside the country.

MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani says there is a clear distinction between MK cadres being trained and MK cadres training others to defend themselves.

Hani's statement has come amid a new cycle of violence in black townships.

"Self-defence units are not MK units. They are units that will be at the service of all the people of South Africa," he says.

"It's not just the ANC that is being attacked. Cosatu, the mass democratic movement, progressive student organisations, civics are all being attacked.

"There is an agreement not to train MK inside the country but certainly no agreement not to train self-defence units."

He said there was a standing resolution which emanated from the December consultative conference which called on the ANC to immediately prepare self-

defence units to eliminate the menace of violence.

Although the government would probably oppose the formation of SDUs and consider these to be against the "spirit" of the Pretoria Minute, the ANC felt the Pretoria Minute had nothing to do with the legitimate right of the people to defend themselves.

Hani argues that the South African Police cannot be relied upon to defend people under attack because there have been numerous cases where the police have either sided with the attackers, or stood by and watched the people being "butchered by Inkatha-aligned organisations".

Offensive

He pointed out that SDUs would not be offensive and would not be used to attack the government or its installations. They are there at the service of the community and controlled by a range of democratic organisations.

"Their posture will always be a defensive one. They will only act on their people's being subjected to violence. If there is no violence they certainly will be there, deployed and watching. But they are not going to embark on offensive action."

Too many people have died, he said, and it was clear that the death squads were very much alive and active.

Hani says there have been some "small beginnings" in several areas in forming the self-defence units. — AIA

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Nelson urged release of Winnie captives

CAT 7-7 14/3/91 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela ordered from prison that two men allegedly abducted and assaulted by his wife should leave her home with his lawyer, one of the pair told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mandela family lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob visited the house in early January 1989, after the alleged assaults. He said he was sent "by Nelson Mandela" to fetch the two that day, Mr Thabiso Mono said.

Mr Mono's description of the alleged abduction and assault by Mrs Mandela and her associates appeared to corroborate earlier testimony by Mr Kenny Kgase.

He described how Mrs Mandela slapped, punched and sjambokked all four alleged victims in the back rooms

of her Diepkloof, Soweto, house. Mr Mandela's associates later joined in the assault, he said.

"Before the assault started, she said, in English, 'you are not fit to be alive,'" Tswana-speaker Mr Mono said through an interpreter. Jerry Richardson, convicted of the murder of Stompie Seipei, ordered the four to call Mrs Mandela "Mommy".

He said that soon after Mr Kgase's escape, Mr Ayob had visited the house. Richardson warned Mr Mono and Mr Pelo Mekgwe not to tell of the assault. They complied because they were scared of Richardson.

Mr Mono said Richardson had refused to allow Mr Ayob to take him and Mr Mekgwe away. — Sapa and UPI



Sketch: GAIL IRWIN.

THE ACCUSED: The four people standing trial in the Rand Supreme Court this week are pictured, from left, Mr John Morgan, Mrs Nompumelelo Falati, her daughter Miss Xoliswa Falati and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

'Slapped and punched'

Winnie trial witness tells court of 'assault by Mummy'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rand Supreme Court has heard how "Mummy" — Mrs Winnie Mandela — slapped, punched and sjambokked Thabiso Mono.

Slightly built, quietly spoken Mr Mono, 22, is the second complainant to testify in the trial.

Mrs Mandela, 56, Mr John Morgan, 61, Miss Nompumelelo Falati, 18, and her mother Mrs Xoliswa Falati, 36, have pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Mr Mono yesterday told Mr Justice M S Stegmann how after being held at Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof home for several days, attorney Mr Ismail Ayob arrived to question why he (Mr Mono) was there. Mr Ayob said he had been sent by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Describing the alleged kidnap of himself, Kenneth Kgase, Pello Mekgwe and Stompie Seipei, Mr Mono said a group of people forced them to leave the Soweto

Methodist manse on December 29 1988.

Among the group was Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, 22, who was due to stand trial with the other accused but who failed to appear.

Describing the situation in the manse before the kidnapping, Mr Mono said there had been rows with Mrs Xoliswa Falati and her daughter Nompumelelo about washing dishes.

"On December 29, 1988 a group of people arrived at the manse and took Mr Mekgwe, Mr Kgase, Stompie Seipei and me to Mrs Mandela's Diepkloof house by bus," Mr Mono said.

The group included Mrs Xoliswa Falati, Miss Nompumelelo Falati and Mr Cebekhulu. Mr Mono identified Mr Morgan as the bus driver.

At the house the four young men were separated and questioned. Stompie was accused of being an informer. The other three were accused of having slept with the Rev Paul Verryn.

They denied the allegations.

Mr Mono said Mrs Mandela came into a back room on the property and questioned them about the allegations while a group of people looked on.

He said "Mummy" slapped and punched his face and also hit him with a sjambok.

Mr Mono said "Mummy" was Mrs Mandela. Mr Kgase has already told the court they were ordered refer to Mrs Mandela only by this name.

Mr Mono said his body was trampled and he was thrown up into the air and allowed to hit the floor. His knees were struck with the heel of a shoe.

He said he saw Mr Morgan sitting on a chair and that Xoliswa and Nompumelelo were also present.

He was not sure when each person left the room because "I was being assaulted and was becoming dizzy".

The assault stopped when Richardson prevented a man called Scar from putting a plastic bag over Stompie's head.

The hearing continues today.



Going all-out to end violence . . . IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose (right) and ANC national executive committee member John Nkadimeng, part of the delegation who conferred for three hours in Parktown, Johannesburg, yesterday. Picture: Alf Kumalo

ANC, IFP meet over violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 15/3/91
11A

and ANC national executive committee member John Nkadimeng.

The Joint Peace Committee of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss ways of ending violence between the two organisations.

The meeting came in the wake of the latest wave of violence which has claimed more than 60 lives on the Reef.

Leading the two 12-side delegations were IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose

At a press conference after the meeting, a joint statement read by Dr Mdlalose said the two organisations "deeply regret and deplore the loss of life among the oppressed people".

The committee decided to establish a Transvaal Implementation Committee within the next few days and immediately to establish another peace implementation committee in Alexandra.

Asked whether their organisations had control over their members, Mr Nkadimeng said he hoped they would follow their leadership's example.

Members of both delegations said there were people who, in the name of their organisations, committed atrocities.

The joint statement said the meeting also gave attention to violence at Umgababa, Ndwedwe, Port Shepstone, Empangeni and the Natal Midlands.

Guardian pays tribute to ANC's 'intellectual prince'

CONF. TITLES 15/3/91

Own Correspondent *111*

LONDON — Mr Mzala Nxumalo, who wrote a devastating critique of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and was invited by ANC deputy president Mr Oliver Tambo to work on his biography, was lauded in the Guardian yesterday following his death last month at the age of 35.

Mr Jabulani Nobleman Nxumalo, known in anti-apartheid circles as Comrade Mzala, died on February 22 after contracting pneumonia.

He will be buried by the ANC in northern Natal this weekend.

According to an obituary by John Daniel in yesterday's Guardian, Mr Nxumalo, who fled the country after the 1976 riots, was seen as a future

leader and the "intellectual prince" of the generation of militants who entered the ANC following 1976.

His book "Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda" is a "richly documented analysis of Zulu history and culture, and a devastating critique of the self-proclaimed anti-apartheid credentials of Buthelezi", said Daniel.

It was halted in South Africa by a threat of legal action, he said.

Mr Nxumalo studied law at the University of Zululand in the early seventies, coming under the influence of Mr Steve Biko's black consciousness philosophy.

After fleeing the country he joined the ANC and later the SA Communist Party.



MRS MANDELA AT COURT ... Mrs Winnie Mandela gives an ANC salute outside court yesterday. *Call Unit 15/3/91* Picture: REUTERS

'Winnie beat me as I screamed'

114 278 337

JOHANNESBURG. — A witness in the assault and kidnap trial of Mrs Winnie Mandela said yesterday that she sang while beating him with a sjambok as he lay screaming on the floor.

Referring to Mrs Mandela, 56, as "Mommy", Mr Barend Thabiso Mono told the Rand Supreme Court she had beaten him and three others through the night of December 29, 1988, the day he claimed she ordered their abduction from a Methodist Church hostel in Soweto.

The four, including 14-year-old Stompie Seipei who was later murdered by Mrs Mandela's chief bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, had been ordered by Richardson to call her "Mommy", Mr Mono said.

Mr Mono, 21, said he had lain on the floor "screaming" and had heard Mrs Mandela "singing while she was hitting me with a sjambok".

Under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos in the trial's 13th day, Mr Mono denied that his evidence on Mrs Mandela's singing differed substantially from that of Mr Kenneth Kgase, 31, who gave an account of his treatment by Mrs Mandela last week.

Mr Kgase had said she was "humming a tune and dancing to the rhythm" between beatings.

"These things happened," Mr Mono said, after Mr Bizos told him Mrs Mandela would claim she had not been at her Soweto home the night the four were allegedly beaten.

Mrs Mandela and three co-accused, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, her daughter Miss Mompumelelo Falati and Mr John

Morgan, have pleaded not guilty to four charges of assault and four of kidnapping, which carries the maximum penalty of death.

Mr Kgase and Mr Mono both testified that Mrs Mandela ordered their kidnapping because she believed they were having a homosexual relationship with a Methodist hostel supervisor and minister, Mr Paul Verryn.

Mr Mono yesterday told the court he had spent his first night at the hostel in a double bed with Mr Verryn and another man.

He said the priest regularly invited black homeless newcomers to the church manse to spend their first night in bed with him and another man.

However, he denied knowledge of any homosexual misconduct at the manse.

Responding to Mr Bizos's persistent questioning, Mr Mono denied any knowledge concerning an allegation that Mr Verryn raped a male manse resident or that Stompie had complained of homosexual advances while living there.

Mr Mono said he did not know why Mrs Mandela and members of her Mandela Football Club bodyguard had assaulted them.

"I don't know why ... I was asked whether I slept with Paul Verryn and I denied it," Mr Mono said.

Later, while the alleged assault was continuing, all four admitted to homosexual tendencies, but only under duress, Mr Mono said. — UPI, Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday renewed calls for tolerance among their feuding supporters after violence threatened once again to destroy a fragile peace agreement reached recently.

The organisations' latest call for tolerance came after talks here yesterday lasting five hours — five days after bloody clashes erupted in Alexandra township claiming almost 50 lives.

ANC and IFP leaders said at a news conference there was a criminal element fuelling the violence and announced the formation of commit-

ANC, IFP leaders call for tolerance

tees to implement measures to restore peace in Alexandra as well as other townships in the Transvaal.

"Hostilities have gone on for a long time. We shall do our best to make our people on the ground understand the peace process and tolerate one another," Mr Joe Nkadi-meng, executive member of the ANC, told re-

porters. He led the ANC team at the talks.

"The insults and the fighting talk ... has to stop," added Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP and leader of the Inkatha team.

The leaders avoided blaming each other for the violence, saying there existed a criminal element and attacked the media for always portraying the conflict as between the ANC and the IFP.

Chief of ANC intelligence Mr Jacob Zuma said the two sides would launch joint investigations into "the criminal element that has come in". — Sapa

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I still trust Verryn, bishop tells court

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Staw 16/3/91

BISHOP Peter Storey of the Methodist Church told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he would still trust Paul Verryn, the clergyman whose alleged sexual abuse of young men lies at the heart of the Mandela trial.

But, Bishop Storey acknowledged during cross-examination by George Bizos, SC, that since making that judgment he had heard reports about Mr Verryn with "uncomfortable implications".

Tickled

Mr Bizos, defence counsel for Winnie Mandela, told him that State witness Kenneth Kgase had testified that he had slept in the same bed as Mr Verryn at the manse and that Mr Verryn had tickled him on the lower back in an offensive manner.

Bishop Storey said this was one of the events or reported events with uncomfortable implications.

Shortly afterwards Mr Bizos gave notice that he would lead evidence from young men at the manse in Soweto — where Mr Verryn was in charge — that they had been fondled by Mr

PATRICK LAURENCE

Verryn when they shared a bed with him at the manse.

Mrs Mandela faces four charges of kidnapping and four of assault, relating to the alleged abduction of four people — three young men and a teenage boy — from the manse to her house in Diepkloof, Soweto, in December 1988.

Three people have been charged with Mrs Mandela: Xolisa Falati; her teenage daughter, Nompumelelo Falati; and John Morgan, all of Soweto. All four have pleaded not guilty.

In a written statement, Mrs Mandela told the court Mrs Falati had approached her over Mr Verryn's alleged sexual abuse of young men at the manse.

Mrs Falati, she added, had later told her that four youths had been brought to her house while she was away to prevent Mr Verryn from thwarting an investigation into reported homosexuality in the house.

Two of the young men — Mr Kgase and Thabiso Mono — have testified in court that they were taken from the manse against their wishes to Mrs

Mandela's house, where they were beaten by Mrs Mandela for alleged homosexuality.

In his evidence yesterday, Bishop Storey related how in October 1988, he and Mr Verryn had discussed rumours in Soweto about sexual misconduct at the manse. Bishop Storey counselled him to put his bedroom "out of bounds" to the young men, and to involve his Orlando East congregation in the administration of the manse.

The manse was part of a programme of sanctuary for homeless young people run by the Witwatersrand Council of Churches, said Mr Storey.

Mr Verryn later informed him that the situation had improved in November with the arrival at the manse of Mrs Falati and her daughter, Bishop Storey said.

Asked by State prosecutor Jan Swanepoel, SC, when he first heard about the alleged kidnapping of the four people from the house, Bishop Storey said: "I think it was January 9." By then, Mr Kgase had, according to his testimony, escaped from Mrs Mandela's house.

Led by Mr Swanepoel, Bishop Storey recalled how he came to

learn of, and work with, a crisis committee of community leaders which had been set up to deal with the alleged kidnapping of the people from the manse.

He identified some of its members: Frank Chikane, of the South African Council of Churches; Bernard Ncube, a nun; Sydney Mufamadi, a trade unionist; Aubrey Mokoena, a Soweto leader; Beyers Naude, a church leader; and Cyril Ramaphosa, of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Release

He worked with the committee to obtain the release of two of the four alleged kidnap victims: Mr Mono and Pelo Mekgwe. Mr Kgase escaped on January 7 and the fourth alleged victim, Stompie Sepei, who was later found dead, had disappeared.

Mr Mono and Mr Mekgwe were released on January 16 and they attended a meeting organised by the crisis committee in Dobsonville that night, Mr Storey said. At this, they said they had been forced to confess to homosexual practices.

● See PAGE 6.

Soviets oppose ANC on land reforms

Star 16/3/91

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

LUSAKA — Soviet Africanists do not support the negative reaction to President de Klerk's land reform policy by the African National Congress and representatives of the black community in South Africa.

The Soviet news agency, Novosti, canvassed the Africa specialists in Moscow on the land reform moves and found qualified support, according to a report released in Lusaka by the agency.

Novosti found no consensus among researchers in the Southern African section of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "who have been keenly following the development of the political situation in (South Africa)".

The head of the section, Dr An-

drei Pokrovsky, said there was unanimity on one point: that at last President de Klerk had started implementing the declared programme of reforms.

Studied

He said a fuller assessment could not be made until the land reform proposals had been studied, he said. "But it is beyond doubt that the dismantling of apartheid has started."

Novosti says that when its representative had private conversations with Soviet experts on Africa "they did not make it a secret that they do not support the

ANC's negative stand on this question".

At the same time they opposed Britain's call for the immediate lifting of sanctions, saying the draft land legislation should first be studied.

Novosti says that "the people working in the Soviet Centre of African Studies believe that a successful dialogue between the white and black communities is possible only if the sides are prepared to make a reasonable compromise."

"Regrettably, the representatives of the black community have not displayed such preparedness so far. This suits the ultras in both communities who are making efforts to torpedo the dialogue which is under way."

● See Page 11

SA for briefing

Forex: man in court

ment is playing the dan-
gerous game of flirting
with violent action
through the use of revolu-
tionary rhetoric."

Wednesday, August 11
Rabbi Avraham
Tanzer said Mrs Kushlick
would be deeply missed,
by those close to her and

Prayers will be held at
11 Kildare Road, Park-
view tomorrow at
6:15 pm.

following the development of the
political situation in (South Afri-
ca)".
The head of the section, Dr An-

representative had pri-
orities with Soviet es-
tablishment "they did not ma-
ke that they do not

Top US lawmakers due in SA for briefing

WASHINGTON — Influential US senators, congressmen and senior members of the Bush administration are to meet a range of South African political leaders behind closed doors in Cape Town next month.
The delegation of prominent Americans is being brought to South Africa under the auspices of the Aspen Institute, which is attempting to facilitate South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic society.
The primary objective of the visit, which

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DAVID BRAUN

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is to take place from April 1 to April 6, is to brief influential American policymakers at first hand on the latest developments and the prospects for South Africa.

The Cape Town conference, which will be closed to the media, will feature President de Klerk, African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Free-

dom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other political leaders, including some from the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The American delegation will include Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Hank Cohen, other officials of the State Department and several senators and members of the House of Representatives who play an active role in the formulation of Washington's South Africa policy.

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Winnie climbs ANC ladder

THE coming National Conference of the ANC in June will shed light on who may succeed its present ageing leadership — and thereby command important places among those who lead South Africa into the next century. Two names keep cropping up: chief diplomat Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani. But there is another name not so frequently heard: Winnie Mandela. DRIES VAN HEERDEN reports.

WINNIE Mandela, controversial wife of ANC deputy president, Nelson Mandela, may soon occupy a very senior position in the ANC's hierarchy.

ANC sources yesterday described the 56-year-old firebrand as "definitely upwardly mobile" inside the movement in spite of the spectre of the present court case hanging over her head.

It is an almost foregone conclusion that she

will be elected on to the 35-man (and women) National Executive at the forthcoming ANC congress in June.

There are even some fervent supporters who envisage a scenario whereby her husband will formally succeed an ailing Oliver Tambo as president of the ANC and his wife will leapfrog into the number 2 spot.

And, significantly, even those in the ANC who discount the "line of succession theory" base it more on the male chauvinism in the ANC than

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Some believe she will one day lead

on the fact the courtroom drama may be a political blow.

One certainty emerges from conversations with ANC members — very few people can be neutral towards her. She has the most loyal group of supporters as well as detractors who despise her with an equal passion. There can be little doubt that the daughter of a former Transkeian homeland Minister is both very ambitious and capable.

Graduating in the early 1950s as the country's first black medical social worker she met the debonair Nelson Mandela in 1958. He had just been divorced from his first wife and was busy carving a political career in the ANC and its Youth League.

They married in 1958 and barely three months later her new status received a baptism of fire when she was arrested for participating in an illegal pass march.

When her husband was arrested and sentenced for ANC activities she became the symbol of black resistance and political aspirations.

She was revered inside the movement for her indomitable spirit and her refusal to bow before the campaign of political harassment that dogged her for almost 30 years while separated from her man.

This admiration for her has carried over into present-day internal ANC politics. She derives her present strong position inside the movement from three major constituencies:

- The Lusaka Old Guard who are unflinchingly loyal to the Mandela name and legacy. This include some party heavyweights such as secretary general Alfred Nzo and treasurer general Thomas Nkobi. It was Nzo, it is rumoured who, singlehandedly, appointed her as head of the

ANC's welfare department.

- The militant youths with whom she has forged a very strong link, while her often inflammatory remarks have disturbed the moderates in the movement it found a fertile audience among the youth. ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba, is said to be particularly loyal

- Nelson Mandela on his own is probably the single strongest constituency within the ANC. His devotion and loyalty to his wife has never flagged and this will definitely carry considerable weight at the coming June conference.

Those who oppose her do it with considerable more circumspection. The political fate of those UDF leaders who dared to criticise her two years ago over the Stompie Seipei case is still fresh in the memory.

Former UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe was said to be "licking tamps" at ANC headquarters before he left on a scholarship to Princeton, USA.

There is no clear sign yet what Mrs Mandela's political future holds, but it will undoubtedly be influenced one way or the other by the outcome of the court case.

What is true, however, is that she has in recent months made a number of significant "career moves" to position herself for playing an active leadership role in the future ANC.

But even grassroots support is not total.

At the recent funeral of murdered ANC lawyer, Bekhi Mlangeni she was introduced to the audience who greeted her with a strong silence. However, when Mrs Albertina Sisulu was announced the cheers almost raised the roof.

All this seems to indicate Winnie Mandela will be a stormy petrel in South African politics for many years to come.

If her husband does become the leader of the future South Africa she will automatically become the country's First Lady — a prospect which scares the wits out of some, and fills others with passion and pride.



WINNIE MANDELA: a stormy petrel in South African politics, she has been described as "definitely upwardly mobile" inside the movement.

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ON TRIAL ... Mrs Winnie Mandela leaves the Rand Supreme Court during a break in yesterday's proceedings of her kidnapping and assault trial, which focused on allegations of sexual misconduct against a Methodist minister. Pictures: REUTERS

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Verryn allegations disputed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Methodist Bishop Peter Storey, testifying in Mrs Winnie Mandela's kidnapping and assault trial, yesterday disputed defence claims that one of his ministers had sexual relations with youths at the Methodist manse in Soweto.

Bishop Storey, head of the Methodist Church in the Southern Transvaal, said the minister, Mr Paul Verryn, had informed the church in October 1988 of his concern over township rumours of sexual misconduct at the manse.

Two state witnesses, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 32, and Mr Barend Thabiso Mono, 21, have told the Rand Supreme Court they were abducted from the manse on December 29, 1988, and taken to Mrs Mandela's home. She allegedly accused them of engaging in homosexual relations with Mr Verryn, and assaulted them.

Bishop Storey said that while he was aware that Mr Verryn shared a double bed

with two other men, it was of no concern to him as the shortage of beds made this the "way many people live in Soweto".

"It was only a further indication, to me, of the degree to what extent Paul Verryn associated himself with the community he served," the bishop said, expressing awe at Mr Verryn's preparedness "to go that second mile".

Bishop Storey, who on several occasions during his testimony expressed absolute trust and admiration for Mr Verryn, said he found allegations by Mr Kgase that the minister had tickled him in the lower back had "uncomfortable implications".

Bishop Storey said a church inquiry into the allegations had exonerated Mr Verryn. Respected Soweto community leaders who interviewed about 12 former manse residents also declared rumours about Mr Verryn unfounded.

Police had declined to prosecute Mr Ver-

ryn, when they established that he had not been at the manse on the day Mr Katiza Cebekhulu — one of Mrs Mandela's co-accused, who has skipped bail — claimed he was raped by the minister.

Bishop Storey said Mrs Mandela, a Methodist, had never contacted him regarding the rumours of homosexuality.

Mr George Bizos put it to Bishop Storey that Mr Verryn "fondled" young male newcomers to the manse, and assured Mr Justice MS Stegmann that he would call former residents of the manse to verify his submission that Mr Verryn made "improper advances" on boys staying at the manse.

Although Mrs Mandela's primary defence is that she was not at home on the day the assault allegedly occurred, she has also told the court the four alleged victims had been brought to her house from the manse "to prevent the spread of homosexual practices amongst the youths staying there".

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Blame

"The perception was that anybody detained there must be a South African agent. He was delaying the struggle. I have only the ANC leadership to

stomach pains. On January 21 last year, the ANC rushed him to Lusaka General Hospital, where he was able to persuade nursing staff to call the Zambian police.

They heard Makhari's story sympathetically. "This is a straightforward case," said a young officer. "You must be handed over to the United Nations. The ANC must be told we have had enough of this."

There followed the next stage of Makhari's life: at the whim of UN bureaucracy. He was kept for a while in a Zambian refugee camp and then, because of his "problems" with the ANC, sent to Malawi.

"Then I decided I could

blame for that.

"I understand they are not going to instruct these people to do that (beat prisoners) but the training and selection of these people is very important for such a sensitive role.

"The guards kept saying this is not detention nor is this a prison. It is a rehabilitation centre."

Makhari estimates there were about 50 people at one time or another in the centre. Some, he believes, were undoubtedly South African agents.

"But there were people there who should not have been there — in my opinion."

Makhari's release came through illness. He developed acute chest and

no longer take it. I left and came back home," said Makhari. He is reticent about how he managed to slip back into the country in July last year.

Makhari approached the International Red Cross, who took up his case with Home Affairs. His indemnity is still pending. Still, he prefers to remain in the shadows — refusing to have his photograph taken, waiting for the moment he is "legal".

On his return, Makhari tried to mend fences with the ANC.

Is he bitter?

"My detention was because of the influence of certain individuals, I am not bitter against the movement at all," he said.

WHEN Aaron Makhari left South Africa 15 years ago to fight apartheid, the only possible captors he feared were those in Pretoria.

He was mistaken.

In May last year the former Umkhonto We Sizwe officer was arrested by the ANC's security department on suspicion of disloyalty and held for eight months in a detention centre in Zambia.

Makhari eventually escaped and arrived back illegally in South Africa in July last year. Since then he has been lying low — wary of the authorities, unsure of his former colleagues-in-arms, awaiting his indemnity from Pretoria.

This week the 37-year-old former top MK officer emerged from hiding to recount his experiences as soldier, propagandist — and eventually fugitive — in the ANC.

Struggle

Makhari, son of poor So-weto parents, slipped into Botswana in July 1976 — soon after the student revolt — convinced that only armed struggle would persuade whites to share power.

He was given the code-name Francis and was trained in Moscow and Angola — ending up in a small camp called Quibaxe in northern Angola.

There were 500 ANC cadres but only 100 plates. Breakfast was tea and then the camp commander had to choose whether the next meal — rice and beans — would be lunch or dinner. It could not be both.

Makhari remembers the day the cadres caught a hyena: it was the first meat some of them had eaten for months.

Song

"Everybody was itching to go back home and engage the government. Any slight news that something had happened in South Africa — a worker had been dismissed from a factory for having identified with the ANC, for example — was something which would lift the spirits."

There was no entertainment — "not even a Monopoly set". Song helped keep spirits high. Every night there would be two hours of revolutionary song-singing. It was known irreverently as "Jazz

By BRIAN POTTINGER

Hour".

Makhari served Umkhonto in a number of capacities: head instructor in military and combat work at Novacatengue Camp in southern Angola until its destruction in a SAAF air raid late in 1979, political commissar in Benguela Camp and then, finally, head political instructor at Pango — a camp established in northern Angola after the bombing of Novacatengue.

He left the military wing in January 1981 to join Radio Freedom — three years before the ANC camps in Angola were to erupt in bitter factional fighting between loyalist ANC members and rebels who were tired of waiting in the camps to return home to fight.

Makhari later became a journalist and information officer in the ANC's Department of Publicity and Information.

By 1988 he had been in the service of the ANC for 12 years as soldier and propagandist. It was here that things started to go sour.

Ailing

Makhari asked the ANC for a transfer to Lesotho to be nearer his ailing parents. The ANC agreed — but red-tape caused delays. Makhari took his own initiatives — contacting the Lesotho government, who suggested he should make a direct approach to the South African trade mission in Maputo inquiring about the possibility of returning to Lesotho.

None of this went down well with some of the ANC members in the security department. "They did not regard me as subversive, they just thought it was their prerogative to say yes or no.

His case was hardly helped when a close friend of his, nom-de-guerre Thami Zulu, was arrested by the ANC security services for alleged disloyalty. Zulu was to die two days after emerging from detention.

On May 9 1989, Makhari was picked up by members of the ANC's security department in Lusaka. He was taken to a detention centre known as the "White House". He was told he would be held only for a short time.

It was the beginning of an eight-month detention

But he still prefers to stay in the shadows of disloyalty, is back home after 15 years. Top MK officer Aaron Makhari, accused

Detained by ANC

ST Times

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during which he was never to face any direct accusation of disloyalty.

Interrogations were reasonably civilised — he was only slapped once or twice. It was the guards that were the problem.

"The guards really used to give it to us. The problem was that most of them were very young and inexperienced."

Putting the cart before the

horse

Star 18/3/91.

~~2008~~ 11A

THE ANC has strongly endorsed a constituent assembly as the means of designing the constitution of South Africa. In doing so, they draw on the Namibian analogy. Yet Namibia is far more analogous to colonial or UDI Rhodesia than it is to the Republic of South Africa.

The South African State satisfies all the tests of international law required for the purposes of recognition. During their years in exile neither the ANC nor the PAC ever seriously contemplated or implemented a government-in-exile strategy.

There are, however, certain attractive aspects to a constituent assembly.

Most notably, a general election to choose representatives to the Assembly would clothe the participants with the necessary authority. Yet what would their mandate be? Short of every participating party electioneering solely on the basis of a detailed constitutional

plan, the electorate would have no certainty as to the eventual constitution which such an assembly would draft.

More problematic is the nature of the election itself. Since the purpose of the Assembly itself would be largely to fashion the system of elections, choosing the Assembly would be putting the cart before the horse.

Another danger inherent in the constituent assembly idea is if the purpose of a constitution is to protect the individual from the tyranny of the majority, then it is impracticable for a majoritarian Assembly to itself fashion such protective rights.

The final hurdle to a constituent assembly is both practical and virtually insurmountable: the objection of the South African Government.

It is naive to imagine that the National Party will surrender its supreme asset, namely power, before establishing the detailed nature of the new constitution.

A new nonracial constitutional arrangement must first be considered by all parties of relevance. There is a simple rebuttal to the extra-parliamentary argument that white South Africa is disproportionately over-represented in such an arrangement and the black opposition accordingly disadvantaged. It little matters whether the ANC/UDF/Cosatu/PAC/Inkatha forces have 100 or 10 representatives at such a conference. The new constitution will have no validity if it is simply achieved by a head-counting process at a national convention. It must be the result of consensus, and, where there is none, by compromise.

Each constituency represented at the conference will thereafter have to ratify its contents, jointly or separately. And the current Parliament will then, formally, have to enact the new Constitution Act and legislate itself out of business.

The ANC wants a multiparty

conference whose first task would be to determine constitutional principles. Given this shift of thinking and strategy, their demand for a constituent assembly cannot be to design the constitution as much as to legitimise it.

There can be no objection to such a body convened after the constitutional principles are agreed. A referendum would be probably more effective and persuasive, however. Or you could have a combination. A further argument which could be advanced in favour of a Constituent Assembly, and an interim government, is the historical demand for these steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration.

Yet the current usefulness of the Harare document is now open to question. You will recall that the Harare Declaration also called for "all troops to be removed from the townships". Yet only this week, in the bloody aftermath of the massacre in the

Alexandra township, it is the ANC that has supported the use of the police to intercede between the warring factions and parties there. Times change and we must be flexible enough to change with them.

Other constitutional dangers which are problematic include the tyranny of majoritarianism.

Some implacable foes of apartheid, such as the Democratic Party, are also deeply suspicious of unchecked majority rule.

When you have removed racism from the legacy of National Party rule in South Africa, we are still left with an appalling inheritance from an unfettered, unrestrained and unchecked sovereign Parliament.

The suppression of liberty, the trampling on civil rights and the disregard for human freedom in South Africa over the last 40 years are a potent lesson in the dangers of an unchecked sovereign Parlia-

ment, whether elected by a majority or by a minority.

That is why, in distinction to most other players in politics today, we champion limitations on the State, the dispersal of power in a federation, and the guarantees that come with a Bill of Rights.

We will all be better off, black and white, rich and poor, township resident and suburban homeowner, under a Bill of Rights that frees the individual by restricting the State. Prohibitions on torture, detention without trial, censorship of idea and the right to assemble, protest and vote are fundamental to the creation of an open society — which is the highest aim if the new South Africa is to be an improvement on the old. □

● Tony Leon is Democratic Party MP for Houghton. This is a shortened version of his address to students at the University of Stellenbosch last week.

Steps to enrol Indian followers for ANC

Apr 18/3/91

Own Correspondent

11A

DURBAN — The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress will not disband but will continue to mobilise support within their present organisational structures for the African National Congress.

This is a significant step as it is the first time the ANC has publicly accepted it must address the fears of minority groupings in the country.

The landmark announcement was made yesterday after a meeting between the national executives of the NIC and TIC and a top-level ANC delegation.

Political analysts said last night that it was "an extremely important and significant development as it indicates the ANC is growing aware of the immense need to cater to the needs of minorities".

NIC secretary Dr Farouk Meer said after the meeting that the major issue under discussion was the question of looking at strategies for the mobilisation of minorities, especially the Indian community, into the liberation movement.

He said they had informed the ANC that there was a great need for that organisation to ad-

dress communities and sectors with regard to their specific concerns and fears.

Dr Meer said that given the ANC's track record, the NIC and TIC believed they were the organisations who would be the best guarantors for the interests of all communities in any future dispensation.

The ANC, NIC and TIC issued a joint statement after the meeting which recognised the central role of the ANC as the vanguard organisation which would serve the interests of all.

The statement said there was a need to develop strategies which would make it possible for all people to work within the ranks of the ANC.

In that context, the statement said, the NIC and TIC would serve in that capacity — to mobilise people on an Indian ticket into the ANC.

The ANC contingent was led by internal leader Walter Sisulu. Other members of the ANC delegation included SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, ANC head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki, and ANC head of intelligence and southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma.

Is Azanla now on the centre stage?

Soweto 18/3/91.

(119)

WHEN Mr Mosibudi Mangena, chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, was released from prison in 1978, a young police constable was assigned take him to a two-roomed house in Mahwelereng where he was to be banished.

The policeman was Jairus Mafafo.

Mangena says in his book "On Your Own", that Mafafo was very unco-operative and that each time they met, there was always a verbal argument.

Mangena left Mahwelereng in 1981 to live in exile in Harare where he became the commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army.

Mafafo moved from the South African Police's security branch to the department of special investigations of the Lebowa Police.

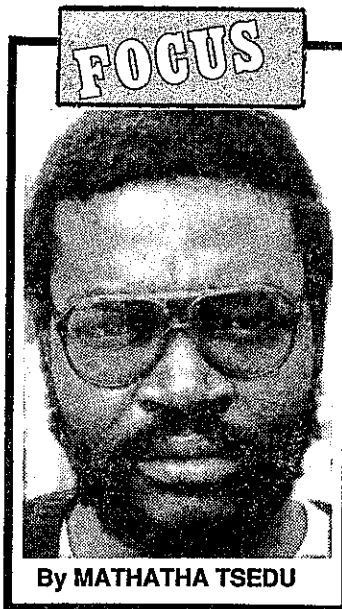
He also joined the African National Congress Youth League and became an executive member of its Mamehlabe branch, his home village. He was a marshall when ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela visited the northern Transvaal last year.

Today Mafafo walks around with bandages on his head, nursing wounds inflicted by guerillas of Mangena's army in Mahwelereng.

Mafafo survived what his colleague, Lieutenant LM Tlomatsana, described as a "daring shootout and bloodiest clash" during a confrontation between Azanla insurgents and a combined force of South African Defence Force, the South African Police and several units of Lebowa Police on March 5 this year.

The incident, in which two BCMA members and a policeman died, was the second in as many weeks in the area.

Three weeks ago, an Azanla unit attacked a Transvaal Provin-



By MATHATHA TSEDU

cial Administration's road camp outside Potgietersrus and caused damage estimated by the BCMA at millions of rands. The police confirmed the attack but estimated the damage at R5 000.

The upsurge by Azanla, coming as the ANC is winding down its military activities, is seen as a significant development politically as the organisation and its internal sister formations have rejected the Government's invitation to the negotiating table.

The incidents have also focused attention on Azanla itself as many people had never heard of it.

As South Africa's youngest liberation army, Azanla first made headlines when seven of its cadres were detained and charged with receiving military training in countries such as Libya, conducting internal training of guerillas and planning the overthrow of the Government.

One of the accused in the trial, which became known as the "Klerksdorp Seven", was a woman who was identified as a

platoon commander.

The accused came from places such as Soweto, QwaQwa and Port Elizabeth.

The army also hit headlines when it claimed that one of its units operating from Bophuthatswana had attacked a police station and a defence force post, killing 22 people.

Bophuthatswana police confirmed the incident but denied any losses.

Late last year, BCMA's secretary for defence, Mr Nkutsoe Motsau, and 10 other people were arrested in Botswana. The Botswana government claimed the group had been operating a training camp in the Lobatse mountains.

But what is this Azanla?

According to BCMA media spokesman, Mr Gilbert Mokoena, the mandate to form the army was given at the founding congress of the organisation held in London on April 1 1980.

The first and only secretary for defence has been Motsau, who is presently in a Botswana jail facing charges of murder, possession of firearms and ammunition and running a military base in that country.

Mokoena said international hostility towards BCMA had meant that the army had to be self-reliant, with many of its operations financed from its own resources.

"We started without equipment, access to finance and arms and we had to find them for the first unit's training which was done in 1984. We received no assistance from foreign governments or organisations. The training had to be done clandestinely and from our own efforts as governments were hostile," Mokoena said.

The first trained group was sent back to South Africa for more training.

"We put a high premium on

the training of cadres outside so that when they go back home they are able to train others. Our fighters are highly skilled, highly trained and highly politicised so that they may be able to operate independently," Mokoena, who refused to give the number of Azanla forces, added.

The lack of military support by governments had made Azanla to work towards acquiring its arms from inside South Africa.

The first infiltration was conducted in 1985 with no aim of engaging the South African security forces but to do political work and lay the ground work for future military operations, Mokoena said.

This approach is similar to the Chinese strategy advocated by Mao Tse Tung, who said guerillas had to make their communities safe by politicising them. It is the approach also used by the Eritreans and nearer home, by Zimbabwe's Zanla forces of President Robert Mugabe.

In the Mahwelereng attack, one of the cadres was a trained guerilla, Mr Thabang Mothlodisi, who blew himself up with a grenade instead of surrendering.

The other, Mr Mashapu Malatji, was said to have been trained internally.

Malatji is said to have shot Mafafo and two other policemen before being shot dead.

He had held the security forces at bay for five hours.

The opening of military operations, as evidenced by these activities, seem to indicate that Mangena and his comrades in Azanla are satisfied with the ground work already done.

The other option, however, is that, pressurised by the political developments in the country, Azanla may be making premature moves to register its existence and bolster the BCM's refusal to negotiate.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Mathaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ANC 'takes exception' to attacks by Malan

Political Correspondent *CM 7/11/87*

THE war of words between the ANC and General Magnus Malan flared again yesterday following the Defence Minister's latest attack on MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

This week General Malan warned Mr Hani that he should bear in mind that the indemnity he had been granted by the government was "only temporary".

The ANC yesterday said it took "strong exception" to the singling out of Mr Hani, a member of the national executive committee, for repeated attacks by General Malan.

It also condemned the way in which the government was handling the entire indemnity issue, and demanded that NEC member Mr Ronnie Kasrils immediately be afforded full indemnity and that the warrant for his arrest be withdrawn.

ANC knows it has many shortcomings — Hani

THE ANC sometimes violated democratic norms, and it was the duty of the alternative media to point out these shortcomings, said the chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani.

He said in an interview in the latest issue of New Era that the ANC knew it had many shortcomings.

"Though criticism is often not a pleasing or palatable thing, for a movement to remain basically democratic it needs to be criticised — and especially by those sharing its goals.

"We might uphold the best goals in the world, yet use wrong methods in pursuing them. We sometimes tend to violate democratic norms. It is the duty of the alternative media to point out all those shortcomings." — Sapa

LAST week, a contingent of civil rights leaders and "personalities" descended with Lindiwe Mabuza, chief of the ANC's US mission, on the offices of Congressman Tom Foley, Speaker of — and the senior Democrat in — the House of Representatives. They were there to present a petition, bearing "thousands" of signatures from "48 of 50 states", demanding that sanctions not be lifted "before democracy is established in SA".

Afterwards, they gave a news conference outside the Capitol. Mabuza seemed to be hanging back but was promptly summoned into the camera frame by the group's leader, the Rev Wyatt Tee Walker, who was billed as chief of staff to the late Dr Martin Luther King. She came forward willingly enough, but one could not help feeling that she was being used as an ornament to grace someone else's show.

This led to a second, rather larger question. What was the representative of what might in all likelihood be the next government of the richest and most powerful country in its continent doing in such company? Why was she hanging out with a crowd for whom chronic failure is not just a profession, but a necessary precondition of their fame, influence and fortune.

Walker and his colleagues on the podium — among them Dr Joseph Lowery, director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dr William Howard, president of the American Committee on Africa; filmmaker Spike Lee and actress Alfre Woodard (Winnie Mandela in a recent TV docudrama) — receive a unique reverence because they belong to and speak for the "oppressed" and are thus members of what Lowery likes to call "the community of conscience".

Though each may be highly talented in his or her own right — Lee has directed such acutely observed films as *She's Gotta Have It* and *Do the*

ANC is addicted to losers who want to 'struggle' forever

11A
B/day 19/3/91
SIMON BARBER in Washington

Right Thing — all derive a special, sacrosanct status from the fact that America's efforts to right the injustices of slavery and discrimination have failed either to eliminate bigotry or to save the majority of black Americans from becoming what is popularly known as an "underclass".

Since this failure is a principal source of power — not to mention benefits of a more material nature — for Lowery and the rest, they quite logically have little interest in genuinely turning things around or in acknowledging beneficial change where it has in fact occurred. Their unspoken dialectic requires that the "struggle" for equality be infinite. Therefore equality must never, anywhere, be achieved.

Perhaps unconsciously, they seem to dread the day that Mabuza might become just another South African, undifferentiated from her fellow citizens in rights, privileges or opportunity in a decent, prosperous society. No, for the struggle to continue delivering its special rewards, SA must not be permitted to break the mould. It must fail.

One could hear this in the metaphors Lowery and Howard used to insist that nothing is really changing

in SA, and that sanctions should therefore remain in full force. In Lowery's view, President FW de Klerk had hitherto done no more than "shift the deckchairs on the Titanic". Howard — whose ACOA would shrivel without apartheid — observed with disgust that "just as the political waters in SA are starting to boil, the administration wants Congress to turn the heat down".

It is possible that neither thought through the precise meaning of their words. In that case, their slips have a chillingly Freudian quality, the more revealing for being unintentional. Lowery's Titanic analogy suggests that in his heart of hearts he really hopes that SA is doomed beyond salvation. Howard's boiling water points to a yearning for bloody revolution that will leave the country as destitute and backward as the rest of a continent whose backwardness and destitution pay his bills. Heaven forbid that the US should spoil things by dousing the flames!

These people wish extreme harm to SA both now and in any future

manifestation. They will be as hostile to the success of a new government, ANC-led or otherwise, as they are to the present order. Why, then, does the ANC insist on aligning itself with them?

One could argue that in years past, there were precious few others in this country to whom the movement could turn for organised and committed political support. This is questionable — with different sponsors and a different ideology, the ANC could have won decisive backing here years ago — but let us concede it anyway. The real question is why it perseveres in the relationship, unless, of course, it too subscribes to the dialectic of failure.

Regrettably, this does seem to be the case, for the ANC, too, is embarked on a "struggle", the non-achievement of whose goals justifies the singularly undemocratic hold on power of its elites. So long as the "struggle" continues, the difficult issues of how to meet the material expectations of the hitherto dispossessed will never have to be dealt with. Poverty, unemployment, filthy living conditions, pitiful to non-existent health care and education can all be blamed on whatever, at any

given moment, the "struggle" happens to be pitted against.

In a sense, it is imperative that such privation never be effectively ameliorated, since without it, the opium of "struggle" would lose its effect and the elites with their jacuzzis and Mercedes Benzes might suddenly find themselves accountable for the unnecessary hell they have helped inflict upon their beloved "masses".

This begins to explain why the ANC seems so profoundly addicted to losers, and, by the same token, so deeply uncomfortable in the presence of success. Its authority, as the voice of SA's victims, rests on failure.

The civil rights leaders who demarched Congressman Foley last week will never intentionally do anything that might truly help deliver the majority of South Africans from their economic and other suffering, nor, if they wished to, do they control the resources. Instead, by pressing for the maintenance of sanctions, they will do all in their power to ensure the suffering — and with it the "struggle" — persists.

The ANC would clearly much rather have it this way than develop a rapport with the mainstream American establishment which has the influence, power and wealth to help ensure that the SA the organisation inherits has a decent chance to prosper. To the contrary, rather than even trying to come to terms with this establishment, the ANC spits in its face by openly endorsing its enemies — PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, Libya's Colonel Gaddafi, Cuba's Fidel Castro — professional losers and underdogs all.

Such behaviour seems an almost calculated plea for rejection. How else can one construe Nelson Mandela's taking up President George Bush's time on the telephone last week to restate the ANC's view that Bush was a warmonger in the Gulf? This was quixotic, to put it mildly, except, of course, when analysed through the dialectic of failure.

Indian congresses won't be disbanded

Biparty 19/3/91 *11A*

TIM COHEN

THE Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses would not be disbanded, but retained to mobilise the Indian community into the ANC, a top level meeting decided at the weekend.

The meeting, held in Durban on Sunday, was attended by the executive committees of both the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and senior members of the ANC's national executive committee led by ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu.

The meeting's decision was contrary to expectations that the two organisations would be scrapped in line with the ANC's policy of non-ethnicity.

The meeting agreed the ANC was the primary means of strengthening the organisation within the Indian community, the ANC said in a statement.

At the same time, there was a continuing role for the TIC and NIC to help bring about unity in action between the Indian community and the ANC-centred national liberation movement.

NIC secretary Farouk Meer said he real-

ised the decision would have its "detractors" but added neither the NIC nor the TIC were technically ethnic groups. They were both open to all and campaigned on behalf of all South Africans.

Retaining the TIC and NIC was merely a "technical and strategic method of mobilising the people into the ANC".

The decision was partly prompted by the realisation that the ANC's membership had reached a plateau and that the retention of the TIC and the NIC would improve the ANC's ability to mobilise Indians.

He said once this goal had been achieved the TIC and NIC would be disbanded. The decision not to disband was reached by consensus, he added.

The statement emphasised the TIC and the NIC's long association with the ANC, which it described as "the consistent champion of the democratic rights of all the people of SA" and the "the most reliable vehicle for the realisation of the true aspirations of the people of this country".

SAAU denies it lacks backing for its position on land reform

Biparty 19/3/91

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) yesterday rejected CP claims that it had no mandate to act for its members on government's White Paper on land reform.

The SAAU was reacting to a statement issued on Sunday by the CP's extra-parliamentary agricultural study group in the northern Cape.

The union said it would be neglecting its duty if it refrained from taking a standpoint. It rejected the allegation that it was a lackey of government.

A statement said the SAAU congress had adopt-

ed resolutions on land ownership and its reaction was measured against them. The congress had ruled that change within the judicial dispensation fell within the political field.

However, it was made clear that should change come about, the union would have to act to ensure the interests of farm owners were protected.

The union stressed private ownership of agricultural land had to constitute the basis for a sound farming industry.

Sapa reports from Cape

Town that the chairman of the CP's agricultural study group, Ronnie van der Merwe, said until now management of the Northern Cape Agricultural Union had been silent over the majority will of the farmers it represented. In a referendum 60% of the farmers had asked for the maintenance of the 1913 and 1936 land laws.

Sapa also reports that Boere Krisisaksie representatives said yesterday the movement would issue a statement soon. The organisation had a hand in the recent farmers' "siege".

● Comment: Page 8

599 Hansard 19/3/91
 (3) In view of the foregoing answer a statement on the matter is not regarded necessary.

Census: opposition

*26. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

Whether any organizations have expressed themselves against the current census; if so, (a) what organizations and (b) what effect is their opposition expected to have on the census results?

B605E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Yes. Hansard 19/3/91.

(a) and (b) The honourable member is referred to my media releases of 6, 7 and 13 March 1991 on this subject, copies of which I lay upon the Table.

Media release by Mr Gene Louw, MP, Minister of Home Affairs regarding the ANC's reaction to Census '91

For immediate release

The Government has with amazement and disappointment taken note of the statement that the ANC rejects the census. It is also the first time that the ANC has taken up standpoint in spite of the fact that quite a lot of publicity has been given to the census over a period of some months. Communications have also been addressed to more than 500 organizations, including the ANC, to request their co-operation. Never was there any negative reaction from their side. Never has any representations from them been received. The present boycott announcement from the ANC appears to be planned in advance and is utterly irresponsible and can only be contra-productive.

The allegation that the census has been planned in such a way that the result will reflect an undercount is totally absurd. The test sample has been planned so scientifically that the result will in all probability give a better result than the door to door survey. For the very reason that an estimated undercount of approximately 20%, especially under Black people, was experienced during the 1985 census, special attention has been given to the planning of this year's census to ensure an accurate numeration. Where practically possible every effort is made to do a door to

door survey. In certain difficult accessible areas, especially squatter areas or areas which can be regarded as dangerous, a door to door survey is not a practical possibility. Hansard 19/3/91

The Government is particularly concerned that the numeration should be as accurate as possible since the information is needed for the planning of electricity, water and sewerage supply, hospitals and day care clinics, housing, educational facilities, etc. It is a tragedy, therefore, that, in view of the fact that it is especially amongst the Black people where the need for these services is the greatest, the ANC statement can in particular contribute to an undercount. Accurate statistics are essential for planning purposes and the public as well as the private sector, merchants, economists, academics, researchers, etc. are dependent on the census survey. Without that, it is only the community who will suffer.

The test sample method developed during the past two years by the Human Sciences Research Council, has been designed in such a way that statistically it would produce a most acceptable, accurate and reliable result. The procedure in difficult accessible areas consists of the taking and interpretation of air-photographs to, in the first place, classify the number of housing structures according to kind/type. Representative test samples are selected thereafter. The selected housing structures are then visited by field workers and exactly the same information is gathered from them as from the rest of the census survey. This information is then processed and calculated according to the total number of housing structures in each category of housing structures.

In its planning the Central Statistical Service endeavoured to limit the areas covered by the test sample to the minimum. For that reason it was decided more than a year ago that only those areas which were inaccessible at the time or which were to such an extent unstructured (for example certain squatter areas) would be covered by this method. 83 such areas were identified and the list was published in the Government Gazette of 26 February 1991.

The ANC's further complaint is that the census is not undertaken in the TBVC countries. The fact is, however, that Bophuthatswana and Venda are at present undertaking a census survey and that Ciskei and Transkei would have their surveys during April and May 1991 respectively.

The ANC objects to the fact that a question appears on the questionnaire which refers to race but at the same time they made the reproach that it is a deliberate effort to undercount the Black population and in this regard they specifically refer to colour.

Let me just put it beyond any doubt that reference to race has nothing to do with discrimination. The millions of forms were already printed before the State President announced (on 1 February 1991) the scrapping of the apartheid-based racist legislation. The costs cannot possibly be repeated.

Apart from this attention is drawn to the fact that all the census forms are completed anonymously without disclosing or reference to identity. It incidentally happens that various countries, even the USA, include a question regarding ethnical descent on their census forms. Such statistical information is of the utmost importance for the planning of educational, health and commercial services for the community of the different regions and environments apart from the national goal which it serves.

All information contained in the census forms is aimed at the gathering of statistics needed for the future of South Africa and all its' peoples.

The statement by the ANC is therefore unfortunate and will not contribute to the success of the survey. There is, however, enough confidence in the inhabitants of South Africa that each one will play his part to make a success of the survey. Nearly R60 million is spent on the census and it depends on the inhabitants of South Africa to ensure that the results are complete and reliable in order that it can be utilized to the benefit of all.

Issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Cape Town

Date: 6 March 1991

Media release by Mr Gene Louw, MP, Minister of Home Affairs

For immediate release

With reference to the statement by the Office of the State President that I would take up the matter regarding the census issue with a senior member of the ANC, I wish to confirm that Mr Mandela indicated that he has appointed Mr

Alfred Nzo to discuss the matter with me. Notwithstanding several efforts from my side to contact Mr Nzo, it was, in view of his programme and the fact that he has been involved in lengthy meetings, not yet possible.

No further comment can therefor be given until such time as Mr Nzo has been in touch with me.

Issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Cape Town

7 March 1991

Media release by Mr Gene Louw, MP, Minister of Home Affairs after discussions with Representatives of the ANC regarding Census '91

For immediate release

A delegation of the ANC led by Mr Walter Sisulu was met. The discussions with regard to the ANC's rejection of the Population Census were frank. I gave the assurance that it would probably be the most comprehensive and acceptable Population Census, also from a scientific point of view. Furthermore, it has been emphasized that racism was never an issue when the decision was made which areas will be covered by sampling. I also emphasized that due to approximately 26 media releases and all the other actions within the sphere of the total publicity campaign, sufficient information were released to create the opportunity for discussion at an earlier stage.

The criteria set out by the UN for the use of sampling for the execution of population censuses, is indeed complied with in every respect (as is known, the HSRC undertakes the sampling under contract for the CSS). Apart from this the 1991 Population Census Validating Committee will eventually evaluate the scientific basis and acceptability of the population census results. This committee was convened on the initiative of the Bureau for Market Research of UNISA and consists of 7 additional members of organizations and institutions which are representative of a broad spectrum of users of the census information.

There is no question of postponing the census. Furthermore, co-operation and involvement are experienced from all and sundry. I would therefore like to make a friendly appeal to each and every person, also the supporters of the ANC, to give their co-operation to ensure the success of this major effort.

Issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Cape Town Hansard 19/3/91

Date: 13 March 1991

ANC clarifies its policy on heaven

CAPE TOWN 19/3/91 (11A)
AN ANC official was out of line when he told nearly 5 000 people in Mahwereng township, near Pietersburg, that God would never allow whites in heaven, ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said last night.

"The ANC policy is non-racialism, on earth or in heaven," she said.

The organisation was at the moment trying to trace the Rev W M Guba to get clarity over his alleged statements, she said.

Mr Guba, who was representing the

ANC at the funeral of slain Black Consciousness Movement cadre Mr Mashapu Ronald Malatji, last Saturday told the cheering crowd that if he were to find "Boers" in heaven, he would turn back.

Referring to the fact that the slain guerilla had hidden in the local AME church, Mr Guba said: "The church is a sanctuary where people are supposed to hide."

It is not known to which church Mr Guba belongs. — Staff Reporter

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11A
[scribble]
[scribble]

Bop detains seven of ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Seven members of the ANC were detained at Phokeng in Bophuthatswana yesterday. The ANC gave their names as Maggy Bopalamo, Granny Senne, M Montsho, Lziek Mogatla, Steve Mputle and two other members.

The seven were involved in a campaign to allow Mrs Semane Molotlegi, a community leader, permanent residence in Bophuthatswana. She has been expelled from the homeland and must leave by Thursday, the ANC said. — Sapa

NEW Winnie EVIDENCE

From PATRICK COLLINGS

JOHANNESBURG. — The state yesterday said it had new evidence implicating Mrs Winnie Mandela in two alleged incidents of kidnap and assault committed weeks before those for which she is currently on trial in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Michael Stegmann will rule today on prosecutor Mr Jan Swanepoel SC's application to introduce the new claims. Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos SC, opposed the application,

CAP TONY (11A)
19/3/91

From page 1

should Mrs Mandela face two serious charges without an indictment, without a summary of facts, and without the names of the witnesses?"

Mr Swanepoel said he would name the witnesses if his application to introduce the new evidence was successful.

Mr Bizos argued that the introduction of the new details was an attempt to back up the testimony of Mr Kgase and Mr Mono.

"What (the prosecution) is saying is that (they) may have problems with (the testimony of) Kgase and Mono, (and the court must now) listen to (their) better witnesses," he said.

Earlier in the day a police forensic expert, Major Johannes Claassens, told the court he had found blood samples on the ceiling, all four walls and curtains of a back-room at Mrs Winnie Mandela's house where she allegedly beat the youths allegedly in December 1988.

Major Claassens said that while the blood samples matched the blood group as one of the assault victims, Mr Gabriel Mekgwe, 21, he could not say whether the blood definitely came from Mr Mekgwe.

Mr Mekgwe disappeared a week after the trial began.

saying that even if she were guilty of the charges, they would have no relevance to her present trial.

Mr Swanepoel said he had evidence that Mrs Mandela was part of a group who abducted two people from their home on September 26, 1988 and assaulted them at the Mandela home.

"They (the two people) were assaulted, inter alia, by being lifted up and dropped, and by having a plastic bag pulled over their heads. Accused 8 (Mrs Mandela) was present at some stage during the assaults," Mr Swanepoel told the court, adding that the

victims were released the following day.

Mr Swanepoel continued by saying Mrs Mandela was involved with the November 13, 1988 abduction of a 21-year-old Soweto man, who disappeared after being assaulted at her home.

Mr Swanepoel said the disappearance of the man was "similar to what would have happened" if the body of 14-year-old child activist Stompie Moeketsi Selpe had not been found. Mr Swanepoel, who refused to disclose the identity of the victims, also

said the modus operandi in the previous assaults was similar to details provided by key state witnesses, Mr Kenneth Kgase, 32, and Mr Barend Mono, 21, about their abduction and assault.

Mr Swanepoel argued the "similar fact evidence" had sufficient relevance to be admissible.

Accusing the prosecution of presenting the new allegations "as an afterthought", Mr Bizos asked: "Why

To page 3



NEW CLAIMS ... Mrs Winnie Mandela

Youth league's launch delayed

by 19/3/91

TIM COHEN

THE official launch of the ANC Youth League would not take place on April 6 as planned, a spokesman said yesterday.

Information and publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana denied that the league was facing a financial crisis. He said the league was experiencing problems as a result of "inadequate resources".

He declined to comment on whether the league had been granted the budget it had submitted to the ANC treasury, because "this was an internal ANC matter". He had not seen a document allegedly sent to provisional regional youth committees stating the league was unable to provide funds to regions as it had not received funding from head office.

It was not true that Youth League employees had not been paid, Man-

kahlana said.

Financial difficulties were not the major reason for delays in setting up provisional regional youth committees.

He said delays in the establishment of regional structures, violence on the Reef and in Natal and inadequate resources made the proposed April 6 launch date impossible to achieve.

These regional structures could not be formed without at least 200 signed-up members, and the signing up of members involved unanticipated administrative problems, he said.

Mankahlana said an expanded provisional national youth committee would decide during April when the Youth League conference and official launch would take place.

29

19

60

53

COMMISSION REVENUE

52

INTEREST REVENUE

51

RENTAL REVENUE

45

CASH AT BANK

44

PREPAID ADVERTISING

43

ACCRUED REVENUE / COMMISSION RECEIVABLE

Jan 1	Balance	b/d	1 000		
Jan 1	Balance	b/d	150		
Jan 1	Balance	b/d	200		

Azapo warns students

50 water
19/3/91
11A

STUDENTS are, through continuing disruption of classes, voluntarily denying themselves skills which black people will in future require to run the country.

This was Azapo's message to all schools and colleges in the Northern Transvaal.

Azapo said it pleased the Government when students call for the resignation of principals and teachers since they will be forced to request "the very oppressors" to lead them in their new-found power.

The message was released following the escalating disturbances at schools in the far North.

Star 20/3/91 11A

PAC team for UK

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president Clarence Makwetu will lead a delegation to London to have talks with British Cabinet Ministers at the invitation of the British government. Mr. Makwetu will leave on Saturday.

Mandela concert

Dakar will host a pop concert to welcome Nelson Mandela when the African National Congress leader collects the newly created Freedom and Human Rights prize from the African Jurists Association in the Senegalese capital next month, the daily Le Soleil reports.

copy 7/27/91
PAC leader for UK talks

Political Correspondent

20/3/91
PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu will fly to London on Saturday for wide-ranging talks with government ministers, industrial leaders, MPs and anti-apartheid groups.

He has been invited to the UK by the British government.

Mr Makwetu will be accompanied by the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, secretary for information, Mr Barney Desai, and external foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim.

Trade unionists join call for constituent assembly

TRADE unionists will lead discussions on why Socialists fight for a constituent assembly in South Africa at meeting to be hosted by The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action in Johannesburg today.

The meeting begins at

By **THEMBA
MOLEFE**

5.45pm at Sached Basement, Allied Building, Bree Street, Corner Rissik Street.

A spokesman for Wosa said the organisation put forward the demand for a constituent assembly as it was the most democratic way to decide the country's future.

"The current talk of getting rid of apartheid is

Soweto 20/3/91
hot air as long as the Government denies the people the right to put forward their own representatives with their own ideas in the constituent assembly.

Pamphlet

Wosa is the latest voice to join the main liberation groups, Azapo, PAC and ANC, in the campaign for the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Wosa says in a

pamphlet it distributed to advertise today's meeting: "The South African Constitution is based on the original drawn up by British colonisers.

"Over the years it has been amended by a succession of white minority governments who have used it to divide our country and our people, and deny us the rights or say in the running or control of our country."

The meeting is open to the public.

Winnie trial: new evidence allowed

CAPL Tlw 20/3/91 (11/11/88) (11/11/88)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Evidence implicating Mrs Winnie Mandela in incidents of abduction and assault prior to those for which she is presently on trial will be heard in the Rand Supreme Court, after a judge's ruling yesterday.

In granting the state's application to have the new details admitted as "similar fact evidence", Mr Justice Michael Stegmann said it was of "particular importance" that the trial should "ventilate all the issues relevant to the guilt or innocence of Mrs Mandela".

"It is important that there should be no room left at the end of the trial for speculation that a different outcome may have resulted if similar fact evidence had been excluded," he said.

Mr Justice Stegmann instructed the prosecution to immediately furnish Mrs Mandela's defence counsel with the names of the new witnesses, and indicated that a lengthy adjournment would be called before the new evidence

JOHANNESBURG. — The state yesterday told the Rand Supreme Court that witnesses called to provide evidence of additional kidnapping and assault incidents allegedly involving Mrs Winnie Mandela would be protected.

Prosecutor Mr Jan Swanepoel SC, said he would apply for an court order to allow the seven unidentified witnesses to give their evidence in camera.

Last night the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, said he would consider the witnesses' situation later today, to see "whether any other measures (to protect them) would be called for".

was led, to allow the defence team time to prepare.

Mrs Mandela's senior counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, said his client would deny knowledge or involvement in the new allegations of abduction and assault.

Mr Bizos earlier argued that the introduction of the new evidence would result in "overwhelming prejudice" against Mrs Mandela, would have no relevance to the present trial and

would result in the trial being "lengthy and messy".

Responding to Mr Bizos's argument that the new evidence would result in "extreme prejudice" against Mrs Mandela, Mr Justice Stegmann said the probative force of the new allegations outweighed the prejudicial effects such evidence would have against her defence.

"There is no reason why the defence cannot prepare a sufficient defence (during the adjournment)," he added.

During yesterday's afternoon session, Mr Hendrik Kruger, counsel for accused Mr John Morgan, argued over the admissibility of a statement made by him to police on February 22, 1989.

Although the contents of the statement were not revealed in court, Sapa reports the document states that Mr Morgan admitted being present when the December 1988 assault took place.

Mr Kruger disputed police claims that Mr Morgan volunteered the information without being threatened or offered anything.

The hearing continues today.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The decision by the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress not to disband but rather to continue to "facilitate incorporation of the Indian community into the mainstream of the struggle for democracy and freedom" has certain political consequences, and within it elements of political dishonesty.

So says Chatsworth MP and leader of the National Peoples' Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who claimed yesterday that the two organisations were not interested in representing the interests of the minority Indian community, but to lead them into the liberation movement of the ANC.

Mr Rajbansi said the NIC and TIC "maintained their racialism" in spite of the Improper Political Interference Act being repealed. He said the two organisations "should not deceive the Indian community and use

NIC, TIC
CAF 7/4 B 20/3/97 (H)

decision has 'consequences'

the minority bait to lure Indians into the folds of the ANC ... as this is a plan of deception".

"If the ANC goes along with the idea that minorities could organise themselves as groups ... then it is in contradiction with their own policy of not seeing people as groups," he said.

However, spokesman for the NIC Dr Farouk Meer said Mr Rajbansi should be the last person to criticise, considering his track record in Indian politics and the James Commission of Inquiry, which not only discredited him and the system, but the Indian community as well.

Trust (11A) denies ~~the~~ funds ^{Soweto} claim 20/3/91

THE Kagiso Trust has strongly denied media reports that it would be used as a conduit to channel about R2,5 million raised in the United States to the ANC.

It was earlier reported that about R2,5 million raised in Detroit during Mr Nelson Mandela's tour there last year would be channeled to the ANC via the trust once the necessary documents had been completed.

However, in a statement in Johannesburg on Monday, the trust's national director, Mr Achmat Dangor, said his organisation was mystified by the reports.

Policy

"The trust reiterates that it is not its policy to act as conduits for funding into South Africa on behalf of any organisation, be they political or otherwise," he said.

Instead, the organisation only received funds for development projects that met strict criteria, he added.

Project

The Kagiso Trust receives the bulk of its project money from the European Economic Community.

But it has been criticised recently by the PAC and Azapo, who have accused the organisation of sectarianism in its disbursement of the funds. - Sapa.

Rallies, ^(11A) stayaway called for *Star 29/3/91* tomorrow

Pretoria Bureau

The ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party are to hold three joint constituent assembly rallies in the PWV area tomorrow.

The rallies — to be held at Mamelodi Community Centre, Sharpeville Stadium and Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre — form part of the organisations' campaign to demand a constituent assembly and interim government.

The ANC's media secretary for the PWV, Ronnie Mamoepa, said the Mamelodi rally would be addressed by the ANC's Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim. Alfred Nzo would address the Soweto rally and Joe Slovo would speak at Sharpeville.

The ANC and Cosatu have organised more than 50 Sharpeville Day rallies in the Eastern Transvaal to mark the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings.

The organisations said the emphasis of the rallies would be to protest against the continued service cuts in townships in the region and to gather support for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The ANC and Cosatu have called for a blanket stayaway throughout the Eastern Transvaal.

Stan Hlophe reports that the Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) yesterday urged school pupils to take part in a planned stayaway tomorrow.

Paso's call is in contrast with a statement by Azapo, issued two weeks ago in Durban, that pupils should be excluded.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Strini Moodley, called on other members of the liberation movements to join in the stayaway in commemoration of "Heroes' Day".

ICS

Britain sponsors visit by PAC chief

LONDON — The British Foreign Office confirmed yesterday that PAC leader Clarence Makwethu had been invited to visit the UK next week on a sponsored information tour. *Blom 20/3/91*

In a statement in Johannesburg earlier in the day, the PAC said Makwethu had been invited by the British government, and that he would be accompanied by PAC foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille and information secretary Barney Desai.

Discussions would be held with government ministers, industrial leaders, MPs and anti-apartheid groups, the PAC added.

119 A Foreign Office spokesman said from Whitehall that the PAC visit was part of a regular programme of sponsored visits to Britain, arranged through the Central Office of Information.

The programme catered for influential leaders and opinion-makers from other countries.

"It provides the visitors with an opportunity to learn about Britain, and for us to get up to date with events and situations in their countries."

The spokesman said a meeting with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was possible. — Sapa.

When the funding tap runs dry in the near future, will South African anti-apartheid projects survive? Already strong signals are being sent from Western governments that



South Africa will not feature prominently in their aid budgets. Enormous amounts of money are going to be allocated to Eastern Europe and is expected to have effect on aid to the south. In the last

In a series of three articles on foreign funding, REHANA ROSSOUW examines the financial future of organisations in South Africa.

When the money tap runs dry

South 21/3 - 27/3/91



THE GULF WAR and the fall of the Berlin Wall has had a far bigger effect on South Africa than most people realise.

These two recent world events could signal the end of Western governmental aid to South Africa — the closure of the tap which poured hundreds of millions of Rands into the country.

Nearly all assistance to South Africa from Western governments is aimed at supporting opposition to apartheid and preparing disadvantaged South Africans for leadership in a post-apartheid society.

The questions now being asked are: When apartheid disappears, does the funding disappear with it? Will aid be forthcoming for social development in a post-apartheid society?

Answers are far from clear at this stage. It is certain though, that a large proportion of aid from Western governments which has in the past been directed to non-governmental organisations will in future take the form of bilateral aid to a democratic South African government.

The aim of Western government initiatives is shifting subtly to focus on grants for "dialogue" between groups who stand to gain power during the transition process, technical support for institution building, professional consultants in areas like constitution-writing and crash courses for those who may become future military and civilian bureaucrats.

This signals a departure from the form of assistance provided before — until the end of 1989, official Western aid sought to provide assistance to "victims of apartheid" and to community-based non-government organisations providing services to those involved in all aspects of the democratic movement's resistance to apartheid.

The Australian ambassador, Mr Colin McDonald, reckons it will be four to five years before South Africa will lose priority for his government, which has no substantial interest in the area. He points out that Australia is already cutting its programmes in Namibia.

Mr John Sawers, First Secretary at the British Embassy, says: "Our commitment to South Africa is long term. When the country gets a democratic government this does not mean we are going to walk away from it."

However, countries such as Sweden and the Netherlands — which have provided substantial aid in the past — appear less likely to be ongoing "development partners".

A spokesperson for the Dutch embassy in Pretoria points out that his country's development aid is allocated to nations classified as least developed countries in terms of per capita gross national product (GNP). His government believes South Africa's average income would be too high for it to qualify.

Swedish development assistance is similarly determined by GNP, and again South Africa seems an unlikely candidate for aid.

A senior US aid official in Pretoria felt that the form of aid was more likely to change than its volume. He said it was his government's perception that apartheid had created enormous needs in areas such as housing and education and that these needs would not simply disappear.

The European Community has taken into account the political changes in South Africa since February 2 1990.

They believe that although political organisations have been unbanned, leading political prisoners released, the state of emergency lifted in most of the country and petty apartheid almost entirely abolished, the country still has to await the outcome of the negotiation process before it is set on the road to real liberation.

At a meeting in June last year, the European Community leaders reviewed the situation in the region.

They stated in a declaration on southern Africa that "in the light of the recent developments in South Africa and as a strong signal of political support to those disadvantaged by apartheid" the Community would increase the funds for the special programme and would adapt the programme to the needs of the new situation.

From 1991 the special programme will have a bigger budget and, if negotiations go well and the dismantling of apartheid continues, can be expected to cater for the reintegration needs of returning South African exiles and to play an increasingly developmental role.

However, the focus of the European Economic Commission has undeniably shifted to Eastern Europe and the dramatic political events there.

Enormous amounts of money are going to be allocated to Eastern Europe in the imminent future and is expected to have a detrimental effect on aid to the south. The money for reconstruction in Europe could come from aid budgets.

WHILE HARD-AND-FAST POLICIES ON aid to a post-apartheid South Africa do not exist, one widely shared notion is that once a clear procedure for achieving democratic rule has been mapped out, most governments presently engaged in assisting South Africans would consider special "transitional" grants.

The debate on whether to and how to continue funding projects in South Africa has already begun among interna-

"Under many standard criteria, especially those such as Gross Domestic Product per capita, South Africa does not qualify as a particularly poor or underdeveloped country."

— Interfund Report

tional donor bodies.

The debate centres largely on the issues of whether to start development funding for South Africa or continue to support work in the country at all "post-apartheid".

A study compiled for the Interfund International Fundraising Consortium by specialist consultants urges the international development lobby, which has ignored South Africa except to make anti-apartheid interventions to "rethink" their approach to the country.

ONCE APARTHEID is declared finished, and certainly once a political settlement is reached, South Africa will stand in line with other countries under consideration of international development aid.

"Under many standard criteria, especially those such as Gross Domestic Product per capita, South Africa does not qualify as a particularly poor or underdeveloped country," the report states.

"The reality, however, is somewhat different.

"Most poor and developing countries have tiny wealthy elites. South Africa has a statistically larger wealthy elite."

More than one study has concluded that South Africa has the highest degree of social inequality of any country in the world for which data is available.

Half the population lives in abject poverty while a large minority — almost all white — enjoy high standards of living.

"A political settlement will further boost existing high expectations of change among black people — almost inevitably contributing to tension and instability in the long term. And political stability is itself essential for economic and social development."

Kagiso Trust's director Mr Achmat Dangor expressed a fear that foreign donors would "take the easy option" and say that because apartheid was gone, sanctions should be lifted, they should

reinvest in the country and send all their foreign aid to the government.

"What that will do is destroy one resource that SA has — a rich resource — the NGO network in this country," Dangor said.

"That will marginalise accessing resources or being able to influence future policy."

Dangor said NGOs in South Africa understood that foreign donors were under great pressure to divert money to the Gulf and Eastern Europe. They would thus need a centrally identifiable, easily justifiable mechanism for funding to South Africa.

Kagiso Trust believed that even if South Africa had an ANC-led government in two or three years, it would be very dangerous for funders to put all their money into government-controlled projects.

FUNDERS ARGUING against the economy of scale could decide that if R1 billion, for instance, was put together from all industrialised countries and given to the South African government to disburse, it would have more of an impact.

"It all depends what kind of society you want. It could make the country visibly rich, but the invisible minority will still be there, very poor," Dangor said.

"That has been the pattern of the grandiose development models of the past, throughout the third world and Africa.

"We know that most governments, no matter how democratic they are, have a duty first, specially in a situation like ours, to retain power.

"So what they do is to provide resources to that segment of society that most threatens them staying in power, the urban constituency."

Dangor said he feared that because South Africa was a largely urban-based country, there would be a conscious decision to neglect the smaller and more marginalised sector of society — rural areas, squatter camps and in those constituencies, women and youth.

"They will continue to be most marginalised sectors of society."

Kagiso's model of development is to provide resources to those sectors to help them to organise themselves — a process called community self-organisation.

This means providing funding for processes others don't want to fund — like institution-building.

"We'll continue to provide resources for people in rural areas to organise themselves, specially around economic issues," Dangor said.

"You may find political liberation in South Africa soon, but economic and social liberation is going to take a long time.

"When we say investment must be made in developing human potential on a far larger scale than is being done right

now, it means things like literacy no longer becomes a romantic cry.

"Providing infrastructure is only a tool in the ultimate goal, which is providing those communities with the skills to participate more fully in the political and economic life of the country."

Dangor said this was probably the most contentious area of Kagiso's work. They believe they will be providing funding to people to organise themselves so that they could challenge the future government and ensure that they will not be neglected.

"We recognise that no matter how democratic the government of the future is they will not be able to meet all the needs of the people, specially when expectations are as high as they are now."

He said the ability of marginalised communities to articulate what their needs were should not be underestimated.

Kagiso would respond to their needs by identifying projects and programmes where the communities say they need

"Money can disempower people by taking away the need of people to do things themselves."

— Achmat Dangor

them.

"There will have to be a massive infusion of support though, and the assistance of outside professionals even if needed.

"But it must rest on the premise that those people know themselves what they want, otherwise we will be using money to subvert their capacity for self-organisation.

"Money can disempower people by taking away the need of people to do things themselves."

Kagiso will no longer be giving 100 percent grants, they will provide partial grants and partial loans.

They will encourage people to raise R1 for every R2 they give internally from the community and slowly improve that ratio until their role diminishes.

One of the biggest obstacles in the process is the shortage of people skilled in creating alternative wealth, specially in rural areas.

"The potential is there, provided you can inculcate a new culture in these people," Dangor said.

"Maybe a new form of activism is

'Time for ANC to co-operate'

By Shaun Johnson

Star 2/3/91

For the first time, the Government's Budget is aimed at an ANC and an international audience as much as at the National Party electorate.

"We are putting the ANC right on the spot," said one Government source. "We are saying, 'now come on, chaps, it's time to co-operate'. If there is a breakdown in our progress towards (social) equity, they must bear responsibility for it."

The Government believes that by being "courageous and daring" — specifically with social spending and progress towards overall equity — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has forced the ANC and its supporters to respond positively, or risk being blamed for sabotaging eventual economic justice.

Government sources expect that groups such as the ANC will criticise the amounts involved in changing the distributive focus of the Budget, but believe the general trend — towards "equity through growth and stability" — cannot be questioned.

The Government expects the ANC and others not to move the goalposts on sanctions, but rather to encourage investment, and promote social stability.

Mr du Plessis told Parliament: "This Budget thus bears a message that seeks the support and co-operation of a wide spectrum of people.

"The message is that despite our political differences we simply must work together so as to make an active and positive contribution ... to the creation of that climate that will promote investment, growth and job creation."

THE self-styled businessman who brought Soweto pupils to Cape Town schools at a fee of up to R3000 a head is a "disillusioned" ANC activist who was active in "sanctions-busting".

In an interview this week, the Urban Projects and Finance company director, Mr Anthony van Wyk, said he had previously "worked closely" with the African National Congress in three different countries.

However, the ANC has flatly denied this. It also foresees taking the education of the 138 Soweto pupils out of Van Wyk's hands to ensure they do not lose an academic year.

This week, two delegations held urgent talks with Van Wyk as tensions mounted between him and the children. Pupils had sought the intervention of community and political organisations to highlight their plight.

They were discontented mainly because of the lack of suitable and permanent accommodation, transport problems and unacceptable catering facilities.

On Monday and Tuesday, a delegation comprising of the National Education Crisis Committee and some of the Soweto pupils met Van Wyk to discuss the situation. Advocate Dullah Omar headed the delegation.

Performance

Another delegation of 10 teachers from four schools where the youths are enrolled held an urgent meeting with Van Wyk to discuss their concern about the poor performance of the Soweto pupils.

The teachers from Grassy Park, Lotus River, Glendale and Fairmont high schools, believe that the performance of the pupils is hindered by their living conditions.

This week a pupil at Lotus High School, Labtswang Sephephelo, fainted, apparently from hunger.

"Labtswang had to be hospitalised with an ulcer," said the school's principal, Mr Achmat Ajam.

Meanwhile, Van Wyk has brushed off criticism, saying that "some people are out to denigrate me — not because of what I do but because of my background".

He said he had fallen from grace with the ANC since he decided to leave the movement and return to the country in 1981.

"There was a time when I was working with the ANC in three different countries," said Van Wyk.

"I decided to come back to South Africa in 1981. I was definitely ostracised from the community. Everything I did was considered unholy."

Kensington-born Van Wyk said he became "disillusioned with the inadequacy" of the organisation in dealing with certain issues. "There are holy cows within the ANC at whom you can't level any criticism, no matter how valid."

Van Wyk 'a disillusioned ANC activist'

11A

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He said his return into the country created suspicion about his aims.

"They seemed to think that I had compromised my position with the authorities," he said. "But until now not a single ANC member has ever found evidence that I was, at any time, working for the government."

Although senior ANC members disputed this, Van Wyk claimed that he left the country at the age of 19 to "work closely" with the movement's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He would not say what working closely meant.

"All I know about this man is that when he passed through the United Kingdom, we had a discussion with him as we used to do with all other South Africans abroad," said Mr Reggie September, a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

He denied that Van Wyk was at any stage working with or for the ANC.

Van Wyk, who admitted that he still has business dealings and property in the United States, has had no formal training in business and related fields.

Business

He said that on returning from "exile" he could not find employment, so he started his own business.

"I featured very prominently in international trading while sanctions were still intact," he said. Dealing mainly in coal exporting, Van Wyk claims that he opened a "lot of doors" for the country's trade with Eastern Bloc and African countries.

Van Wyk said he owned "some property" in Washington DC — which "gives some people a speculation that I will get on the next plane". However, he said he would continue to tend to the Soweto pupils in Cape Town.

As the next step, he wants to make accommodation available for exiles. "I have already offered the repatriation committee 12 buildings in Johannesburg which they refused."

Meanwhile, teachers at four schools who have formed an ad-hoc committee to investigate Van Wyk, have released their findings.

"We are aghast at the outcome of our investigations," said Mr Aslam Fataar, a committee member and a teacher at Lo-



FALLEN FROM GRACE? Businessman Anthony van Wyk outside the Muizenberg building he bought to house Soweto pupils

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

tus High School. He said the committee was "convinced" that Van Wyk would not immediately solve the accommodation crisis of the pupils.

He said the committee was consulting lawyers with a view to taking appropriate legal action.

"We believe Van Wyk is taking us for a con trip," he said.

The deadline for the accommodation of the boys, currently staying at the Lutheran Youth Centre in Athlone, expires on Friday. The teachers' investi-

gations found that no alternative had been arranged by Van Wyk.

All the girls are living in a dilapidated building in Muizenberg. Van Wyk said he has bought the building as a permanent residence for the pupils.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC publicity secretary in the Western Cape, said the organisation had distanced itself from Van Wyk's "manoeuvring".

"We are alarmed by reports that the ANC is being linked to this endeavor. The ANC was never consulted," he said.

'Winnie accused beaten' — claim

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A co-accused in Mrs Winnie Mandela's kidnapping and assault trial was bribed and beaten into making a statement implicating Mrs Mandela in various crimes, it was alleged in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Police denied the allegations, saying Mr John Morgan voluntarily made the statement which alleged Mrs Mandela, 56, had assaulted a youth — who had been abducted with three others — at her Soweto home.

The state has applied for the statement to be admitted as evidence.

Mr Morgan's counsel, Mr Hendrik Kruger, argued against the admissibility of the statement, saying Mr Morgan, 61, had been assaulted by three policemen before making the statement on February 22, 1989.

Mr Kruger alleged the assault had been witnessed by Captain Fred Dempsey, the chief investigating officer in Mrs Mandela's case.

The following day, the head of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit, Colonel Christiaan Oosthuizen, had promised Mr Morgan he would receive money, better housing and a gun licence if he made the statement and testified for the state, Mr Kruger said.

"When (Mr Morgan) refused to sign (the statement) before it was read, you (Colonel Oosthuizen) threatened him. He understood he would be assaulted as he was the previous day," Mr Kruger said.

He also put it to Colonel Oosthuizen that although Mr Morgan had signed each page of the statement, the contents had not been read back to him, and the policeman had subjectively interpreted Mr Morgan's words.

Colonel Oosthuizen denied the accusations, and



ACCUSED . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela arrives at the Supreme Court yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

said Mr Morgan had made the statement "on his own free will".

Although, Mr Morgan's statement has not yet been admitted as evidence, Colonel Oosthuizen read sections of it which implicated Mrs Mandela in the assault of child activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, who was later murdered by her bodyguard, Jerry Richardson.

In the statement, Mr Morgan is alleged to have said he drove a minibus in which Stompie and three other youths were abducted on December 29, 1989. The youths were later beaten at Mrs Mandela's house in her presence. The statement allegedly says that Mrs Mandela assaulted Stompie.

The trial continues today.

**1 Inkatha
branch (11A)
larger than
all ANC'**

CAN TIMES 21/3/91

DURBAN. — The membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party in one branch in Maritzburg alone was larger — at 286 000 — than the entire paid-up membership of the African National Congress in the country as a whole.

This claim was made here yesterday by Mr Walter Felgate, a member of Inkatha's central committee, when he spoke at the launch of

Youth reject ANC Indian decision

CML 11A
21/3/91

Own Correspondent 11A

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Youth League yesterday rejected a decision by the ANC leadership that the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses should continue to exist.

The "provisional national youth secretariat" of the ANCYL described the decision, taken by the NIC, TIC and senior members of the ANC last weekend, as a "strategic mistake".

"It is a strongly held view of the ANCYL that no ethnic or racial group, no matter how well-intentioned, should ethnically prepare itself to join the ANC," the league said in a statement.

"It is our view that more effort should be concentrated towards building the ANC into a cohesive and truly non-racial movement."

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the league was an independent body and was entitled to its own views.

NIC secretary Dr Farook Meer said the league's criticism was constructive and was a matter for debate within the democratic movement.

March 21 - day of reckoning

Smutsen
21/3/91

11A

IS March 21 South Africa's day of woe?

This question becomes relevant when one considers that several incidents that took many black lives have occurred on this day.

First, in 1960, Government troops and policemen opened fire on protesters gathered in Sharpeville against the pass laws, killing 69 people.

In 1984, in Langa township, Uitenhage, police again shot on black demonstrators and killed 21 people, most of them shot in the back as they fled from the scene.

A year later, Mamelodi woke up to protest against rent. By midday, 13 people had been killed by police fire.

And so as March 21 1991, is with us today, many are asking themselves whether another disaster is in the offing.

The entire world remembers March 21 for the Sharpeville shootings.

A few months after the Africanists moved out of the ANC to form the PAC, the two organisations planned campaigns around the pass laws.

The Government had just decreed that women would also have to carry passes, a book that was to so dominate black lives.

The ANC had planned its campaign to start on March 31.

The PAC jumped the gun and started its own campaign 10 days before, calling on people to march to their nearest police station, hand in the hated dompas and offer themselves for arrest.

Those arrested were not to pay bail but to insist on being locked up, the idea being to flood the jails.

Hundreds of people gathered at the Sharpeville administration offices believing that some senior

FOCUS



MATHATHA TSEDU looks back at the Sharpeville massacre and asks what gains have been made in the 31 years since.

official from Pretoria would be coming to address them.

As the day wore on, and the crowds grew bigger, nervous policemen in army trucks started getting jittery. No order seems to have been given to fire but one policeman opened fire and the rest followed.

As pandemonium reigned, and people scuttled in all directions, more bullets came, ripping people from behind.

Policemen went about literally throwing both the dead and the living into trucks.

It was this ghastly sight of unbridled police brutality which shocked humanity and led to an unprecedented outcry against the Government.

More demonstrations were also held against the police actions.

In response, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd suspended the pass laws, declared a state of emergency, and banned both the PAC and the ANC. This action led

many activists who survived the security dragnet to leave the country.

International reaction included a flight of capital; many investors feared for their possessions.

The international isolation of the country was tightened, with cultural, sporting, diplomatic and other relations cut by many countries.

When the Commonwealth nations wanted to discuss this country's policies, Verwoerd opted out of this community of nations.

Those who went out of the country were to join military formations and return to fight.

Others went into diplomatic campaigns which resulted in this country becoming a pariah of the world. Back home, a lull developed in the political arena after the bannings.

This lull was broken by the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in 1968 through the formation of the South African Students Organisation

SASO was to become the first organisation to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings, calling it "Heroes Day".

The BCM became a home for all political persuasions, leading to the landmark 1976 uprisings. The government cracked down in 1977, banning organisations and newspapers. But by then the political consciousness within the black community had soared high, with the banned organisations replaced immediately.

And, with many youths leaving the country after 1976 and undergoing military training, the political pressures inside the country also increased.

So it was that on March 21 1984, people in the dusty township of Langa took to the streets to protest against rent in-

creases. Police opened fire killing 21 people.

Mamelodi followed a year later.

And now 31 years later, with President F W de Klerk reforms on the go, many of those who left the country are coming back.

The pass laws have been abolished, the Group Areas Act is soon to go, the land acts have been removed and there are talks of negotiations.

Above all, the two organisations that were banned soon after Sharpeville have been unbanned and are free to operate in the country.

One would think that this would normalise the political situation but this is not so.

While the demands then were for civil rights and general amelioration of black lives, today's demands are for a constituent assembly, power and socialism.

General amnesties are being extended to political prisoners and exiles who are expected to stream back into the country.

There is however another side. And this is the divisions within the black community that are tearing communities and families apart.

In 1960, blacks mourned the killings done by the white racist regime which was protecting itself.

Thirty-one years later, the black community is in perpetual mourning, for killings done by black people on other black people.

The ferocity of the violence in Natal, East Rand, Alexandra and Bekkersdal, has been unbelievable.

At the bottom of it all is the diverse divisions within the black community.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Peace and unity theme for services

11A
Sowetan 21/3/91

THE Azanian People's Organisation will be holding several joint rallies with the PAC, Nactu and Wosa in different areas tomorrow to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings, the organisation announced this week.

Speaking at a Press conference at its head office in Johannesburg, Publicity Secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said the theme of the services would be "peace in the townships, commemoration of the fallen heroes and popularising a united front for a constituent assembly".

Azapo's call for a stayaway, which has been criticised by other organisations, was endorsed by Black Consciousness student formations, Azasco and Azasm, who however said students would commemorate at school.

Support

Azasco publicity secretary Mr Siphos Maseko said students organisations outside the BC fold had agreed to support observance of the day. "However, in this instance, a shift from the traditional form of participation by students is necessary.

"We believe that such commemoration will be more befitting if it is held by students within the confines of their terrain which is the school. We therefore call upon all students and pupils to be at school on this day and conduct their commemorations and cultural events in their school premises.

"This is a new culture of struggle which we are cultivating and which will eventually benefit the

By MATHATHA TSEDU

welfare of the student sector", Maseko said.

Maseko said observance will depend on each school as some institutions had declared the day an official holiday. In other areas, pupils and students would commemorate and then proceed with classes or vice versa, he said.

Responding to criticisms of the stayaway

call, Moodley said Azapo was "keenly aware that black workers have demanded for many years that March 21 be regarded as a paid public holiday.

"The black working class recognises the deep significance of March 21. In that context, the stay-away is not inconsistent with demands by the black working class for March 21 to be recognised as a paid public holiday", Moodley added.



Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley, flanked by his Azasco counterpart Siphos Maseko (right) and Phambili Ntloko at the Press conference yesterday, announces the venues for today's rallies.

Divisions in movements

ONCE again arrangements for the commemoration of the March 21 1960 Sharpeville shootings have underscored the division within the mass liberation movement.

For instance, as in the past the major organisations at play, Azapo, PAC and ANC, have arranged their own rallies in the same areas for the 31st anniversary of the shootings tomorrow.

On the other hand Azapo is the only organisation to call for a national stayaway tomorrow.

Significantly, in Shar-

By THEMBA MOLEFE

peville, the focal point of the commemoration, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu addresses a meeting at the Sharpeville Hall at 10am while the ANC's rally begins at the George Thabe Stadium at the same time and will be addressed by Joe Slovo.

Ironically the Sharpeville Hall and the stadium are barely 200m apart.

Last year the PAC held a joint rally with the Black Consciousness Movement at the George

Thabe Stadium and the ANC held its own at the Sebokeng Stadium.

It is understood the ANC booked the stadium in Sharpeville as early as December 1990 for today's event.

Also, the ANC, PAC and trade union federations Nactu and Cosatu have said there is no need to call for a stayaway as March 21 is generally regarded as a holiday. Many workers have also negotiated the day as a paid holiday with their employers, the federations said.

BCM-adherent groups call March 21 Heroes'

Day while the Charterist organisations refer to the day as Sharpeville Day.

In another development, Sapa reports that Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned United Workers' Union of South Africa said yesterday that people should go to work on March 21.

In a statement Uwusa said it "takes cognisance" of Sharpeville Day but since it is not a paid holiday it is a good idea to stay away from work".

Uwusa also requested people not to intimidate, threaten and bewilder those going to work.

Venues for rallies

TODAY marks the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings and the PAC, ANC and Azapo have arranged rallies to commemorate the day throughout the country.

Pan African Congress:

- Sharpeville: Sharpeville Community Hall - 10am
- Vosloorus (East Rand): Methodist Church - 12 noon
- Witbank: Bonginkosi Hall, Ackerville Township - 12 noon
- Cape Town: Langa Stadium - 12 noon
- Mitchell's Plain Civic Centre - 10am
- Turfloop: Turfloop University - 12 noon
- Umtata: Independence Stadium - 12 noon
- Winburg: Makeleketa Community Hall - 12 noon
- Wepener: Qibing Township - 11 am
- Kwandebele: Training College - 12 noon
- Kangwane: Ilijah Mango Training College - 12 noon
- Hammanskraal: St Peter's College - 12 noon
- Grahamstown: Rhodes University - 12 noon
- Bothaville: Khutsong Hall - 11am
- Ficksburg: Bonene Hall - 11am
- Phokeng (Rustenburg): St Joseph's Church - 10am
- Port Elizabeth: Centenary Hall - 10am
- Maritzburg: Community Art Projects Hall - 12 noon
- Middelburg: Mhluzi Hall - 10am

ANC/Cosatu:

- Sharpeville: Sharpeville Stadium: 10 am
- Soweto: Jabulani Amphitheatre - 10am
- Vosloorus: Roman Catholic Church - 10am
- Daveyton: Sinaba Stadium - 10am
- Witbank: Ackerville Stadium - 9am
- Ogies (Eastern Transvaal): Phola Stadium - 9am
- Breyten (E/Transvaal): Kwa-Zanele Hall - 9am
- Middelburg: Mhluzi Stadium - 9am
- Belfast: Siyathuthuka Stadium - 10am
- Komatipoort/Sidlamafa: Naas Stadium - 10am
- Barberton - 9am
- Nelspruit: Lekazi Civic Hall - 9am
- Secunda - 10am
- Bushbuckridge - 9am
- Umlazi (Natal) - King Zwelithini Stadium - 10am
- Clermont: Terror Lekota Stadium - 10am
- Kwa-Mashu: Princess Magogo Stadium - 10am
- Ohlange 1 and 2: Ngazezimbuzini - 10am
- University of Natal: Student Union Hall - 9am
- Inanda: Newtown C - 9am
- Alice: Fort Hare University - 9am
- Aliwal North: Greensdale Hall - 6pm

Azaniaan People's Organisation:

- Soweto: Regina Mundi Church - 1.30pm
- Krugersdorp: Kagiso Methodist Church - 1pm
- Pretoria: Monrovia Church, Atteridgeville - 11am
- Presbyterian Church, Cnr Selbourne and 9th streets - 11am
- Ga-Rankuwa: Medunsa - 10am
- Turfloop: University of the North - 9am
- Sasolburg: Zamdela Stadium - 10am
- Welkom: Philip Smit Hall - 12 noon
- Qwaqwa: Phuthaditjhaba Stadium - 9am
- Jitenhage: Kwanobuhle Hall - 9am
- Grahamstown: Assemblies of God Church - 10am
- Durban: Justice Hall - 12 noon
- Cape Town: Gugulethu Methodist Church - 5pm
- Mdanstane: Empolweni Theatre, Mdantsane - 10am



Flashback: Youths clean the graves of the 69 victims of the March 21 1960 police shootings.

Shootings to be re-enacted

FOR many years, until last year, members of the Azanian National Youth

Unity, a PAC affiliate, led the ceremonial cleaning of the graves before a main service was held in

the township.

This year, on the 31st anniversary of the anti-dompas protests, the PAC says it will "re-enact" the Sharpeville shootings, following the cleaning ceremony.

On March 21 1960, led by its founder-president Robert Sobukwe, the PAC embarked on an anti-pass campaign in Sharpeville which led to the massacre.

Thousands of PAC activists were arrested in an ensuing police crackdown. On April 30 1960, the PAC, then only nine months old, and the ANC were banned. They were unbanned on February 2 1990.

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"You'll be amazed at how creative people are when you encourage them, show them ways of doing things traditionally — like stokvels, credit unions that is a local resource."
— Achmat Dangor



"It will be four to five years before South Africa will lose priority for my government, which has no substantial interest in the area."
— Australian ambassador Mr Colin McDonald



"Our commitment to South Africa is long term. When the country gets a democratic government this does not mean we are going to walk away from it."
— Mr John Sawers, First Secretary at the British embassy

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needed, and this deals not with self-fulfilling processes — "I want my liberation" — that in a sense is what activism has come to mean.

"We need an activism that deals with locating with local communities' resources that those communities can use, helping to unlock local resources.

"You'll be amazed at how creative people are when you encourage them, show them ways of doing things traditionally — like stokvels, credit unions — that is a local resource."

How to develop those people in the shortest period of time is the greatest challenge Kagiso Trust has faced.

"If we don't do that in the shortest period of time the most marginalised people will become even more marginalised."

The trust's community based development programme deals with hard skills, exposing people to different models of economic organisation.

The programme teaches people that money is not just a passive tool, instead of being deposited in a bank it can be

used effectively in an economy like South Africa's.

People are taught to create more money, how to gear it up, turn it into a guarantee for a loan at low interest rates.

"Development workers must not be seen as a magician who is going to areas and is going to wave a wand and solve people's problems," Dangor said.

"That person can only help people develop an understanding of the things they need to do and find the most appropriate way of doing it."

A NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT policy is urgently needed to begin preparing for the reconstruction of South African society and bridging the gap between white and black living standards.

Kagiso Trust has been attempting to persuade liberation movements to start planning now, but has not made an impact.

"One critical thing needs to be understood for this country, is that we must stop recirculating poverty," Dangor said.

"What we are doing now is circulating inflation. We have to create new or additional wealth, otherwise even displacing the entire white population of what they own is not going to end poverty. The scale of the problem is enormous, but there are a number of lessons we have learned.

"We must not target development to first world living standards, in other words, the oppressed in this country must not try to attain the standards of the oppressor, because then we need billions so that whites can retain their standards. We will have to destroy this country ecologically to do that, over industrialise."

Dangor said there was a need to be more realistic about the kind of society South Africans wanted — the country would not be able to sustain a consumer and materialist society.

The second element of preparing for the future was examining the use of resources in South Africa.

Dangor believes that when resources are scarce, communities have to look

for impact — how resources could have a multiplied effect.

"For example, we have introduced a rule that projects we fund must have replicability," he said.

"In other words, it must not be an expensive model, where you have to invent the wheel, pay high overheads, huge capital investment and then find the project will stay in an urban area without having an impact.

"It must be cheap enough, cost effective enough to be replicable anywhere else. We can use this rule of thumb for all our projects, rural development, education projects, bursary funds.

"In our bursary programme, for instance we have come under a lot of fire. We are saying the culture of expectation has gone to a ludicrous degree now where everybody believes they have a right to a bursary.

"This does not happen anywhere in the world, where even the most democratic socialist countries do not provide free bursaries to every student who wants to attend a tertiary institution."

What Kagiso Trust is in effect doing is dampening the expectations people have of what a future South Africa is going to look like. "If you don't do that, you'll tear this country apart," Dangor warned.

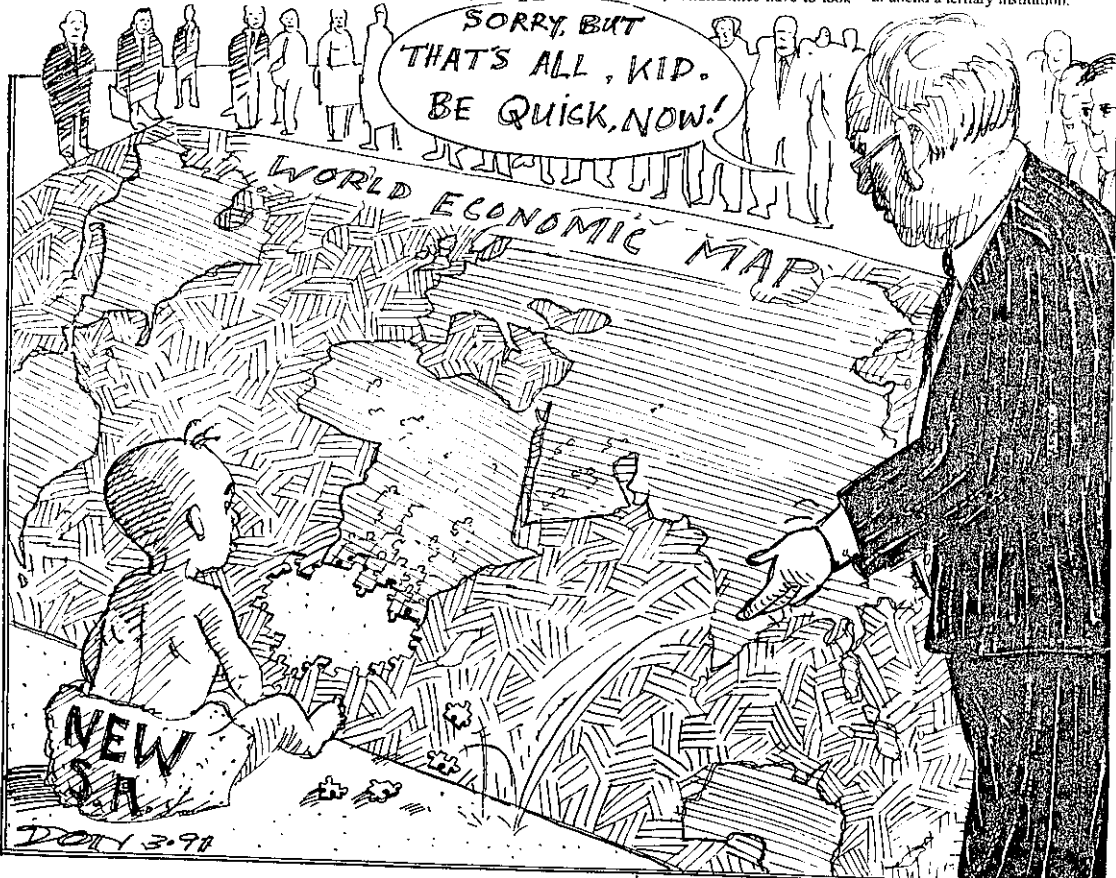
Another area of concern is the lack of cooperation between NGO's in South Africa.

Kagiso Trust has had several discussions with the Independent Development trust around education and "sensitive" discussions with other NGO's. Central to the discussions was how to put the limited funding available to South Africa to better use.

"Some NGO's are paranoid and have a desire for independence, but there has to be a lot more coordination of people who have resources to stop the duplication, the waste, the enormous amount of replication all over this country," Dangor said.

On a more global level, South Africa has to begin preparing to compete on world markets.

A future South Africa will have to compete with the European Commu-



"One critical thing needs to be understood for this country, is that we must stop recirculating poverty,"
— Achmat Dangor

nity, the United States and Japan in economic terms. This puts pressure on liberation movements to begin thinking far broadly that South Africa's own economic needs.

"Vision in this country is so stifling. Lets look on the regional scale — the southern African countries have between them most of the world's mineral wealth and the capacity for managing it efficiently," Dangor said.

"If we could create regional cooperation, if we could find someone with a vision who could bring these countries together we could compete successfully on the agricultural and tourism markets for starters.

"This area could become the new Asian miracle. The difficulty is you have to overcome political constraints, we have such regionalism in these countries.

"Why I despair about this, is because today we can't even meet our own political organisational needs let alone think more globally in terms of a regional economy or a regional political arrangement — a federation of southern african states." □
(Additional source AIA)

ANC, unions in Barend's firing line

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis launched his speech with a fierce attack on the ANC and certain trade unions.

Speaking on the need for stability to promote growth, Du Plessis said government needed the support of certain organisations and movements "that in the name of political, social and economic equity advocate sanctions or are involved in violence and labour unrest".

He said US Congressman Tom Foley had said his recent call for the maintenance of sanctions was made at the behest of the ANC.

"Emotional and rabble-rousing statements of leaders over the political spectrum may perhaps sound satisfactory or even favourable to themselves and their followers, but such pronouncements undermine business and investment confidence, to the detriment not only of their opponents but also of their own adherents," said Du Plessis. *B. van 21/3/91*

Strikes and wage demands that did not keep pace with productivity chased away investors, and with them the possibility of better economic and social opportunities.

11A

Not enough money for social spending, says ANC

B10am 2-13/77

TIM COHEN
and PETER DELMAR

THE African National Congress last night criticised the Budget for providing inadequate social spending, too much on defence and not enough for equalising pensions.

An ANC statement said the Value Added Tax rate of 12% was "far higher than all reasonable expectations and that it would cause extreme hardship for the poor".

Social spending on housing, special aid programmes and pensions was hopelessly inadequate, the ANC said in its initial reaction.

"In the case of pensions, there is no justification for the state not to have moved to immediate parity at white levels."

The ANC realised that this would cost billions but believed the funds could be found if

the budget was restructured, a source said.

The statement added that defence expenditure remained excessive. "Most countries not in a state of war spend proportionately half of what was allocated in this year's Budget."

The ANC will formally comment on the Budget today, but a member of its Department of Economic Policy said the organisation was unlikely to criticise the 53% increase in spending on the police.

He said that if defence spending had remained at pre-Angolan war levels, South Africa would have saved about R70bn.

Despite a 16.1% increase in education spending and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis's statement that spending on education was "exceptionally high", the ANC is likely to be critical of this aspect of the Budget.

This is mainly because of racial inequalities and because of past deficiencies in education.

Two significant Budget omissions as far as the ANC was concerned were the lack of provision for land redistribution and the electrification of townships.

WILSON ZWANE reports Pan Africanist Congress publicity secretary Barney Desai said the PAC would not comment as it did not recognise any "handout from an illegitimate regime via the Budget".

ANC begins drive to back its demands

11A

Sowetan 21/3/91

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE ANC will today launch its signature campaign for a constituent assembly and interim government during its nationwide rallies to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville shootings.

To be known as the ANC Signature Campaign, the project is "only one of the forms of action with the South African Communist Party and Cosatu and other organisations to support our demand", the organisation said.

The campaign has been endorsed by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu tripartite alliance.

The alliance said in a statement leaders, activists and volunteers would shoulder the campaign which would include "door-to-door" house visits from today until March 24.

"We believe that the National Party Government cannot be in control of the process of transition.

"It cannot be a player and referee at

the same time. We demand an interim government to oversee this period of transition," the statement said.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said the campaign was not aimed at presenting a petition to the Government but to educate the "people".

He was the first to sign the signature form and was followed by SACP secretary general Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu's general secretary.

Signatures

In its statement Cosatu said the federation agreed that workers should be actively engaged in the collection of signatures.

Cosatu said it would choose a day between June 10 and 16 to "embark on worker-led marches in all cities and towns to demand a constituent assembly".

The ANC said it planned several events which would keep up the momentum of the campaign, which it hoped would climax around June 16.

Conflicting ANC statements on boycott

Staff Reporters ^{Star} 22/3/91

The ANC is considering staging a week-long consumer boycott of white-owned businesses throughout the country should the Government not allow exiles to return unconditionally.

This was one of a number of protest actions discussed at the ANC's consultative conference in the event of a Government delay in meeting its preconditions regarding the return of exiles, a spokesman at ANC head office said yesterday.

In an announcement contra-

dicting this yesterday, ANC regional executive member in Pretoria Dr Abraham Nkomo said a national consumer boycott had been decided on and would take place between April 8 and 13.

Campaign

Speaking at a rally in Mamelodi to launch a signature campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government, Dr Nkomo added that the ANC was planning to start a campaign to test its members

for the Aids virus. (11A) (11A)

The ANC head office has however said it had decided only to intensify its campaign against Aids and that no decision had been made regarding testing its members.

The ANC has also announced plans to march to certain prisons in SA and in the homelands to demand the repeal of the death penalty.

In the education arena, a campaign has been launched to identify empty white schools which could be occupied by black pupils.

Star 22/3/91
**FW hasn't
done enough
- Niehaus**

Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC would subject itself to the democratic decision of the majority in a future election — even if the movement were not voted into office, Carl Niehaus told students at the University of Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Niehaus, released from prison this week ago after serving seven years of a 15-year sentence for high treason, received a rousing welcome — and, occasionally, vociferous opposition — from the audience.

While President de Klerk's reforms had been courageous and given the ANC new opportunities in its freedom struggle, he had not gone far enough.

"We have been given new options, new space. We always said armed struggle was not a principle, but merely a strategy, and we kept our word by suspending the armed struggle after the unbanning of the ANC.

"I came out of jail with the hope we will all work for peace, and with the knowledge that the ANC is committed to a peaceful settlement. But the Government also has to fulfil its side of the agreement, for instance on the release of political prisoners."

Govt has lost confidence in itself

By Montshwa Moroke and Thabo Leshilo

114
SPW 22/3/91

ANC

The Government had lost confidence in itself because the people of this country were looking at the ANC as the future government, ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi said in Soweto yesterday.

He was addressing about 5,000 people at Jabulani Amphitheatre to mark the 31st anniversary of Sharpeville Day.

Refuses

On March 21 1960, 69 people were shot and killed by police during an anti-pass campaign organised by the Pan Africanist Congress.

Mr Nkobi reiterated the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly. He repeated ANC calls for a "patriotic front" conference where black unity could be forged.

"South Africa proposed a constituent assembly for an independent Namibia and yet it refuses the same here. What is good for Namibia is also good for this country," he said.

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Albertina Sisulu said that on March 21 1960 many mothers were killed at Sharpeville Square while carrying their babies.

"Today we are being killed by people who were deliberately put in hostels by the Government. Our men and children are

being killed by these cowards and murderers who are being aided by the Government."

And to the women she said: "Why do you allow your children to be murdered by the Government and police? Why don't we tell the Government we do not want these hostels which are harbouring these murderers?"

Leading Black Consciousness exponent, the Rev Stanley Ntswa, told an Azapo-organised rally at Regina Mundi in Soweto that black liberation could be attained only with the total destruction of the "racist minority white regime and the establishment of a socialist Azania that knows no tribe, sex and greed".

In a scathing attack on the Government's White Paper on Land Reform, Mr Ntswa said it was an attempt by whites to sell to blacks their motherland which whites had stolen at gunpoint.

Molantso Mavi, chairman of Azapo's central Witwatersrand region, attacked "organisations that are in the habit of claiming a dead bodies" for tribalising the struggle for liberation.

Mr Mavi also criticised the tendency by some sections of the mass media to "simply declare every shack-dweller as Xhosa-speaking and therefore a member of the ANC, and every hostel-dweller as Zulu-speaking and therefore Inkatha".

Peter Mayisele, of the PAC, called on blacks to end hostilities against one another and fight their common enemy the white man.



Leading men... Sam Ntepe, alias Fidel Castro, and a young boy put drum majorettes through their paces at an ANC rally in Sharpeville yesterday to commemorate the 1960 massacre of 69 people in the townshipship. Picture: Alf Kumalo

By Patrick Lawrence 22/3/91

The pending repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 amounted to the "dressing-up of land apartheid in new clothes," Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan Africanist Congress, said yesterday.

Addressing a rally to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, Mr Makwetu focused on the land question and the need for a united front in the struggle to end white rule.

"The land was taken from us by force of arms and it is still being maintained by the sword," Mr Makwetu told about 500 PAC supporters who crammed into the local hall.

Unite to end white rule, urges PAC chief

"These lands have played their dirty role in destroying African property rights and entrenching white privilege," he said. "Africans were forced off the land without any compensation," he said.

Mr Makwetu paused as applause and shouts of "one set, one bullet" reverberated around the hall.

"What we are witnessing today under the so-called repeal of the Land Acts is the dressing-

up of land apartheid in new clothes. The repeal of these sinister (Acts) does not imply the return of the land to its rightful owners," Mr Makwetu said.

He said to applause that there was no international law which legitimised dispossessing indigenous people of their land.

Endorsing the notion of a "united front", Mr Makwetu called on the leaders of rival "ideological tendencies" to put aside their differences and fo-

get their "little kingdoms" and to concentrate, instead, on the overthrow of white domination.

At an African National Congress rally at the adjacent sports stadium, Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party chief and ANC national executive member, was given a rapturous welcome.

As he started to speak a rain cloud burst.

"Today, even the heavens are reminding us of the massacre which happened in Sharpeville 31 years ago," he said. "We all know that when the people's real history is written, the name of Sharpeville will ... symbolise the beginning of the end of race rule," Mr Slovo said.

NIC, TIC come under fire for not disbanding

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK (119)
CONTROVERSY continues to cloud the decisions of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress not to disband, but to continue as organising agents for the African National Congress.

Criticism has come from the ANC Youth League, and former executive members of the organisations who believe the NIC and TIC no longer have any business to be in business.

Allegations have also been levelled that the move is to retain a political support base for people who failed to make it onto the ANC's executives in southern Natal and the southern Transvaal. Only one Indian — Mewa Ramgobin — was elected on to the 12-person executive in Natal, in an election that was surrounded by allegations of "cabals" and cliques which had supposedly controlled the United Democratic Front.

The decisions of the NIC and TIC to continue have divided political activists in the Indian community. Though the ANC consented to the move, it was opposed by such NEC heavyweights as Aziz Pahad, W. M. A. 22/3-21/3/91, M. J. Naidoo, former president of the NIC, said he believes for the congresses to exist had fallen away. "They all say they believe in a non-racial future, but how different are they from the House of Delegates?" he charged.

According to NIC secretary Dr Farook Meer, it was a tactical decision aimed at mobilising the Indian community behind the ANC — in itself, an admission that the ANC is encountering problems in picking up Indian support. Ram Saloojee, a vice-president of the soon-to-be-disbanded UDF and of the Islamic Council of South Africa, said there was no necessity for the continuation of the congresses.

However, he said the problem was that the ANC was making slow progress in mobilising support in the Indian community. Meer welcomed the criticism of the ANC Youth League, which he described as constructive, while condemning others such as Naidoo for being vindictive. "Criticism is coming from people like him who have not been involved in active politics for a long time."

Meer said the NIC did not want to continue indefinitely. "The ANC was ultimately supportive of our position. The ANC had felt strongly about it, but would not have persisted. Whether this tactic proves harmful or not, we can only tell on the ground. If we can't work, we'll disband."

Meer — who was himself not elected in his own branch of Western Areas — denied that the motivation for keeping the NIC in existence was to retain political profiles for people who had not been elected to office in the ANC. "We have been severely hamstrung by these allegations," he said. "We want to put them behind us and work unhindered without sniping from all sides."

Fm 22/3/91 (11A)

have launched against ethnic representation in the House of Delegates over the years, it seems contradictory to want to function now as a type of unofficial Indian arm of the ANC.

The Newcastle decision to disband drew criticism — one argument being that, as an organisation formed by passive resistance leader Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, the NIC and its Transvaal counterpart should embody his non-violent principles and not align themselves with the ANC's armed struggle. Last Sunday's decision is now causing controversy as well. Former NIC president M J Naidoo — voted out of office a few years ago amid allegations that a cabal was operating with joint membership of both the NIC and UDF — slammed it as the perpetuation of ethnicity and division.

He said anti-apartheid forces should go into negotiations united and that the NIC and TIC were damaging the struggle by representing minority and splinter groups at a crucial period in history.

In May TIC president Cassim Saloojee told the *FM* the recommendation to disband was the beginning of a process which would include "getting a mandate from the community" before any final decision was taken. But according to Naidoo, no public meetings have been held to canvas the Indian community's views on the decision not to disband.

There is also a cynical view of Sunday's decision. The UDF — in which many NIC and TIC leaders also hold executive positions — is on the way out; and there is a squeeze on top positions in the ANC caused by the release and unbanning of old leaders, as well as returning exiles. So keeping the congresses alive might be the only way for some to hold on to power.

Fm 22/3/91 (11A)

with an ANC delegation led by Walter Sisulu, both congresses reversed the earlier recommendation and decided to continue as before. In other words, they will remain ethnic regional organisations.

The stated reason behind the latest decision was that the NIC and TIC should be in a position to mobilise support within the Indian community for joining the ANC. The contradiction is glaring; this was pretty much the same as the argument for disbanding and leads to questions about exactly what they think they are doing — and why they are doing it.

A statement released after the closed meeting acknowledged the ANC as the "authentic organisation" to realise best the aspirations of all people. It also said, however, that there had been discussions on the concerns of different communities over the future.

What happened after the meeting with Sisulu then suggests an acceptance by the ANC of minority concerns; but it also shows some confusion among the Indian leaders on their future role in national politics and indeed, whether they have a role at all. Given the strong arguments — and protests — they

INDIAN POLITICS Fm 22/3/91 **AS THEY WERE** (11A)

At a joint meeting in Newcastle in May executive members of the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses recommended that their organisations should disband and members join the ranks of what was then the recently unbanned ANC (*Current Affairs* June 1.) Last Sunday, after a long meeting

ANC to launch anti-Aids campaign 11A

THE ANC is planning to launch campaigns to test members for AIDS.

"We want to have healthy soldiers and a proper defence which will not be strangled by other countries such as America strangled Iraq," said Dr Abraham Nkomo.

Sowetan
By MONK NKOMO

Nkomo was speaking in Mamelodi yesterday at the launch of the ANC's signature campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Nkomo, ANC regional executive member, said the organisation would also boycott white businesses to pressurise the Government to allow

22/3/91
exiles to return home unconditionally.

The consumer boycott will start on April 8 to April 13.

The rally also paid tribute to the 69 people who were shot dead by police during a PAC pass campaign in 1960.

Two ANC executive members who attended the rally, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr James Stewart, were scheduled

to conduct the signature campaign at nearby houses.

Meanwhile people in Pretoria's three townships of Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve reported for work yesterday despite the shortage of taxis in some areas.

Schools in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi were deserted and a few pupils who trickled to school in the morning were sent back by their teachers.

BOOKS

THE cover of this paperback is a painting by Gerard Sekoto, one of our first exiles and now ending his days in a home for old artists in France. The book is by another early exile who died in London a few years ago, sprightly up to (nearly) the end.

It can be divided into three sections: Mokgatle's fascinating history of his people, the baKgatla of the western Transvaal; his years as a harassed trade unionist in Pretoria; and his cheeky, as well as amazingly lucky, flight to freedom abroad.

The first section is a must for anybody interested in South African history and anthropology: as much for the curious or ignorant as for the propagandists who claim Afrikaners have a legitimate right to most of the country because their Boer republics were established before Africans settled on the land.

In telling his people's history, not written for him to study — which some whites insist is the

An exile remembers

W.M. 22/3-27/3/91 (JA) (3)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN UNKNOWN
SOUTH AFRICAN by Naboith Mokgatle
(Ad Donker, R26,99)

only true word — but gathered from listening to his grandparents and uncles when he was a child in the last century, Mokgatle implicitly admits that they were nomads. There was plenty of land and they migrated at will, or after tribal quarrels, from one area to another: it was all theirs until the Voortrekkers hove into view and imposed treaties in a language the baKgatla (as well as the Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho etc) couldn't understand, let alone read.

There are fascinating tales of the period, like

Mokgatle's mother being abducted as a child in the northern Transvaal by a Voortrekker family that ended its own wanderings around what is now Rustenburg. She grew up as a slave who was then sold into marriage to a chief with her true name and origins unknown. Until a relation of the chief enticed to work on the new diamond fields in Kimberley met a man who spoke a language similar to that spoken in angry snatches by one of the chief's wives. Family contacts were made and the wife re-married a second time: but properly this time, with *magadi* agreed in a traditional manner rather than a commercial deal over an Afrikaner farmer's table.

The young Mokgatle went to school and as a young man worked in Pretoria where he became

a trade union activist with the ritual consequences from a government that didn't believe black workers should be organised. After years of harassment he was invited to an international conference in Europe which he welcomed as a break from daily strife. But of course officialdom wouldn't grant him a passport, especially with his plans to go beyond the Iron Curtain and mix with the *rooi gevaar*.

So the intrepid unionist arrived at Jan Smuts airport with only an affidavit declaring who he was and talked his way past immigration officers there and at several European airports, to boot. There were attempts to deport him back to Johannesburg by some countries but Mokgatle found his way around those difficulties as well. And he made friends who finally got him settled in Britain, where he ended his days.

An absorbing and fascinating autobiography first published in London in 1971 and now here.

Arthur Maimane

Thumbs-down for Assembly

Sometan
22/3/91
IIR

WHILE most political parties in South Africa agree that the time is ripe to begin negotiations for a new dispensation, there are differing views on the way to achieve this.

On the one hand, there is a call for a constituent assembly made initially by the Pan Africanist Congress, Cosatu, the South African Communist Party and the Azanian People's Organisation.

On the other, there are those who call for a multi-party conference.

One of the most vociferous in their rejection of the constituent assembly is the Inkatha Freedom Party which put forward four main arguments against it.

It is feared that there could be a "winner-takes-all" situation if a particular party dominates the constituent assembly numerically.

Such a party would be in a position to dominate the writing of a new constitution, minimising the scope for compromise and consensus.

Those calling for a constituent assembly also seem to miss a very important factor - the present balance of power within South African politics.

While it is true that the State is in no position to continue minority rule, the majority are also in no position to seize power.

Statements such as the one by ANC official Barbara Hogan, who said in February that the Government was in disarray and was vulnerable to a takeover, seem to be made mainly for the benefit of the ANC's militant constituency.

It seems unlikely that the pragmatic section of the organisation's leadership believes in such rhetoric.

The "Constituent Assembly

FOCUS

YESTERDAY saw the launch of the ANC's Constituent Assembly Campaign. Not all political parties, however, are in favour of the constituent assembly. In this article, PETER AUFDER HEYDE, of the Inkatha Institute, reflects Inkatha's viewpoint.

Day" protests on February 1, which coincided with President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament, attracted less mass support than the Defiance Campaign of 1989 and the rallies to welcome ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Cape Town march, which was led by ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, only attracted some 20 000 people.

The power struggle in South Africa cannot be resolved by force. There is also no automatic situation whereby opponents negotiate a settlement on the basis of numbers alone.

Numbers alone cannot be the basis of the parties agreeing on new rules of the game.

Instead, the conflicting parties should accord each other equal status and negotiate on those terms.

This is also the case in South Africa where the existence of several parties further complicates the negotiations process.

As the first post-apartheid Government will in all probability

consist of the party emerging the strongest from the constituent assembly, elections for such an assembly will be characterised by heightened political tension, and as a result, the negotiations process could shift away from reconciliation towards conflict.

This country has already seen such an escalation of violence between political opponents that an actual constituent assembly election could be catastrophically premature.

The stakes are simply so high that elections free from violence and intimidation are virtually impossible.

With current levels of euphoria, hatred and distrust, the result must be an explosive contest of power that threatens both negotiations and stability.

One of the arguments put forward by those calling for a constituent assembly is that it is "supremely democratic" in that it allows "people's participation" in the drawing up of a new constitution.

This argument, however, ignores the fact that "the people" would then have to vote for someone who might not be able to deliver what he or she promised during the elections. Leaders do not merely follow instructions from below, they lead.

Thus, it does not automatically follow that a constitution drawn up during the negotiation process by a constituent assembly will be accepted.

Political analyst Herbert Adam points out that "if a politicised constituency ultimately disagrees with negotiated compromises or worse, rejects its previously acclaimed leaders as undemocratic, the negotiated solutions are not worth the paper they are written on."

The IFP therefore calls for a multi-party conference at which all parties with recognisable constituencies will have a chance to participate in the drawing up of a new constitution, which could be ratified and legitimised by a referendum once it has been formulated.

This model, used during the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba, showed that 95 percent of the ideologically diverse participants were after

nine months able to agree on a detailed constitutional model, acceptable to at least 80 percent of the adult population.

Should this Indaba format be followed in the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa, it would be to the benefit of all.

It will be particularly important to keep the people regularly and fully informed of the progress made, orientating and even educating them as the real issues are being debated and addressed.

This will help to replace euphoria-driven expectations with a more considered appreciation of what should or should not be done.

In this way, the vote of the people in a post-negotiations referendum will thus be more realistically based that it would otherwise be.

Finally, this would clear the way for the subsequent general election, contested on the basis of the political manifestos.

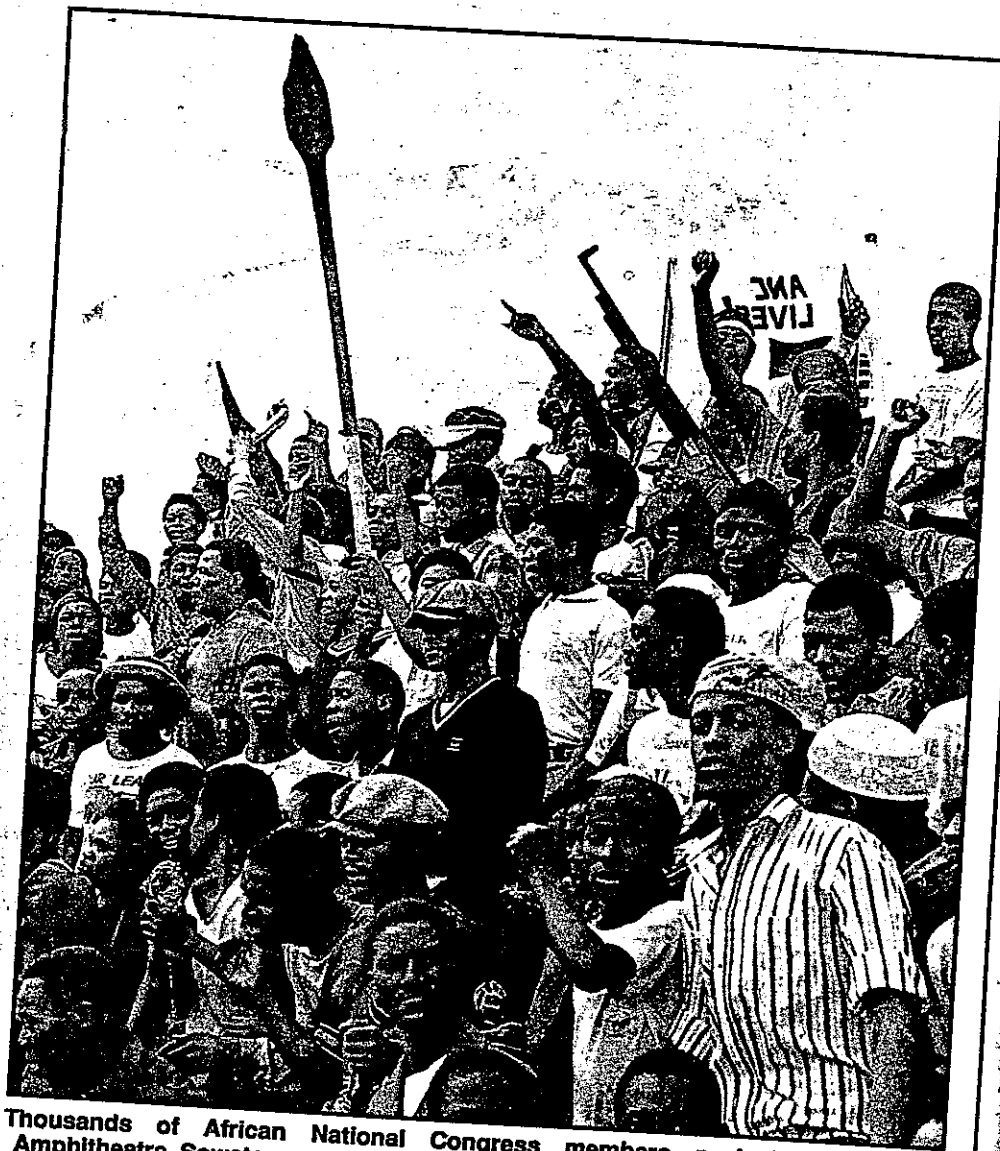
Most importantly, this political contest only takes place once inter-party reconciliation has taken place and once a minimal level of political understanding has been achieved by the electorate in a normalised rather than liberatory political environment.

The constituent assembly approach is likely to achieve the exact opposite.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Thousands of African National Congress members packed the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, yesterday to commemorate the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Nats and ANC agree at top-secret meeting

Sowetan 22/3/91
PLANS for a multi-party conference received a major boost when the Government and the ANC agreed on a set of proposals in Cape Town on Wednesday.
The compromises were hammered out at a top-secret 11-hour meeting between the two parties at DF Malan Airport.
President FW De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela headed the respective delegations.
The ANC undertook to fulfil undertakings contained in the Pretoria Minute on the suspension of armed action.
There may also have been an undertaking on peaceful "mass" action, which has put the Government and the ANC at loggerheads.

The Government in turn undertook to speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and review security legislation. Announcements on these issues are expected soon.
The Cabinet will today formally consider and approve the agreement reached at the meeting and the national executive of the ANC will also consider its undertakings.
A short statement issued after the meeting said "problems experienced by the Working Group dealing with Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute were resolved and agreement was reached with regard to the most pertinent points".



Let's be one - PAC boss

Sowetan
22/3/91

11A



WHILE tens of thousands of workers stayed away yesterday, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu called for a united front involving the ANC, Azapo and his organisation.

Addressing a service to mark the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings, Makwetu said unity against the enemy was more imperative than ever before.

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

The PAC leader later addressed a crowd in an open field near the Sharpeville police station - the scene of the March 21 1960 shootings which claimed 69 lives.

Makwetu told the crowd that the tragedy could not have occurred had there been unity of organisation.

He said: "The enemy is clearly identified and that is white domination. There is no war between Xhosas and Zulus nor between Inkatha Freedom Party and the

● To Page 2

Pics of
memorial



services
- Page 17

P.T.O.

PAC leader calls for a united front

From Page 1

ANC." *Sowetan 22/3/91*

The PAC still believed that the armed struggle was the foremost form of struggle against white domination and that it would be intensified, said Makwetu.

The ANC rally, held barely 200m away at the George Thabe Stadium, was washed out. A heavy downpour just after noon prevented ANC/SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo from addressing the crowd that had gathered at the George Thabe Stadium.

ANC and PAC supporters passed one another on the streets, sometimes jeering as they went to their separate rallies.

Police reported few incidents of violence around the country.

Police spokesman Major Reg Crewe said there were sporadic incidents of stone-throwing in Langa near Cape Town, in Duncan Village near East London and at the Ritchie township in the Northern Cape.

In Cape Town, five people were treated for injuries at Langa Day Hospital yesterday after police opened fire on a crowd making its way to the Langa cemetery for a service.

In Soweto, thousands of people commemorated the day by either staying at home or attending rallies at Jabulani Amphitheatre and Regina Mundi respectively organised by the ANC and Azapo.

Thousands of black pupils stayed away from school throughout the country today.

Many Soweto high schools were deserted. Primary schools reported a sharp drop in attendances.

ANC treasurer-general, Mr Tom Nkobi, called on black people to unite and bury their differences.

He said the De Klerk regime had developed "rubber legs" because people were looking at the ANC as a future government. He said the ANC's signature campaign was the most important step ever taken by the organisation.

"This campaign aims to involve our people in the negotiation process," Nkobi said.

Thousands of workers stayed away from work in major Northern Transvaal towns.

Pietersburg, Tzaneen, Groblersdal, Potgietersrus, Louis Trichardt and Phalaborwa all reported low turnouts by black workers.

The low turnout followed a stayaway call by the Azanian People's Organisation.

Workers also have agreements with many companies making March 21 a paid holiday.

Several joint services were also held in the region to commemorate the day.

Azapo, the PAC and the National Council of Trade Unions, shared the platform.

At Lebowakgomo, the publicity secretary of the Cosatu-aligned Northern Transvaal Public Service Union (Notrapu), Miss Cebile Khanye, and an ANC official from Tafelkop, addressed the service, attended by about 300 people.

Other services in the area included those held at Makhado Training College in Nzhelele, Venda, organised by Azasm: Makwarela Roman Catholic Church, Sibasa, Venda, and in Mahwelereng both of which were organised by Azapo.

ANC and Inkatha united on 'white man's Budget'

8/10/91 22/3/91
GOVERNMENT had presented an "uncaring" Budget which favoured the rich, the ANC said yesterday, while KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi described it as a "white man's Budget".

An ANC statement yesterday accused Finance Minister Barend du Plessis of paying lip service to the necessity of addressing inequality and poverty, and said his Budget speech lacked vision.

Du Plessis used sanctions as the "scapegoat for low growth in the economy and attacked the working class for low productivity".

This "superficial analysis" did not explain why there was low growth in the economy long before the onset of a comprehensive sanctions campaign, the ANC said.

Real social expenditure per capita had fallen, despite a 6% increase in nominal expenditure, because inflation stood at 14% while the population was growing at a rate of 2% a year.

Spending on housing, special aid programmes and pensions was hopelessly inadequate, the ANC added.

On the revenue side, the rate at which VAT had been introduced was far higher than all reasonable ex-

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TIM COHEN

pectations and would cause extreme hardship for the poor.

Cutting the top marginal income tax rate was inappropriate. By not doing so, government could have had an extra R925m to spend on welfare.

In the ANC's view, the Budget did not indicate any serious intent on government's part to move away from apartheid priorities.

Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly the Budget represented "the best possible management of white vested interests".

"There has, of course, been no consultation with blacks about whether the Budget amounts to managing the vested interests of whites for the development of SA.

"I believe that whites will have to be prepared to do more than this. Budget expects them to do if we as a country are going to avoid mass spreading poverty becoming the mortal enemy of democracy."

Buthelezi welcomed the intention to direct resources to increase blacks' ability to enter the market economy, and increased expenditure on education.

No action on doctors' unethical methods

THE South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) said it would not take disciplinary action against doctors who were involved in unethical practices, if the complaint was not formally lodged.

This follows Saturday Star's recent reports about some doctors, particularly in the platteland, not keeping records for cash-paying black patients.

Although SAMDC's registrar Nico Prinsloo stressed that while it was official policy that doctors keep records of "all patients for a reasonable period", the council could not rely on press reports to act against doctors.

Some doctors investigated only

Star
23/3/91

ABBEY MAKOE



issued small slips to the patient as the sole record of a visit.

The onus, according to the doctors, lay with the patient to keep the slip.

In an interview this week, the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), the representative body of doctors, said it noted "with concern" allegations that some doctors were involved in some unethical practices.

It said its ethical committee, established specifically to ensure doctors practiced properly, had not yet received any complaint or "substantiated evidence".

A formal complaint has to be lodged against a specific doctor or a group of doctors, MASA said.

MASA stressed it would always investigate allegations and make recommendations to the SAMDC, which has the power to take disciplinary action against doctors.

It was in the interest of doctors that those who did not follow norms be called to account, said MASA.

Asked about the consequences of doctors not keeping records, Mr Prinsloo said doctors who failed to do so could either be cautioned, suspended or removed from the registrar, depending on the seriousness of the cases and the circumstances surrounding them.

'ANC lured children into camp ordeal'

Star 23/3/91

11A

OWN CORRESPONDENT

SCHOOLCHILDREN were allegedly duped into travelling to an ANC camp in Zambia, where they were urged to undergo military training.

The first of a group of 160 pupils from Pretoria and the Rand made their own way back to the South African border last night after what they claim was a month-long ordeal at the hands of the ANC.

After repeated attempts to reach the ANC, no comment could be obtained from the organisation at the time of going to press.

During a Security Police-organised press conference at the posh Mount Grace Hotel near Magaliesburg, pupils alleged they were "recruited" by a Rockville priest and the wife of a Soweto school inspector.

"We were offered scholarships in Kenya for a R160 fee."

The first seven pupils transported by police from Zeerust last night said they were:

- Forced to live under abominable conditions in an ANC camp near Lusaka.
- Guarded by armed ANC cadres.

● Subjected to political indoctrination.

● Forced to do manual labour.

"In Soweto, a Mrs Mokoeppe collected our passports and said she would fax our particulars to the Kenyan authorities. We were told the scholarships were sponsored by foreign investors."

On Friday, February 22, a group of 160 pupils in their late teens and early twenties left Soweto in three buses and crossed through Bophuthatswana and Botswana.

At the Zambian border they were told to cross the Zambezi river by ferry and were met on the Zambian side by a Mr Nduma.

"We demanded food and wanted to know where we were going, but he said we would be told only what we needed to know."

They were taken to a place on the outskirts of Lusaka identified as the Charleston Transit Centre.

"We were told this was an ANC camp and we were under ANC command.

"Our passports, money and personal possessions were confiscated and we were not allowed to leave the camp or make telephone calls."

Pupils said they were forced to do manual labour every day and ablution and cooking facilities were primitive.

"We defied threats of physical violence and went to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka and demanded to go back home."

During a three-week ordeal, the pupils said, ANC officials refused to hand over their passports and frustrated their efforts to leave the camp.

"We eventually persuaded them to give back our passports and we bought our own bus tickets back to South Africa."

Security police said they had no reason to detain the pupils as, by their own admittance, they had not undergone any military training.

"We were approached for assistance once they reached the South African border and we agreed to transport them to their homes in safety."

LIFERS HOME FROM ISLAND

C/Press 24/3/91. (2) (11A)

TWO "lifers" among the 31 political prisoners released from Robben Island this week - Mathews Meyiwa, 67, of Durban and John Nene, 48, of nearby Hammarsdale - were happy to return to their strife-torn communities to put their weight behind efforts to resolve the problems there.

The group, the largest yet to be freed from Robben Island, was welcomed at Cowley House in Woodstock where ANC information head Pallo Jordan introduced members individually at a media conference.

The courtyard was draped in ANC colours and huge banners, and packed with ANC/SACP supporters who cheered and ululated as they greeted their returned heroes.

Jordan castigated the government for dragging its feet on the release of political prisoners and said only 15 percent of prisoners who were eligible for release had so far been freed.

The Human Rights Commission has identified 3 260 political prisoners in South Africa and so far no more than 400 have been released.

"It's scandalous that 85 percent of the people eligible for release under the Groote Schuur Minute are still behind bars in March 1991," he said.

Meyiwa read a statement on behalf of the group which said he and his comrades had been waiting for this day for 13 months.

They welcomed it as a step forward, but could not understand, or explain, why some of their comrades had been left behind.

Jordan said close scrutiny of all earlier releases, excluding the handful of lifers and long-term prisoners in the present group, would show that the government was in fact not giving political prisoners the amnesty Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others had received.

"What the government has been doing is giving political prisoners remission of sentence.

"This is something the government has traditionally given to those who sell mandrax, those who rape women, pimps and bank robbers - but never before to political prisoners."

The group was part of 40 prisoners to be released countrywide.

They are all members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe.

They left Robben Island prison by boat and were greeted at Cape Town harbor by about 150 people waving ANC flags and shouting: "Welcome home, comrades".

The group includes John Nene, who is believed to be South Africa's longest-serving political prisoner. He spent half his life in jail for activities in the anti-apartheid movement.

He was first jailed from 1965 to 1975 on Robben Island, then returned in 1977 after receiving a life sentence for terrorism.

The released men had a four-day programme of administrative, medical and social formalities to attend to before departing for their respective homes. - Sapa

Two MK men will work for a lasting peace



Lifer goes free ... Mathews Meyiwa raises a clenched fist salute after stepping off the boat from Robben Island.

Witness collapses after long wait

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

A SICKLY 65-year-old woman is in an East Rand hospital after collapsing while waiting to give evidence as a State witness at Springs Magistrate's Court this week.

Maria Mnguni, who was brought to court by detectives, is in the Far East Rand Hospital in an "unstable" condition. A hos-

pital spokesman would not elaborate.

Mnguni, of Kwa-Thema, was brought to court by Detective Lucas Rapetsoa, the investigating officer in a case of theft of a television set.

She had spent more than three hours in court waiting for the case to be called when she collapsed. She was carried out the

court by sympathetic spectators when she developed breathing problems. Medics from a nearby fire station were called.

Relatives of the woman, who want to remain anonymous were surprised and angry that she was taken to testify in court in her state of illness. They said at times she could barely walk unaided.

The Kwa-Thema Police Sta-

tion commander, Maj Makhata, said it was not the policy of the SAP to "treat people like animals".

He referred inquiries to CID branch commander Lt Botha, who said no complaint of misconduct had been reported to the police.

He would not comment on the matter and accused the press of "just looking for news".

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We have the right to take SA by force, says Slovo

11R

THE ANC and its allies have every right to take South Africa by force if it does not reach an agreement with the ruling National Party on a new and democratic constitution, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo has told Sapa.

All indications presently point to the NP not being prepared to hand over "anything substantial" when it comes to the country's future constitution, added the SACP leader and senior ANC member.

CV rem 24/3/91

Slovo was interviewed after a Heroes' Day rally in Sharpeville township, outside Vereeniging, was washed out by torrential rain on Thursday.

All the indications are that they (NP) are not prepared to hand over anything substantial when it comes to the actual future democratic constitution.

(Minister of Law and Order Adriaan) Vlok recently made the point to his own supporters that if they think the National Party is prepared to hand over South Africa, they're mistaken.

"We don't expect them to hand over South Africa to us, but we feel we have every right to take it if we don't reach a settlement," Slovo said.

200 000 sign for ANC 118

THE ANC has collected over 200 000 signatures in a campaign for a constituent assembly and interim government.

The campaign involved house-to-house canvassing and mass rallies and workshops were held in community halls and villages. *S. Times 24/3/91*

In an unusual political approach, the ANC also brought together local chiefs and headmen in remote Northern Transvaal villages to brief them on a constituent assembly, an interim government and the signature campaign.

Operation Vula was a means of last resort

SITimes 24/3/91 11A

By TERRY VAN DER WALT
OPERATION VULA — the "red plot" — was never a threat to the negotiation process because it had been set up by ANC president Oliver Tambo to be used only as a last resort.

This was said by Billy Nair, one of nine terror trialists granted indemnity on Friday by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The nine were alleged to have set up an international computer network, a national underground, an arsenal of weapons and a string of safe houses with the aim of training a "people's army" to seize power from the government by armed insurrection.

Eight people were arrested in July last year and made several court appearances, the last being in the Durban Regional Court in January soon after they had been grant-

ed bail totalling almost R300 000.

Mr Nair was not arrested. Even when he appeared in court no efforts were made to arrest him as he agreed to stand trial.

While celebrating the good news in Durban with three of the nine accused, Mr Nair, 60, said Operation Vula, set up in 1986 by Mr Tambo, had undertaken from the outset never to use violence unless directed to do so.

"Mac Maharaj (commander of the operation) and Ronnie Kasrils (leading SACP member) were accused of trying to scuttle the talks through their involvement with Vula.

"But Mac had played a part in drawing up the document on the suspension of the armed struggle (announced at the Pretoria Minute on August 6) and this was to be part of our

defence had the trial gone ahead."

Mr Nair said that, far from being a small group of conspirators acting on their own in direct conflict with the ANC, Operation Vula came under direct orders from the ANC high command.

The Durban members of Vula, Mr Nair, Pravin Gordhan, 41, Dipak Patel, 26, and Amnesh Sankar, 22, said their actions had been vindicated by the indemnity.

Mr Nair said: "We were fighting the apartheid system which, by the state's own admission, was a crime.

"It must be appreciated we were victims of apartheid rather than criminals."

The other Natal member, Raymond Lala, 32, could not be reached for comment.

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2 BC men face terrorism charges

Star 25/3/91.
Two suspected insurgents from the armed wings of the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania will appear in the Mmabatho Regional Court, Bophuthatswana, on terrorism charges tomorrow and on Wednesday, according to their lawyer.

Kabelo Seabi — of Seriti, Mavundla and Partners — said Peter Sekoboto, an alleged cadre of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army, would appear tomorrow.

George Biya, said to be a member of the Azanian National Liberation Army, will appear on Wednesday.

They are charged with attempted murder and illegal possession of arms arising from separate incidents last year.

Mbeki:

For the
people ^{CMC 11/2/78} 2/3/78
by the
people ^{11/9}

Staff Reporter

THE ANC is aiming to achieve a democratic constitution "through a democratic process", says the head of its international affairs department, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

He was addressing a conference of South African and United States lawyers on "Constitution-making in South Africa" at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

Moments before he spoke, Ms Deborah Evans, president of the Black Lawyers' Guild in the United States, told an apocryphal story — which "had an element of truth in it" — about the drawing up of the American constitution.

"The constitution originally started out this way: 'We, the white male property-owners of substantial means ...', she said.

"Somebody said it's much too long, let's just say: 'We, the people'."

'Participation'

Mr Mbeki said it would not be acceptable to arrive at even a good democratic constitution through, for example, "a cabal of property owners".

"We want popular participation," he said.

If the government removed the remaining obstacles to negotiation by the end of April, then the various parties would get together to begin drawing up a new constitution.

"A decision still needs to be taken on how a body will be drawn together to draw up a new constitution.

"The ANC view is that we need a constituent assembly to be elected on a one person, one vote basis. Other parties have different views, so this is an area of struggle."

Once the process had been agreed on, the ANC wanted an interim government — but this was also an "area of struggle".

Slovo warns of a terrible holocaust

11A
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Sowetan 25/3/91

THE African National Congress and its allies had every right to take South Africa by force if it did not reach an agreement with the ruling National Party on a new and democratic constitution.

This warning was given by Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, in an interview last week after the 31st anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

Slovo said all indications pointed to the NP not being prepared to hand over "anything substantial" when it came to the country's future constitution.

"We don't expect them to hand over South Africa to us, but we feel we have every right to take it (by force) if we don't reach a settlement," Slovo said.

Question: In that case, what do you think the ruling NP is presently attempting to achieve politically?

Pressures

Slovo: "Well, I think they are in a dilemma. They realise that as a result of the massive pressures, both inside and outside the country, that there is no going back to pre-February 1990.

"And they realise that unless they do reach an accommodation with the black liberation movement, of which the ANC is the most important part, that this country is facing a holocaust of a terrible type.

"They know that, so they know they've got to negotiate. They're forced to negotiate by pressures.

"It's not that they've changed so radically in their political philosophies."

He said the Government did not want to negotiate with a powerful force.

"They don't want a powerful ANC. They want a weak ANC," Slovo said.

The National Party has no moral right to preside over the peace process, so says Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and executive member of the African National Congress. He talks to DAVID GREYBE of the South African Press Association.



Question: What about the NP leading the peace process in South Africa?

Slovo: "We don't accept the National Party must lead this process.

"We don't believe they have any right to preside over this process.

"We consider that, if there is going to be a peaceful outcome, there must be a consensus among all the forces in this country, including the National Party.

"But we are not prepared to accept that this white regime, which is still running an apartheid country at all levels of the socio-economic structure, has got the moral or any other right to preside over this process ... to be both the player and the referee."

Question: The ANC's December consultative conference set an April 30 deadline for the Government on a number of issues, including the return of all exiles and the release of all political prisoners. That is less than six weeks from now. At this stage, does it look to you that the Government will meet the ANC demands?

Slovo: "The Government has given an explicit and clear undertaking to remove all the obstacles by April 30.

"But it is only an undertaking. The onus is on them to carry out this agreement.

"We've said over and over again that if they do not carry out

their undertaking the consequences for the peace process are really extremely serious.

"And we will have to then consider what our response is going to be.

"There is no way we can embark upon any form of negotiations on the future of South Africa until the obstacles have being removed."

Question: Violence is still continuing in the townships. During the recent killings in Alexandra Township it was widely alleged that Inkatha had bussed in supporters, who then took part in the fighting. What is your thinking on this?

Peace

Slovo: "We've long maintained that these red headbanded thugs have become instruments of those who want to weaken and eventually destroy the ANC, and of those who want to destroy the whole peace process.

"When we met Vlok and (Defence Minister Magnus) Malan last Friday, we insisted that if the Government was serious in its quest for peace, it will have to take steps to ensure that these imps are not allowed to do what they've been doing up to now.

"As far as we are concerned, if the Government doesn't take measures to disarm these aggressive units which are bent on killing and destruction and burning and so on, we will have to consider our responses.

"We certainly cannot hold the people back from their desire to defend themselves with whatever they can."

By not acting the Government

was helping to create a situation of armed conflict in the country "because our supporters and our people cannot stand by and allow this to continue as it has".

Question: An article in the SACP journal *Umsebenzi* at the end of last year spoke about forming self-defence units in the townships. Is this the kind of response you have in mind?

Slovo: "Absolutely. People have a right to defend themselves.

"We as the leaders of the people have a duty to ensure that they can defend themselves."

Question: What specifically did you discuss with Vlok and Malan in Cape Town.

Slovo: "We went there to discuss the violence and we made two points:

"Firstly, that they must phase out the hostels, transform them into civilised accommodation for families because they are the seedbeds of violence.

"Secondly, they must take steps to prevent armed bands roaming the streets of townships and inciting violence and actually carrying out violence."

Question: And what was their response?

Slovo: "They said they were addressing the question of the phasing out of the hostels and that Health Minister (Dr Rina) Venter had been appointed by (President FW) De Klerk to investigate that aspect.

"On the question of armed groups carrying traditional weapons, they said the law made it difficult for them to act because of judgments that people can walk around with dangerous weapons, unless you can prove that there was an intention to assault.

"We told them they are the law and that it's no use blaming the law, (because) they have the power to make the law.

"And if they tell us that that is the law, then the law is just an ass."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Smiles of happiness on the faces of graduands from the Heilbron College of Education tell a story of success. Pic by Pat Seboko

Assembly 'the only solution'

THE African National Congress would accept nothing less than one person one vote in a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa, the organisation's deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing a graduation ceremony at the Medical University of Southern Africa on Saturday, Mandela said a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation, was the most appropriate forum to draw up a new constitution.

The organisation which would get the most votes would have the dominant say in constitution-making.

That was normal democratic practice, Mandela said.

He said the ANC also wanted an interim government to oversee the transition period because the National Party Government was a negotiating partner and could not simultaneously act as referee.

Mandela said the problems and challenges faced by Medunsa mirrored those of the wider education system and South Africa as a whole.

He said the ANC noted with anger and concern that of the 1 300 students who qualified as doctors throughout the country every year, only 300 were black. Of these only 120 were African.

A similar neglect was

true in the general training of blacks as health workers, he said.

The distribution of professional skills in South Africa meant that knowledge and science remained the preserve of whites.

Although there was widespread recognition that apartheid must go, the problems faced by blacks continued because the Government was not willing to take steps remedy the situation.

White minority rule was doomed, but it had not yet been accepted that freedom and equality should replace it.

While vast wealth disparities were recognised, any talk of economic growth that included redistribution was dismissed "as beyond legitimate debate".

Inferior

He said although there was a recognition that black education was inferior, means were not provided to remedy it.

The de-racialising of land ownership without redressing existing land allocation was an unsophisticated way of ensuring that existing disparities remain permanently, he said.

It was not too late for Medunsa, however, to play a key role in transforming the South African health system into one that truly served all medical needs, not just South African society's elite.

There could be no peace while people lacked basic social facilities, including health care, or while the overwhelming number of doctors and medical facilities were concentrated in areas accessible only to a small section of the population.

BCM soldier buried with full honours

Sowetan 25/3/91. 11A

GRAVE no 459 in Maokeng's new cemetery is still a fresh mound of soil.

It was, until Saturday afternoon, just another open grave waiting for its owner to claim and settle forever.

Its owner arrived at 3.15pm on Saturday, accompanied by a long convoy of cars, buses and police vehicles.

Mr Thabang "Cobra" Motlhodisi, a guerilla of Azania, killed in a skirmish with security forces in Mahwelereng three weeks ago, was

By MATHATHA TSEDU

given what organisers said was a military funeral.

Marshals of the BCM, dressed in jet black suits with golden epauletts and a red star, drilled in military style as speakers poured praises on Motlhodisi, who "killed himself rather than be captured and forced to compromise the struggle".

Maokeng township was turned into a huge guard of honour as thousands of people lined up streets along the 10km route to the cemetery, to ululate and salute the passing motorcade.

Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaube Mokoape told the multitudes that filled the stadium that Motlhodisi had conquered fear and laid down his life for the liberation of black people.

He said Maokeng residents should rename the local stadium to Thabang,

in recognition of the bravest of your sons, who loved life so much that he gave his own, to protect the struggle and also to make sure we can learn from him".

Security police brought a balacava-hooded man to the stadium when the funeral had got underway, Sapa reports.

The man, alleged by organisers of the service to be an ex-guerilla working with the SA Police, used binoculars to point out people.

The presence of the "hooded Askari" prompted comments by senior members of the BCM that the notorious Civic Cooperation Bureau (CCB) was still alive and bent on killing government's opponents.

National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) official and Azanian People's Organisation member Mr Mutle Phasha told the crowd the advent of Azania guerillas was a welcome step.



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'Threats at heart of mass action'

Star 26/3/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Intimidation is widely used to underpin mass mobilisation in South Africa, according to a recent study by South African Institute of Race Relations researcher Dr Anthea Jeffery.

Dr Jeffery's study, entitled "Spotlight on Mass Mobilisation", says a number of political commentators, including some ANC spokesmen, acknowledge that intimidation is "widely used to underpin mass mobilisation" in the country.

Widespread

Dr Jeffery says the ANC stresses that intimidation is contrary to its policy, but acknowledges that intimidation is widespread and "difficult, if not impossible, to counter".

Sources for the study included ANC members, Government officials, journalists, rival black organisations, the police and "key analysts on intimidation".

Another finding in Dr Jeffery's study is that the ANC and its allies in the Mass Democratic Movement are aware "that their strategy of mass mobilisation is likely to hamper the flow of foreign capital into South Africa".

Quoted in Dr Jeffery's study is a university researcher described as an ANC member, who says the organisation understands well that mass mobilisation will discourage foreign capital.

"We do not want capital to come into South Africa. This is well understood by the leadership and is part of the equation," the ANC member is quoted as saying.

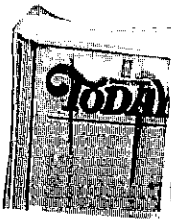
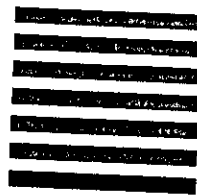
Dr Jeffery says the ANC not only understands that mass mobilisation will deter the flow of foreign capital, but it also does not fear the danger that "the investment tap, once turned off, is not easily turned on again".

Both the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) are vehemently opposed to mass mobilisation, Dr Jeffrey says.

She says the IFP sees mass mobilisation as the ANC's attempt to destroy rival black organisations and ensconce itself in power.

The Government wants mass mobilisation stopped or re-directed towards "normal political activity such as public meetings and ... controlled protest marches".

The ANC, on the other hand, is "determined to continue with mass mobilisation until an ANC government has come to power ..."



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PAC'S
Makwetu
meets
Chalker

CAF
10/15
26/3/91
11A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday had an hour-long meeting with Mrs Lynda Chalker, Britain's Foreign Office minister responsible for sub-Saharan Africa.

Mr Makwetu heads a four-person PAC delegation on a UK-government sponsored visit and will meet Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd on Thursday.

A Foreign Office spokesman confirmed yesterday that the meeting was friendly.

Mr Barney Desai, the PAC's publicity secretary, said the meeting went "splendidly".

He said Mr Makwetu had outlined the planned meeting in Harare in April of the ANC and PAC executives to discuss the establishment of a united patriotic front and confirmed that Inkatha would be invited.

11/13/91 (11/13/91)

Poverty seen as threat to SA accord

THE political settlement South Africa needed could not be realised if poverty and inequality were not seriously addressed, the ANC director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said in Somerset West.

He was addressing international and South African economists, financiers and bankers brought together last night by the University of the Witwatersrand's School of Economics.

He said the process of arriving at what South Africa needed to do economically had to be speeded up.

The country needed to play its role on the African conti-

ment, which needed to be stable, democratic and reflect an absence of wars and Aids. South Africa could, however, not be part of realising this because it had not solved its own problems.

Africa had to address collectively the issue of democracy and human rights and secondly the issue of security.

Whenever there was a violation of human rights, the tendency internationally was to identify it as an African problem collectively rather than attributing it to an individual country. Likewise, wars and the enormous refugee problem were recognised by the world

as an African problem.

Turning to the economic situation, he said everyone knew what the problems of South Africa's economy were.

"In a broad sense all of us are participating in the process of what needs to be done to take it out of the crisis — getting rid of the racial inequalities

"Isn't it time to translate these broad perspectives into something more concrete? Hasn't the time come for all actors to come down more concretely to development needed in terms of rands and cents?

"What will it cost? Who is going to do what?" — Sapa.

The proposed amendment of the Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act, presented as a means of opening up political activity in the homeland, is more likely to turn the screws more tightly on opposition groups, says the ANC's Mafikeng branch.

The accusation is not the only question mark against the human rights item on the Bophuthatswana reform agenda. Other recent developments that have evoked criticism are:

- The threatened deportation of Semane Molotlegi, a Botswana citizen and wife of self-exiled dissident chief Edward Lebone Molotlegi of Phokeng. The deportation order was revoked only after intervention by Botswana president Quett Masire.
- The detention of seven leading ANC figures in the Phokeng area after the ANC national office's condemnation of the intended deportation of Mrs Molotlegi.
- A possible lawsuit by ANC Mafikeng branch chairman Job Mokgoro after his allegedly unlawful detention. Mr Mokgoro says he was kept in detention a full 15 hours after the emergency measures were revoked.
- Failure to restore sufficient stability in the Braklaagte/Leeuwfontein area for thousands of refugees from there to return home. Vigilante action there had not yet abated by mid-March when headman Gilbert Moilwa was killed in a

'Reforms' could lead to more curbs - ANC

Star 27/3/91



President Lucas Mangope ... the new regulations will reduce "political thuggery".

car crash and vigilantes loyal to him murdered a villager in a misguided "revenge" killing.

The intention to change the Act — in some respects more restrictive than the South African law of the same name — was announced early this month when the state of emergency in the homeland was lifted. While the latter development was widely welcomed, the proposed legislation has drawn condemnation.

Although the amendment will drop the present requirement that any meeting of more than 20 people can take place only if a magistrate permits it, other restrictions will be imposed.

The secretary for justice, John Joe Gopane, said the changes due to be tabled meant all politically active groups or people in Bophuthatswana would have to register as political parties in terms of the Electoral Act.

The aim was to ensure that all politically active groups "remain answerable to the law" and subject to voters' preference. Only Bophuthatswana citizens will be allowed to vote or stand for election.

President Lucas Mangope has expressed the view that the new regulations will reduce "political thuggery" in the territory.

The ANC branch at Mafikeng draws the conclusion that "political activity outside of registered homeland parties will be criminalised".

In a statement, the branch points out that many people residing in Bophuthatswana have elected to retain South African citizenship. In particular, the case of the Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein communities is cited. "Like so many others they have refused to become citizens of Bophuthatswana (after being) forcibly incorporated into Bop by Mangope and the Pretoria regime and will now be banned from the political arena.

"They have been forced into refuge by Mangope's forces. Now they will be forcibly silenced too."

The ANC statement adds: "Mangope's freedom means freedom only once you have thrown away the birthright to South African citizenship and accepted the little piece of bantustan that Verwoerd forcibly made you go and live in."

Hani gets warning ^{1/12/84} ^{SA} ^{27/3/84} from ^{Mr. K. B.} Magnus

Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan has warned Mkhonto-we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani to remember that he had only temporary immunity from prosecution.

In a vitriolic attack yesterday, General Malan said Mr Hani had an obsession with power. He and his fellow-travellers were putting the negotiation process under threat and "reasonable South Africans" could no longer tolerate the "cold-bloodedness" they represented.

Recent comments by Mr Hani were simply an exercise in blaming the government for everything that was not to the ANC's liking.

"If he thinks he is placing the government under pressure to dance to the ANC's tune, he is making a big mistake," said General Malan.

CAPE TOWN

Wednesday, March 27 1991

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'Mistakes' in court

Winnie co-accused admits evidence was inconsistent

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A co-accused in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial yesterday admitted in the Supreme Court that he had made numerous mistakes in his evidence on Monday.

Mr John Morgan said he was incorrect in saying that the head of the Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit had threatened him with torture if he did not sign an allegedly fabricated statement implicating Mrs Mandela in acts of abduction and assault.

He also admitted that his evidence concerning the first time he was held by police for questioning was incorrect, as was his evidence concerning the morning detectives arrested him during their investigations into the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei.

Mr Morgan, 61, was giving evidence on the admissibility of his statement, which his counsel claims was made after he had been beaten and bribed by Soweto murder and robbery detectives.

The statement alleges that Mrs Mandela was one of a group of people who assaulted Seipei and three men after they had been abducted from a Soweto church manse on December 29, 1988.

Under cross-examination by prosecutor Mr Jan Swanepoel SC, Mr Morgan said the mistakes were due to his poor memory which "does not serve me, I forget easily".

Mr Swanepoel asked him how he could clearly remember details concerning his evidence that police administered electric shocks to his lower legs, and offered him bribes of money, a car, better housing and a gun if he lied and implicated Mrs Mandela in various crimes.

Mr Morgan replied he would never forget the pain, nor would he forget a promise of money, "because it is a good thing (which) makes one happy".

Mr Morgan apparently contradicted himself numerous times when recalling who had threatened him with electric torture if he did not sign the statement, allegedly fabricated by police to implicate Mrs Mandela.

He first told the court the investigating officer, Captain Fred Dempsey, had threatened him, then he attributed the threat to the head of the murder and robbery unit, Colonel Christiaan Oosthuizen.

Mr Morgan then reverted to his accusation that Captain Dempsey had threatened him, and Colonel Oosthuizen had tried to bribe him to sign the statement, but had not threatened him.

On Monday, Mr Morgan had said Colonel Oosthuizen had threatened him with more electric shocks if he did not sign the statement.

Earlier in the day, Mr Swanepoel insisted that Mr Morgan listen to a tape recording of his previous day's testimony, to prove he was contradicting him-

self on how long he had been detained by police for questioning in February 1989.

Mr Morgan had originally stated that detectives detained him for "many days" for questioning, but yesterday told the court he had been questioned for only 20 to 30 minutes before being taken home. He first tried to say the mistake was due to the way his counsel had lead his evidence, but later admitted it was his mistake.

"The answer I gave (on Monday) is a mistake," he said.

Mr Morgan also said some portions of his statement which he claimed police had fabricated were in fact correct, including a detailing how he had driven members of the Mandela Football Club to the University of the North, from where they were supposed to have been transported to Botswana to allegedly undergo military training.

During his cross-examination Mr Morgan told the court he had suffered hearing loss, and had bled from one ear after been beaten by detectives. At one point in the proceedings he demonstrated, on the interpreter, how police had beaten him.

He also testified that he told Colonel Oosthuizen Mrs Mandela was in Brandfort on the night the assault took place.

The trial continues today.

Own Correspondent.

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has partly indemnified "Red Pimpernel" Mr Ronnie Kasrils and alleged Krugersdorp bomber Mr Hein Grosskopf — but the two remain wanted men.

As the April 30 deadline for ANC members' indemnification draws closer, the government faces the prospect of having to deal with hardline and politically "difficult" cases like Mr Kasrils, Mr Grosskopf, Magoo's bomber Robert McBride and right-wing mass murderer Barend Strydom.

Death Row prisoners Strydom and McBride have yet to be indemnified.

But Mr Kasrils and Mr Grosskopf, who have been indemnified from prosecution for having undergone military training, will still have to answer for other deeds.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Mr Kasrils was still being sought in connection with Operation Vula — an alleged SACP plot to overthrow the government if negotiations failed — while Mr Grosskopf was wanted in connection with 1988 bombings in Krugersdorp — in which three people died — and one at the SADF Wits Command headquarters.

"If we find Grosskopf, we will arrest him in connection with those bombings," Captain Kotze said last night.

While the other Operation Vula accused applied for and received indemnity last week, Mr Kasrils has not yet applied. He has been on the run since late last year.

Yesterday the ANC demanded indemnity for McBride, saying his case fell within government guidelines.

ANC
27/3/91
bomber
freed,
but still
on run

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Meer defends NIC

THE secretary of the Natal Indian Congress says the survival of the movement in Natal and in the Transvaal remains essential to the realisation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Dr Farouk Meer defended the movements' decision to retain its identity in spite of widespread criticism of its ethnic structure.

He said they had worked for more than 97 years directing their efforts to political freedom and democracy and their vision of a South Africa based upon these principles could not be jet-

tisoned now. (1/A)

He said the challenges ahead transcended petty and simplistic arguments that they were not any different to the intra-Parliamentary formations in the tricameral chambers. *Southern* 2713171

Meer said the two organisations would be focussing their major efforts on expanding the support of the ANC through the mass mobilisation of the Indian people, with whose constituency they were more familiar, and facilitating the transition to a new political order. - Sapa

Magnus slates Hani 'war talk'

stay 27/3/91

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Political Staff

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has lashed out at the "war talk" of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani, in one of his sharpest attacks yet on African National Congress hardliners.

General Malan accused Mr Hani and his supporters of jeopardising negotiations and warned him to bear in mind that his indemnity against legal action was only temporary.

He also repeated earlier accusations that the ANC had a hidden agenda to use MK in intimidating and mobilising people in the townships.

Criticised

He also criticised ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for his "transparent" practice of "evading realities and blaming everything on the Government".

General Malan's attack followed reports of Mr Hani's statements this week in which he said, among other things, that the question of whether the ANC would resume the armed struggle depended on the "behaviour of the regime".

General Malan said all who were committed to the new South Africa were "sick and tired" of Mr Hani's threats of violence.

He said Mr Hani and his "bed-fellow" Joe Slovo, the gen-

eral secretary of the South African Communist Party, simply wanted the parliamentary system destroyed and wanted to create in its place an interim government with dictatorial powers and full control over all security forces.

Yet, he said, MK was nothing more than a "paper tiger which has no right to exist".

"They say piously that they gave up the armed struggle as a sacrifice. This is absurd, since MK never had a military capability."

General Malan said statements by Mr Hani and Mr Slovo reflected a "dangerous tactical shift" which boiled down to power hunger.

"Those committed to the new South Africa have seen through this and will not be blackmailed by it."

He said "reasonable South Africans seeking a government in which representation for all is guaranteed can no longer afford this sort of cold-bloodedness.

"In the name of an orderly and stable future, the people of South Africa have a right to demand that Mr Mandela says precisely where he stands."

He added: "Time is running out for the destroyers of the process of building a new SA.

"The sooner the ANC ditches the illusion that it is the sole government of the future and can do just as it pleases, the sooner an orderly process can begin."

ANC launches signature drive

South 2813-31491
THE ANC signature campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government in the Western Cape was launched in Athlone on Thursday with representatives of trade unions, churches, community organisations and other sectors being the first signatories.

ANC Internal Leadership Core chairperson Mr Walter Sisulu addressed the launch.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC publicity secretary in the Western Cape, said branch members would go from door to door collecting signatures.

Workers would collect signatures in factories, while ANC branches in the rural areas would also carry out the campaign.

Street theatre would be used to popularise the call for the interim government and constituent assembly and signatures would be collected at major events such as May Day rallies.

"The main aim of the campaign is educative, to trigger the enquiring minds of people to know more about the constituent assembly and interim government," Manuel said.

The cut-off date for the campaign is June 16, Soweto Day.

Plight of 'forgotten' children of struggle'

By Rehana Rossouw

South 28/3 - 3/4/91
RELEASED political prisoners are angry and bitter at the preferential treatment given to exiles to integrate them into society while the needs of former prisoners are being ignored. (S) (IA)

To highlight their plight, the Association for Ex-Political Prisoners (AEPP) is to make urgent representations to the National Coordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles (NCCR) to be included in their mandate for assistance.

A conference of the Western Cape region of the AEPP last weekend revealed that almost 70 percent of their membership have not been able to secure employment since their release and most were reliant on financial assistance to survive.

Western Cape representatives of the NCCR attended the workshop.

Welfare

AEPP member Mr Tony Yengeni, who until last week was facing charges of terrorism in the Supreme Court, said before many AEPP members were imprisoned, they were the responsibility of their organisations which saw to all their welfare needs.

"We went to prison for implementing the programmes of our organisations, but when we came out, our organisations did not lift a finger to assist us," Yengeni said.

"We are angered, disillusioned and confused, but we are also committed to a noble idea and need to channel our skills and motivation in the right direction.

Ex-prisoners feel that while exiles were returning to South Africa as heroes who had made sacrifices for the country, they were being stigmatised as criminals and their sacrifices were being ignored.

"This sector has been neglected for a long time, people released in the early 1980s still do not have jobs today," said the chairperson of the AEPP in the Western Cape, Mr Amos Lengisi.

"We are still begging from those who have work. When we come out of jail we



Tony Yengeni

find that we are strangers — to our communities, our families and our organisations."

Lengisi said although preparations for the return of exiles had only begun a few months ago, there were already assurances that exiles would get money, accommodation and jobs.

Political prisoners have been trickling out of jails for years and no arrangements were being made to receive them.

"We have to struggle to get a few cents from organisations," Lengisi said.

"It is dehumanising to collect money and beg from people, but we have no alternative."

The numbers of ex-political prisoners were swelling monthly with the negotiations between the government and the ANC on the obstacles to negotiations.

This compelled the AEPP to address the process of the reintegration of their members, the conference heard.

Many members had been in exile before returning to the country to carry out the aims of their organisations.

The AEPP national secretary, Mr Naledi Tsidi, said that when political prisoners were released they soon realised that they were "on their own".

"Our task is to sensitise the community, to make them sympathetic to our plight," Tsidi said.

"Ex-political prisoners have become the forgotten children of the struggle. They have forgotten our deeds and our sacrifices."

Tsidi said the AEPP had not been able to get the NCCR to respond to appeals for assistance.

"It is fashionable to be involved in assisting exiles, but it has never been fashionable to assist ex-prisoners."

IN TRANSIT: A long sojourn in Zambia and many unanswered questions for 160 SA schoolchildren

Unwanted students wait in Lusaka camp

SCHOLARSHIPS in Kenya that might not even exist were "sold" to 160 schoolchildren and university students by people claiming to be representatives of the African National Congress in Soweto.

The students, who paid a total of more than R25 000 for "transport", were told that they would be in Lusaka for a short while before being sent directly to placements in Kenya.

The students are waiting in the ANC's Chelston Transit Centre in Lusaka, where they have been for over three weeks. Thirty-one have returned to South Africa after handing themselves over to the South African security police at the Botswana border.

The man who allegedly "recruited" the group was Reverend Namso, a prison chaplain associated with St Francis Anglican Church in Moroka, Soweto. He told *The Weekly Mail* he was acting under instruction from the ANC, and referred all questions to the movement's national secretary for education, Seretse Choabi.

But ANC representative Gill Marcus said: "The ANC does not recruit students inside South Africa for scholarships abroad. We have our hands full enough trying to find places for those already outside."

Her colleague, Saki Macozoma, added: "It is my understanding that a group of parents from Soweto contacted the ANC, asking if we could help, as they were having difficulty educating their children in Soweto. It was explained to them that we only give scholarships externally, and they therefore arranged to send their children to Lusaka, so that their children could apply from there. It was an irregular procedure."

But parents contacted by *The Weekly Mail* said they found out about the scholarships from Namso and a woman working with him, Mrs Mokoepo, who told them the ANC had arranged scholarships for their children in Kenya. Many of the students said they filled out ANC forms before leaving.

ANC officials in Lusaka say it is un-

likely the students will see Kenya before September and sources in the ANC in Johannesburg claim they will not be sent at all: because Kenya offered placements, and not financing, and because the ANC has earmarked the placements for refugees who have been forced to leave South Africa, and not for students recruited internally.

By MARK GEVISSER

But Choabi said the Kenyan scholarships "were offered to students on compassionate grounds irrespective of whether the students were internal or refugees". He allegedly told a meeting of Soweto parents on Sunday that the delay was only because it was taking time to assess the students before sending them to Kenya.

A student, who was told she would be studying law in Kenya, said in Lusaka that "we were told on the bus that we would be put up in a luxury hotel for a week before being sent to Kenya". She was "shocked" when they arrived at the Zambezi River because Choabi had told her they were going to Francistown, Botswana, where the Kenyans would collect them.

Choabi said "the students were never informed by anyone that they would stay in hotels". He said they were told that they would spend time in Lusaka where they would be assessed.

Many of the students spoken to at Chelston said the first time they realised these were ANC scholarships was when an ANC official met them at the Zambian border. Others said they were fully aware that the scholarships were being organised by the ANC: "It was on the application form."

A small portion of the group are active ANC members who needed to leave for reasons of safety. The major-

ity seem to be members of the St Francis Anglican Church congregation, who were well-placed in Soweto schools at the time of their departure and were, at best, passive ANC supporters or, in some cases, active supporters of the Pan Africanist Congress and other liberation movements.

After interviews with students and their parents, it is clear that no selection process occurred and that no assessments were done before the students left.

Namso and Mokoepo simply gathered the names, passports and money and sent the students off.

While the ANC claims it did not have anything to do with the process, many of the students say they met Choabi and that he was involved in the prepar-



Food for thought ... Students get on with life at Chelston Transit Centre

Photo: GISELE WILFISOHN

ations. Many of the parents said they knew the scholarships were from the ANC, and that they had no problem with their children being at Chelston — if their final destination was Kenya.

One mother, who is single and works as a sales assistant, had to borrow money from her neighbours to send her son with the group.

"It is almost impossible for children to get educated in Soweto, with all the disruptions and with the terrible state of black education," she said. "So when when the Reverend told the congregation about the scholarships, we jumped at it. I just hope my son makes it to Kenya, or I will be very upset."

The administrator of the transit centre in Lusaka, Graham Marodi, said: "We

were shocked when they arrived. We did not have place for them, and no one told us they were coming." Because the transit centre was forced to accommodate the busload, it now has no room for refugees who have fled violence in Natal and the Reef: a consignment of refugees who arrived at Chelston two weeks after the bus have been put up in squalid and unsanitary conditions in the centre's dining hall.

Marodi added that it has been "very difficult" having the busload at Chelston, "because many of them do not want to be here, and are not even ANC supporters". He said all attempts to contact Choabi about the group had failed.

One student who was active in her local ANC branch said she did not mind being at Chelston. But she was dismayed that a group of relatively well-off children from Soweto were given the scholarships "while there are so many comrades at home who have had to forfeit their educations because of their commitment to the struggle and the harassment they have undergone".

Many questions remain unanswered. Was this programme done with the authorisation of Choabi and the ANC's education department? Do the scholarships in Kenya exist? Where did the R25 000 "transport" fee go? How long will the students have to remain at Chelston? Will the students be reimbursed if they don't make it to Kenya?

How did the 31 students manage to get back to South Africa without travel documents or money? Days before they arrived in South Africa, Marodi told *The Weekly Mail* that "the students will be allowed to go home if they wish to, but none have left yet".

It appears that a local Soweto initiative, spurred on by the appalling state of black education in South Africa, went horribly wrong. At this stage, neither the organisers of the initiative nor the ANC are prepared to take responsibility. And the 160 students, having already forfeited a year of schooling, wait in tents at Chelston.

Anti-apartheid museum for UWC

A PROPOSED University of the Western Cape Historical and Cultural Centre, which will include a museum on the anti-apartheid era and an archive on the history of the South African liberation movement, is set to become one of the focal points of the UWC campus.

Supervised

The project, currently being supervised by Dr André Odendaal, on secondment from the History Department for a year, has already received a major fillip with all the equipment and archive material from the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) promised to it.

IDAF, which provided financial assistance for political trials since the 1950s Treason Trial, including the Rivonia case in the sixties, was subsequently banned for 24 years.

Late last year the fund decided to relocate its operations to South Africa.

"We are currently arranging for IDAF's more than 2000 films and videotapes, between 50 000 and 100 000 photographs and an entire range of publications on the history of the struggle to be shipped here," Odendaal said.

"This is the biggest collection of its kind in the world. We will also be getting equipment from this key organisation in the international anti-apartheid soli-

darity network and we hope to employ some of their staff, specially in training capacities."

A site for the new Historical and Cultural Centre has been earmarked and a top architect has been engaged to do pre appointment plans.

Integral

Odendaal said it was proposed that the museum and archive would ultimately form an integral part of a major new community orientated, multi-functional campus centre, which would probably be completed in stages as funds become available.

The museum would be receiving several personal collections of historical material, including that of Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr

Govan Mbeki, Mr Brian Bunting, and Mr Wilkie Kodesh.

"We also plan for and work on the return of anti-apartheid material from exile as part of the reintegration process of exiles into the community," Odendaal added.

"This material would include items like Radio Freedom tapes, Sechaba documents and reports and personal collections.

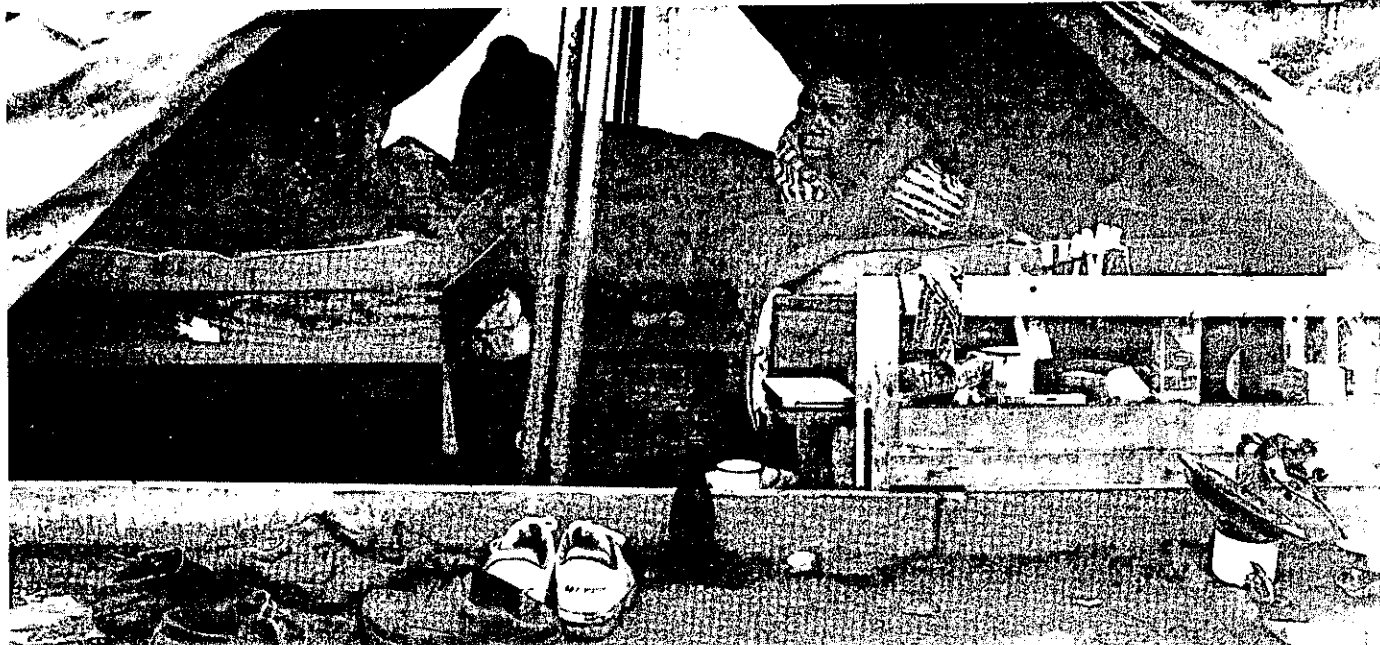
"And there is a wealth of material confiscated by the state which we must try to get back."

With scores of exiles returning home, the museum also has plans for an oral history project detailing (and recording) all aspects of very day life in exile.

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④ 11A

MARK GEVISSER visits Lusaka's controversial Chelston Transit Centre, and finds boredom and frustration



Killing time ... refugees at the Chelston Transit Centre are waiting to be educated, but in the interim they spend time waiting for mealtimes

Photographs: GISELE WULFSOHN

AT PRESENT, there are more African National Congress members fleeing South Africa than there are coming home. In the very week that the first planeload of ANC exiles left Lusaka for Johannesburg, Chelston was filled to capacity.

Killing time in the controversial camp were refugees from the wars in Natal and violence on the Reef, and students from Soweto who say they were "recruited" by the ANC for scholarships in Kenya, and who paid R160 each to come by bus to Lusaka.

Hidden behind high walls on the peri-urban outskirts of the Zambian capital, the ANC's "transit centre" has more than 400 inmates at the moment. "We are having difficulty coping," said the centre's administrator, Graham Morodi. "It's more than we have had at any one time since 1976."

The refugees, most of whom are of schoolgoing age, have been at Chelston for anything up to a year, and although they have all been promised scholarships in Kenya, there is no sign of imminent departure.

Many are clearly disoriented and traumatised and this, says one of the administrators, makes them very different from previous generations of exiles: "We have to remember that these are not comrades who made educated, informed decisions to leave and fight for the movement. They are refugees, forced by violence and harassment to flee war zones and certain death."

"Mzwandile", aged 13, says his mother urged him to leave when a group of tsotsis barged into his house and put a gun to his head. He comes from an ANC family in Chesterville, he says, and his older brother was in trouble. And so, all alone, he went to the Umlazi taxi-rank, found a ride to the Swazi border, jumped the fence, and handed himself over to the Swazi authorities who took him to the United Nations refugee camp.

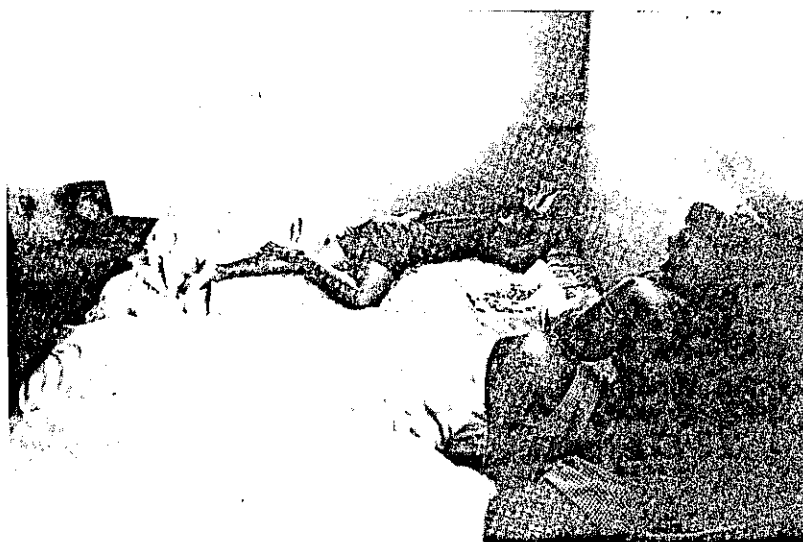
"I want to fight in MK," he said, "but they tell me I am too young. So I will go to school in Kenya."

Like "Mzwandile", "Makhosi" fled against his will. He was an ANC membership-recruiter in kwaMashu, and says he has been arrested and brutally beaten by the kwaZulu Police twice in the past year. He is distraught at having abandoned his ailing father, who depended on him, "but I had no choice. They had pinpointed me and were after me. I couldn't even go to school. It was leave and live or stay and die."

"Makhosi" came in early March with the latest consignment of Natal refugees from Swaziland. When they arrived, the centre was already filled to capacity — boys sleeping two-to-a-

Wake up, eat, sleep, wake up, eat, sleep, wake up ...

11/9



As time goes by ... nothing to do and nowhere to go

bed under United Nations standard-issue tents and girls on mattresses in barrack-like rooms — and so they were camping out in the large room that usually serves as a dining hall and meeting place. They had not yet been given clean clothes, and the smell, a fusion of leftover food and body odour, was overbearing.

Slowly, this latest consignment was beginning to integrate into the centre's activities — participating in the Saturday night culture evening, tentatively joining the freedom songs, and hanging around the edges of the daily news briefing. But there was only one word to describe them two days after arrival: shellshocked.

And if recent arrivals are traumatised, then those who have been there for a while are bored stiff. While one group has set up a continuous chess tournament in an abandoned tavern on the premises, and others try, often in vain, to find reading material in the ill-equipped "library", one comrade offered this description of a day at Chelston: "I wake up, I eat breakfast, I go to sleep, I wake up, I eat lunch, I go to sleep, I wake up, I eat supper, I go to sleep."

The centre's organisers do offer

much planned activity: daily political education and "jazz hour" (freedom-song chanting), exercise classes, cultural evenings, news briefings. Although there are strict rules governing when inmates can leave the centre and mandating attendance at political education classes, the sheer number of refugees in the camp — coupled by the fact that many do not have ANC sympathies and left South Africa to go directly to school — has caused an obvious breakdown in discipline. Most spend their time doing their own thing, and leave the centre without permission to trade their rands on the black market and buy cigarettes and chocolate.

There is, however, a duty roster, and most boys have assignments either at the gate or in the kitchen. Camp cook Sheila Maseko uses 80kg of mielie-meal a day, and receives "nothing but complaints".

"Many of the ones who came from Soweto say that they paid money and were expecting luxury," said an administrator. "And they only expected to be in Lusaka for a few days. This is why they are complaining so much."

As it seems to the refugees that they are at Chelston indefinitely, most of

dent has planted a tomato patch — "to remind me I have roots" — and a flourishing flowering foxglove that provides one of the centre's only splashes of colour.

"Francis", a first-year BA student who left Turfloop "after experiencing difficulties there", heads the centre's "propaganda team". He and assistant Gwendolyn spend all day flipping the shortwave dials, and putting together a daily news briefings. "We cover world affairs as well as South Africa," said Gwendolyn, "but the comrades have told us they are sick of the Gulf war and Eastern Europe. All they want to know about is what's happening back home."

The Sunday briefing — which is meant to be an analysis of the week's events — was very underattended: about 100 refugees gathered, but they quickly peeled off until only 30 were left. When it came to "comment time", all they wanted to talk about was one thing: whether or not it was appropriate that a performer at the previous night's culture show chanted "Viva PAC/ANC alliance, Viva!" The dispute highlights, once again, the strangeness of an ANC camp with many inmates who do not support the movement.

No actual fistfights have broken out between ANC and PAC supporters, said the camp administrators, but they complain that it has made their work much more difficult. And there is clearly a tension in the air — when one ANC member was about to identify PAC supporters in the centre, he was quickly shushed by the others gathered around him.

While there is much dissatisfaction at the conditions in Chelston — particularly among the Soweto schoolchildren — there is, among most inmates, an astonishing resolve, one that highlights, perhaps, the conditions from which they have fled. "It's not great here," said "Francis", "but it's OK though. My goal is to get educated, to become a lawyer. And when you have a goal, you are prepared to put up with anything."

Mandela: ANC to collaborate with homeland leaders

Stow 28/3/91

MATSULU (KaNgwane) — The African National Congress will in future be working hand-in-hand with homeland leaders, deputy president Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Mr Mandela was speaking to about 4 000 supporters — mainly youths — at the Matsulu sports stadium.

Mr Mandela received a rousing welcome from the cheering supporters.

11A Singling out KaNgwane's former chief minister, Enos Mabusu, as an excellent politician, Mr Mandela said the ANC did not want to repeat its past mistake of isolating homeland leaders.

Holiday wrong about 'programme of action'

CHP 10/13 2/3/91
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From **RONNIE KASRILS** and **MANDLA KHUZWAYO** (Johannesburg):

ANTHONY HOLIDAY argues against what he calls "management theories" of political organisation (Cape Times, March 11). He used most of his Viewpoint article as an introduction to setting up for attack an article we wrote in the latest *Work in Progress*.

As an academic, Holiday should have the decency to mention that the article was a joint one and not single authors out personally for attack. Holiday's views are difficult to understand, given his own history as an underground organiser for the ANC and the spell of time he spent in prison for this.

Holiday begins by arguing that certain theories of the right wing, particularly those of Samuel Huntingdon, were used by the P.W. Botha government to inform of attempts at crisis management. He correctly presents these as attempts to manipulate popular opinion.

The reverse side of this coin, for Holiday, is our call for a programme of mass action to ensure the ANC seizes the political initiative in negotiations. Holiday is seemingly unable to discuss the actual content of our article. Instead, he relies on the scenarios that it conjures up in his mind — and the reader is called on to reflect on a whole lot of vague suppositions.

It is difficult to see where Holiday's accusations of "managerialism" against us come from. He correctly says that the mass upheavals of the '80s were not the result of manipulation. But the ANC spent that period attempting to provide leadership to those struggles to de-



ADRIAAN VLOK: Among those who caution on a right-wing backlash as the inevitable result of mass struggle.

velop a unified offensive against the apartheid regime. Those struggles have not finished as they have not achieved their goal. In that period organisers, according to Holiday, succeeded "because they shared the passions of those they tried to organise and participated in their lives and struggles". Yet today, when we call for the same approach to the activities of the ANC, we are suddenly guilty of manipulation.

The formulations in our article are based on, and little different from, those of the ANC Consultative Conference. The strategies and tactics of the ANC are based on providing leadership to the mass struggles of the people to ensure a transfer of power to the people. The SACP, of which Holiday is a member, claims to be the "vanguard party" of the South African working class. How does this square up with his antipathy to our position?

In fact, what Holiday is calling for is a change in the aims and methods of the ANC — a change that is only possible by undermining or manipulating the democratic decisions of the ANC Consultative Conference of December 1990. Where the conference called for mass struggle to ensure a democratic outcome from the negotiations process, Holiday is calling for our strategy to be based on "important facets of human personalities".

The fact of the matter is that the possibility which currently exists for a negotiated settlement has emerged as the result of an intense struggle between contending forces. The state and balance of the negotiations reflect this struggle. But for the ANC (as Holiday im-

plies) to unilaterally forgo its position in this struggle because of the perceived personality traits of — or trust in — the other side, would be a betrayal of the aspirations of those millions who "sacrificed their liberty and lives" in the '80s.

Holiday (along with De Klerk, Vlok, Thatcher and Huntingdon, et al) holds out the threat of a right-wing backlash as the inevitable result of mass struggle. But he gives no indication of how else the deadlock between the ANC and the NP on questions such as a constituent assembly and an interim government — is to be resolved.

We argued that the participation of the masses of our people through struggle is the only way to ensure a democratic outcome to negotiations. The alternative is a process and result manipulated by an elite of political leaders who will decide the fate of the masses and ignore their aspirations for majority rule. This, in fact, is the effect of Huntingdon's arguments on management reform. It is in this process that people will be "managed like pack animals to conform to some prearranged conception of democracy". It is only in such a situation, where the participants are representative of no one but themselves, that personalities become the determining factor in political struggle.

We argued that the power of the people, expressed through mass action, is the only way in which their views and aspirations can be reflected in a political solution. We called for a programme of action because it is clear that without disciplined organisation and a programme of action, struggle becomes spontaneous and dissipated. Holiday seems to use our call for a programme of action as an example of managerialist language. In fact, programmes of action have been formulated by the ANC since the '40s, a point of which an academic and journalist such as Tony Holiday should be well aware.

Holiday says that "the greatest threat" to the emergence of democracy in South Africa is the "notion of management". It is hard to see how a notion or idea can be a greater threat to democracy than the continued existence of a non-representative and repressive government, which appears to have become a secondary concern for Holiday.

We are accused of seeking "clear pictures where blurred ones are the only ones available". But the result of Holiday's ideas will be a blurred continuation of minority control when the majority of South Africans are desperate for the crystal clarity of majority rule.

118
**'Divisive'
pamphlet
not ours,
says ANC**

28/3/77
By MOKGADI PELA

THE African National Congress has distanced itself from a pamphlet which was distributed at Dube Hostel in Soweto yesterday calling on the residents to attack Zulu-speaking people.

Part of the pamphlet read: "We want to scatter the Zulus. We want to build committees in all hostels. Let us create conflict among them while they are busy fighting each other."

The organisation said the logo was not consistent with that of the ANC.

The secretary of the Inkatha Freedom Party on the Reef, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, called on the hostel dwellers to ignore the pamphlet.

Dube Hostel has at various times been the scene of clashes between the dwellers and township residents during unrest.

ANC 7-13
Cosatu 3/9
union pans
ANC in ad

NEWSPAPER advertisements critical of the ANC for not consulting a major affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions over a consumer boycott appeared nationally yesterday.

The SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union claimed it was not "in any way" consulted over a consumer boycott scheduled for April 8 to 13, announced at the weekend.

ANC head office spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday the call had not been issued by the ANC's central structure.

There had been press reports on such an appeal being made by a PWV region member of the ANC at a rally in Pretoria, she said.

● The ANC signature campaign for a constituent assembly was officially launched in the Western Cape yesterday.

— Sapa

Azanian fighter 'killed in battle'

DAR ES SALAAM — An Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) fighter was killed in a gun battle with South African security forces near Vereeniging, according to APLA, the PAC's military wing.

Police were not immediately available to confirm the report.

A statement from Dar es Salaam by APLA's high command on Thursday named him as Mike Phokwane Mosadi (26). The statement, issued by chief information officer Johnny Majozi, did not specify a date, but said Mr Mosadi, from Kagiso near Krugersdorp, was killed "at Small Farm near Vereeniging

recently". Star 30/3/91

It said a party of four APLA members were "making a tactical retreat following an earlier skirmish in the area. Although some of the unit members were slightly wounded, they made good their retreat."

In Johannesburg, a PAC official said the incident took place on March 15.

Mr Mosadi was described as a seasoned APLA fighter who joined the guerilla army in 1986. He would be buried on April 6, the 32nd anniversary of the formation of the PAC, the statement added. — Sapa.

WAI Mah
Clerk

Her husband, Mac, has been hunted, jailed and tortured. Her children, too, have spent their lives on the run. For Zarina Maharaj, married life has been anything but normal. In her own words she describes the strain; but in an ironic twist, even as she was committing her thoughts to paper, her husband was about to be granted indemnity from prosecution after having gone on trial with seven other members of the African National Congress.

Pain and fear of marriage to an ANC activist

I CALL it combat fatigue. The years of fear and uncertainty of living in exile in the South African underground have exhausted me. But in June last year, when my husband Mac, like other ANC leaders, was granted an indemnity to return to South Africa, I thought the war was over, or at least that my family would be granted a period of calm.

Perhaps we and the children could now live something of a normal life. We assumed that his indemnity would provide some protection from an enemy we desperately wanted to believe was changing.

On July 25 last year, we had our suitcases packed and were ready to go home. Mac had returned earlier and found a house in Johannesburg for us and a school for the children, Amilcar, now eight, and six-year-old Sekal. After only a few months in yet another country, this time England, we were on the move again. And then the phone call.

Mac had been detained in South Africa, under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention incommunicado, without trial, access to lawyers, personal doctors, family or friends.

With the children in shock, the suitcases had to be unpacked.

According to the security police, my husband and others had been involved in preparations for a military coup. Yet, at negotiations in May 1990 between the ANC and the government, the existence of an underground armed resistance movement was openly acknowledged. A ceasefire and handing over of arms had still to be agreed, so Mac continued his underground activities.

Mac, now 55, joined the ANC at the

age of 18 and he'd been active for 37 years. He stopped in June 1990 and came to England. A month later, having stumbled on "Operation Vula", a major part of the ANC's underground network, the police claimed an insurrectionary plot by Communists.

All the time Mac was underground, he was undetected by the police. Ironically, as soon as he returned to South Africa and began to live openly, believing in the indemnity, he was arrested as Vula's internal commander. It was an attempt to cause a rift between the ANC and the Communist Party but it backfired when ANC president, Oliver Tambo, claimed overall command of Vula.

This was not my husband's first experience of South African jails. In 1964, he was arrested and tortured so brutally that fellow inmates said they could hardly recognise him. He had refused to give information, but years later told me that he had been so scared of revealing names that he had twice attempted suicide.

In the end, they broke his neck, charged him with sabotage and sent him in plaster of Paris to Robben Island, where he spent 12 years in the Isolation Section alongside Nelson Mandela.

He was released in 1976 but placed under house arrest. Escaping across the border, he began his term of exile. We met in Mozambique where I was teaching at the university. We married in Zambia. From the beginning, our life together was permeated with the threat of South African death squads who frequently attacked ANC personnel in the frontline states. I had to learn to use firearms for self-protection.

On one occasion when Mac was away, I trapped a man apparently ready to ambush me at my front door, but I was too shocked to use my pistol. Another time, I emptied my AK-47 in the direction of the feet of intruders who had already cut halfway through the grille of my bedroom window. Eight months pregnant, I jumped between Mac and an attacker. It worked. The man ran away.

In addition, there was the problem of being followed. We had always to be on the alert, living in safe houses and often having to move furtively after dark. Our children have had to grow up in this underground culture.

During the years we lived in Zambia, Mac was often away, his work initially taking him across neighbouring states. With the ANC's decision to launch Operation Vula, we felt instinctively that Mac should undertake the task.

After 1987 there was, therefore, the added tension of being alone with the children, knowing that he was secretly working inside South Africa and not knowing when we would meet again.

There was always the possibility that he might never come out alive. It is rarely recognised that the partners who stay behind are as much in the front line as those who cross it.

After I had a serious car accident in Zambia, we decided, 18 months ago, that I should move with the children to England.

For the first time in their lives they were able to move about freely, mixing openly with other children outside school. In spite of this newfound freedom, they still craved the company of their father.

Amilcar still veers between enormous pride and enormous resentment that his father is elsewhere when he needs him. But, last year, for a few wonderful months, Mac was able to leave his work to help us settle.

Then, in February, the ANC was unbanned, leading to a quite unexpected chain of events. It was then that Mac was instructed by the ANC to "surface" and return legally to the country under an indemnity from prosecution which was to expire on 19 August 1990.

He did so, but with three weeks of the indemnity still to run, he was arrested and landed in hospital under police guard, at times kept in leg-irons. Assault, this time, had led to a damaged vertebra.

What is so difficult to accept is that this is all happening while the regime has agreed a framework with the ANC for the release of all political prisoners, the ending of all political trials and the return of all exiles.

My own uneasiness about his safety and the good faith of De Klerk's "reform" process was strikingly reflected just after Mac's arrest when my son confided his feeling that it was not a



question of "when we would see Daddy again" but "whether".

The children and I intend to return to South Africa next week. In Britain, I've been living off my savings. It's time to find a job and give Amilcar and Sekal some stability.

But for now, such is the emptiness, pain and uncertainty of the families of all those on trial, we cannot help but wonder what De Klerk's agenda really is.

London Observer Service

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■ London Observer Service

WAITING FOR MAC: Zarina Maharaj and her children Amilcar and Sekai.

Inset: Mac Maharaj, now indemnified after being prosecuted along with seven others in connection with Operation Vula.



Hani talks of 'new' SADF

8/11 30/3/91
DRIES VAN HEERDEN

ANC ready

**to move
MK men in**

THE African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has started training pilots and naval officers to prepare to serve in a future South African defence force, according to an interview with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani.

In the interview, due to appear next week in the ANC publication, *Mayibuye*, Mr Hani says MK has expanded its camps in a number of countries "to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits".

He is also "negotiating with many more countries" to increase the number of cadres undergoing air force and navy training.

"We are under tremendous pressure from young members of the ANC to provide them training," Mr Hani says.

'Rehabilitation'

He says the formation of a future army for the country will be dealt with during the negotiation process. He rejects the notion that the present SA Defence Force will continue to operate in its present form and says MK will play a role in the building of armed forces to serve a democratic society.

"We accept that we cannot wish away the SADF. It is an army with thousands of soldiers and officers. I think it is possible for those elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation to be part of a new SA army.

"The new army will have to have specific guidelines so that in future it is not used to entrench the hegemony of any particular political group," he says.

Mr Hani says the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle was "unilateral" and the movement "received nothing in return".

He says the agreements reached with the Government imply that MK can continue "recruiting and training people within the country in the fields of drilling, physical preparedness, martial arts, tactics, etc".

"The only thing that would be illegal in terms of the regime's laws would be training in the use of firearms and explosives."

However, he makes it clear that the ANC will proceed with the creation of "self-defence units". Discussions on this subject are also being held with other groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"We have to allay their fears. Some feel we are building these units to strengthen ourselves against them. We have to show them we are totally frank and above-board on the question of self-defence."

He also rejects the suggestion that the training of these units contradicts agreements made with the Government.

"We shall continue this (building self-defence units) and we know that the Government is going to take exception to this.

"We cannot accept double standards. If it is okay for whites to have their neighbourhood watch, it should be equally acceptable for blacks to have self-defence units."

Mr Hani admits for the first time that the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle has led to tensions and unhappiness "and a ripple of uncertainty" within the ranks of MK.

"We had to convince our cadres that this was not a betrayal of the armed struggle

'Uncertainties'

"We also had to convince them that MK will never be demolished but will remain intact as an integral armed wing of the organisation. These explanations have helped in clearing the uncertainties and now the situation has been stabilised, more or less."

Mr Hani emphasises that the negotiation process will not mean the dismantling of MK structures in countries neighbouring South Africa.

"Those in the camps have to remain there for a longer time as a cohesive army because we have not yet achieved our freedom.

"If, tomorrow the Government was to go back to the old ways of harassing and brutalising the people, surely the ANC would have a right to deploy its army to defend the people," he says.

More patients bank on their own blood

Patients

Local donor screening index is

8/11 28/3/91

later moved ahead two more fast-

the situation who have to search

SELLING THE ANC



THE ANC Business Unit has launched its own trading company, Movement Enterprises, in an effort to crack down on unlicensed profiteering from its name.

Displaying the name of the organisation and the likeness of its leading personalities is big business, and the organisation is trying to make sure it gets its share of the profits.

ANC-related products have always had cult status for political souvenir hunters, but in the year since the release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela there has been a dramatic upsurge in demand and supply of products.

Until recently most products were made by private entrepreneurs hoping to profit from the organisation's popularity.

ANC copyright makes illegal the sale of products not endorsed by the organisation, yet thousands of T-shirts, posters, fabrics and caps have been produced and sold without ANC permission.

The biggest sellers are items emblazoned with the likeness of Nelson Mandela.

Bid to halt illegal sale of goods

Pennywise ... selling products in the name of the ANC - both endorsed and pirated - has proved such a lucrative business that the ANC itself has decided to claim its share of the profits.

By Pici TLADI KHUELE

In a recent "swoop" Business Unit staff, accompanied by ANC marshals, visited 10 known stockists of unofficial ANC goods in Johannesburg.

All the traders were given letters informing them the sale of items carrying the name of the organisation or a likeness of any of its members constituted "a flagrant infringement" of the ANC trademark in terms of the Trade Marks Act.

The letter demanded that the traders immediately stop selling and displaying the stock and give full details of the supplier and items bought.

Reaction was mixed. One shop owner threatened to blow up the ANC offices and scuffled with the marshals. But most have simply ignored the threat. Only three shops have so far reached some agreement with the organisation.

Undaunted, the ANC Business Unit, together with Movement Enterprises, has produced a mail order catalogue displaying 81 items now being made under ANC licence.

These include ANC T-shirts, watches, badges, umbrellas, caps, posters, notebooks, letter pads, calendars, travel bags, key rings, greeting cards, earrings, necklaces, pendants, cufflinks, belts, ties, scarves, flags, dresses and tracksuits.

Manufacturers have entered into agreements with the ANC that stipulate price, design, quality and type of product.

In cases where the ANC is not involved in distribution and where wholesaling is done by the manufacturer the movement gets a royalty of between 15 and 20 percent.

The ANC is not prepared to open its own factory, "in order to minimise the risk involved". The organisation has however hired a public relations company to promote its endorsed products.

The ANC is "interested in quality". Business Unit director Pete Roussos, said: "If the faces of the leadership are going to be used on products the products must be of high quality. We don't want to cheapen the image of the leadership by having them displayed on inferior products."

The organisation is also trying to broaden its market by reaching beyond shop-based retailers and onto the streets.

In the past few years the state's prohibition on street sellers has been overwhelmed by sheer numbers of people hawking to survive.

Thousands of hawkers have formed associations.

Now the ANC is wholesaling directly to the hawkers. The campaign began in mid-February when wholesalers who sell to hawkers throughout the Transvaal were entertained at a gala event.



Wheelchair could keep Mavi down

disabled five years ago after
by a township thug, has not
or his voice.
it hard to get back into the
recovery, but is determined to

ain, but I will sing," he said.



MA

Mass mobilisation - pros and cons

C/P News 31/3/91

11A

FROM the ANC perspective, the strategy of mass mobilisation has many and clear advantages, the most important being that it is seen as having brought the government to its present position.

Other analysts disagree. A senior academic points out that the need for fundamental reform was recognised by the State long before the 1980s, the decade of mass mobilisation.

Others, like Inkatha, stress the decision to unban the ANC was based on a complex matrix of factors, in which Inkatha's insistence on the lifting of the ban and the release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, as preconditions for negotiation, played a major role.

A senior Cosatu official said that in the ANC's view mass action was considered the most potent weapon for the organisation to ensure the speedy conduct of genuine negotiations and to promote the ultimate transfer of power.

ANC spokesmen, in general, see no disadvantages in the strategy.

One MDM leader, a senior Cast official, acknowledged that resultant deaths may have had the effect of disillusioning supporters, but quickly qualified such loss of life as the price people must expect to pay.

One ANC senior regional spokesman, however, identified three disadvantages:

■ Mass mobilisation could generate a boycott mentality. It may become an end in itself - almost an anarchic end. "The danger is that it may be seen as the only legitimate form of political activity, rather than as a stepping stone to other

THE ANC has declared 1991 "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people". It claims it has won the right to continue its campaign to bring about the collapse of black local government. But some commentators regard mass action as a source of confrontation. South African Institute of Race Relations research consultant Dr ANTHEA JEFFERY seeks to cast further light on this matter in a report titled *Mass Mobilisation*, based on interviews with key people in the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

political processes."

■ Mass mobilisation can get out of hand and can lead to violence.

■ If the tactic is overplayed, it can become so boring that people resist it. It must be aimed at capturing the spirit of the moment, otherwise it will alienate people.

Other commentators also warn that mass mobilisation may readily backfire. For example, the ANC is likely to take substantial blame for the poor 1990 DET matric results. These, with a pass-rate down to 36 percent, have been widely attributed to the school boycotts.

Other disadvantages identified by observers, all of which are largely discounted by the ANC, include:

■ Mass mobilisation increases the risk of confrontation with the police, and of resultant injury or death. The ANC rejects this, saying security forces are primarily responsible for confrontations.

■ Senior police officers point out that mass mobilisation - particularly in the form of mass protest marches - can place the police in a very difficult position.

"Mass marches can lead to anarchic situations, especially after they have come to an end. Feelings are high. It is very easy to decide to loot, or to attack other groups. Besides, if prior permission is not obtained, there will be conflict with the police, who cannot stand back, but must enforce the law," said a senior police officer.

■ Mass mobilisation provokes conflict with rival organisations, especially Inkatha.

Again, this danger is largely discounted by ANC spokesmen.

■ Mass mobilisation strengthens the white rightwing, helping it to beat the drum of "swart gevaar".

Although some ANC spokesmen acknowledge "the vast capacity" of the white rightwing to cause chaos in the country and derail the negotiation process, in general the ANC attaches little importance to this danger.

Government analysts take a different view, believing that mass action does indeed strengthen the white rightwing.

■ Mass mobilisation deters foreign investment, sorely needed economic growth and development.

Senior ANC officials entirely discount this danger, believing that the cure is further mass action and resultant ungovernability, so as to speed the demise of the NP government.

ANC spokesmen are adamant that mass mobilisation must, and will, continue, at least until an ANC government has come to power.

They see it as essential to give the ANC "battalions" what they need at the negotiating table, according to a senior official.

There is also a recognition that, strategically, the ANC cannot afford to give up. The organisation has already come under heavy fire from many of its supporters for suspending the armed struggle.

Mass mobilisation must then continue until the ANC has achieved its goal of a transfer of power.

In general, ANC spokesmen see mass mobilisation as changing in its orientation, from "oppositional" to "constructive".

The aim will no longer be to overthrow the government, but to rebuild, develop and entrench a grassroots, participative democracy.

"We do not want people to go back to their homes, happy to have Mandela or Tambo as president. We want people to continue participating in the deeper transformation of the country," said a senior ANC official.

Others, including members of the SACP, stress that socio-economic grievances are likely to continue after liberation and that mass action to compel redress will persist.

PE to hold one-city talks

TALKS about a single, non-racial municipality get under way in Port Elizabeth this week at a multi-party conference. C/Pen 31/3/91

Town clerk Paul Botha said the meeting will give a wide range of organisations the chance to meet and discuss how to move forward on the issue.

The city council is seeing the meeting as the beginning of a longer process and is restricting representation to three delegates from each organisation. However, the ANC will be sending at least six regional leaders.

They include Benson Fihla, Gugile Nkwinti, Mbulelo Goniwe, Edgar Ngoyi and Mike Xhego, all members of the ANC's regional executive. (11A) (HS)

"The ANC cannot divorce national negotiations from local negotiations on the question of one single unitary state. The ANC's approach will be guided by the national policies of the ANC," said Xhego.

The various parties plan to take a cautious approach, so as not to jeopardise the process.

"We will not dictate to the conference, but will approach the meeting with an open and wide agenda," said Botha.

Botha said the meeting, scheduled for Wednesday, will be closed and invitations will be directed only to representative bodies.

Most organisations have indicated they will attend the meeting. —Pen

'Call in the UN'

C/pres 31/3/91

THE United Nations (UN) should be involved in the transfer of power in South Africa, says the leader of the ANC-aligned chiefs' body, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Contralesa national president Patekile Holomisa said an interim government constituted by a body which enjoys UN support should take over from the NP government.

Holomisa - a member of the Transkei ANC regional executive and the younger brother of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa - was addressing the East London branch of the ANC on the transitional period South Africa faces.

He said a Patriotic Front composed of the major liberation movements should be established and then an all-party conference held.

Holomisa dismissed the government's proposal of a "super cabinet" and saw the ANC's signature campaign as a way of pressurising the government into accepting an interim government and constituent assembly.

Contralesa rejected the view "homeland leaders should be on our side of the negotiating table" as such an approach would "help perpetuate tribalism".

He urged popular leaders not to form new parties but to join national organisations.

"As to the political circus that is on show in the Ciskei under the apparent leadership of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Contralesa is deeply disturbed," said Holomisa.

"We are also convinced Gqozo is not his own man. No black South African with all his senses would commit the atrocities he has against his own people, including his army colleagues, unless he is acting on somebody's orders.

"(Foreign Minister) Pik Botha would be well-advised to recall Gqozo to South Africa so that the people of this area can decide for themselves who should rule them in the interim period."

Holomisa said he would not be surprised if the Ciskei people decided to support Paramount Chief Maxhobayakhawuleza Sandile, the only paramount chief in the Ciskei. - Elnews

BLACK

POLITICS

1991 - APRIL

Hurd urges PAC to join negotiations

11A

Star 1/4/91
LONDON — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has urged the PAC to suspend its armed struggle and join in talks with Pretoria, the Foreign Office said at the weekend.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Hurd met a PAC delegation which included President Clarence Makwetu last week as part of Britain's policy of maintaining contacts with all parties in South Africa.

Suspend

"The foreign secretary urged the PAC to join the process of peaceful change through negotiations and suspend the armed struggle," the spokesman said.

But Mr Makwetu told

Mr Hurd the PAC rejected President de Klerk's proposals for all-party talks.

"To agree to a multi-racial all-party conference would be disastrous," Mr Makwetu told the foreign secretary, according to a PAC statement released on Friday.

"It is a concept built on apartheid and it is undemocratic as it will not be based on the principle of one-man, one-vote and universal franchise.

"It is a fraudulent proposition which will delay power being transferred to the majority in a new South Africa," the PAC president said.

Mr Makwetu said he also rejected proposals for an interim government as a delaying tactic. — Sapa-Reuter.

Leaders to meet on violence?

9/11/91
11/11/91
11/11

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — There is a possibility that a meeting between President F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may be arranged soon to discuss the ongoing black-on-black violence in the country.

However, a spokesman for the President's office said last night that he was "unaware of such discussion" and could therefore not comment. He said the President was unavailable for comment.

The possibility of a meeting between the big three emerged on Saturday after a five-hour meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi here — their first "one-on-one" meeting.

The two leaders greeted each other with great warmth and cordiality.

They issued a joint statement afterwards in which they said that the continuing violence was

seen as an indictment of black leadership in the country.

They said the nature of the violence was not a simple ANC/IFP conflict nor could it be categorised as Xhosa/Zulu friction.

They said the possibility of a "third force" being behind the violence was being looked into.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi said the conversion of hostels into family units should be investigated as a matter of urgency.

Loose coalition

They expressed alarm at the increasing number of weapons possessed by black South Africans and said further talks would be held about this.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports meanwhile that there have also been tentative, behind-the-scenes discussions on the possibility of the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha forming a loose coalition in a bid to boost stabil-

ity and reduce conflict in the difficult transition period.

It is understood that other parties prepared to subscribe to a broad set of common principles would also be allowed on board if such an initiative can be successfully launched.

On the parliamentary front, meanwhile, Mr De Klerk has invited other tricameral leaders to attend a Tuynhuys meeting on April 8 with a view to establishing a "parliamentary forum".

The move is seen as a bid to galvanise opposition to the demand by extra-parliamentary parties for constituent assembly elections and give fresh momentum to the negotiation process.

The initiative could result in an effective interim government between the major players before a new constitution is settled and elections are held for a new government.



FRIENDS IN ADVERSITY . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi embrace at the start of their talks.

Picture: REUTERS

ANC meets in Inkatha country

214191 • TIM COHEN • 11A

THE ANC's much-heralded June conference will be held in Durban, probably between "Soweto Day" (June 16) and "Freedom Day" (June 26), ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Marcus denied there were political reasons for holding the conference in the province where one of its major rivals, Inkatha, has its strongest support.

Factors influencing the decision to hold the conference in Durban included the fact that the ANC wanted to avoid holding it in the PWV region where its consultative conference was held last year. Logistical factors also played a role, she said.

Holding the conference in Durban would mean shorter trips for many delegates, than, for example, holding it in Cape Town.

The conference date has not yet been announced, but it is likely to include either June 16 or June 26.

Many ANC campaigns have been launched on June 26, the anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter.

The conference will be the first fully fledged national conference since the ANC's unbanning.



'NOT INTIMIDATED'
... Mr Chris Hanani

MK's Hanani says he won't 'run away' from SA

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Chris Hanani will not leave the country even if his indemnity is withdrawn.

Mr Hanani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), said this only days after Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan warned him his indemnity was temporary.

"I'm not intimidated by Malan or by (President F W) de Klerk's government.

"I'm not frightened by their threats to withdraw the indemnity.

"And certainly, I'm not going to run away from this country.

"It is my country.

"They can do whatever they like, you see.

"They will never silence me. I can assure them,"

Mr Hanani said last Thursday at a reception in central Johannesburg for the second group of 112 ANC returnees, many of whom are MK commanders.

Two days earlier, General Malan had launched one of his sharpest attacks against Mr Hanani and SA Communist Party (SACP) general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, for indulging in "war talk".

He accused Mr Hanani and his supporters of jeopardising negotiations and warned him to bear in mind that his indemnity against legal action was only temporary.

General Malan claimed that all who were committed to the new South Africa were "sick and tired" of Mr Hanani's threats of violence.

MK was nothing more than a "paper tiger which has no right to exist", General Malan claimed further.

"I'll excuse Malan for his ignorance," Mr Hanani retorted.

"This government has had to deploy SADF forces all along the borders of South Africa to stop MK from coming inside the country.

"They've not only confined themselves to that deployment, but they've crossed borders in pursuit of MK.

"MK is a reality Malan can never wish away," Mr Hanani declared, denying General Malan's claims that MK was a "paper tiger".

MK furthermore had played a significant part in the fight against apartheid rule, Mr Hanani said.

"MK has contributed to the struggle for liberation in this country.

"If this regime now is on the brink of being removed from power, it is because of the contribution of MK."

The returning MK members and commanders, Mr Hanani added, had an important role to play in the unfolding political process in the country.

"It is a large burden because these comrades have varying experiences.

"Their return, in a way, is a victory for our struggle for national liberation," the MK chief of staff argued.

"These comrades left the country because of the persecution they received from the apartheid system.

"Their leaving the country was a sign of disapproval and opposition to apartheid.

"Their coming back marks the beginning of the demise or destruction of apartheid." — Sapa

Azapo wants defence unit 11A

Sowetan 2/4/91
THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is likely to call on churches, trade unions and civic groups at its national council meeting in Durban at the weekend to set up structures that could protect black people.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday the organisation would not stand by and watch black people continue to die by the thousands.

Moodley said the council would also evaluate the "successful" March 21 stayaway called by Azapo.

"Further mass action over the next

By MOKGADI PELA

three months would also be discussed," he said.

On the question of the consultative conference, which Azapo has called for, Moodley said the organisation was frustrated by the way other members of the liberation movement were dragging their feet in resolving the inter-organisational violence.

Moodley said about 500 delegates from Azapo's 130 branches were expected to attend the council.

High-powered talks begin on SA's future

CAPE TOWN — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, top ANC officials and other influential politicians were involved in confidential discussions at the start of a high-powered international conference on the future of SA yesterday.

Walter Sisulu, internal leader of the ANC, and Thabo Mbeki, head of the international section of the ANC, were among delegates at the closed conference. Two other ANC delegates, Christmas Tinto and Amos Lingisi, said vice-president Nelson Mandela had been unable to attend the four-day conference sponsored by the American Aspen Foundation.

An ANC delegate from the organisation's international section, Yusuf Saloojee, said sanctions had been only one of the topics under discussion.

The conference is expected to have a significant impact on international policy-making towards Pretoria and is being attended by influential politicians from the US, the Soviet Union, Germany and Britain.

SA participants will include President F W de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and other politicians and representatives from business and labour.

The conference organiser, former US senator Dick Clark, said proceedings were likely to have an impact on sanctions legislation and other areas of US policy on SA.

Sixteen US congressmen and a number of overseas politicians have travelled to SA to attend the conference.

The Aspen Institute is an international organisation whose programmes are designed to enhance the ability of leaders in business, government, the non-profit sector, academia and the media to understand and act upon the issues that challenge the national and international community, according to a leaflet.

The institute's headquarters are based in Maryland, with other facilities and programmes in Aspen, Colorado, and in five countries overseas. It is an independent, non-profit organisation funded through foundation grants, tuition and individual and corporate contributions.

Own Correspondent

By COLIN LEGUM

LONDON — Among the many intriguing riddles of the current political situation in South Africa, is the role of the Communist Party. How long will it continue its close ties with the ANC once the negotiations for a democratic post-apartheid society are completed?

Will it set itself up as a mass party, or continue its tradition of vanguardism with a relatively small, high-quality membership? Will it become a major, perhaps even dominant influence in Cosatu, the largest non-racial workers' federation in the country?

These questions form the core of a debate taking place in the ANC, Cosatu and the Communist Party itself. Answers are difficult because none of these three allies has yet clearly formulated its own role for the future. They have clarity on only one issue: that it is crucially important for them to work together during the negotiating period.

So, barring unforeseen developments — always possible in the volatile state of the country's present-day politics — it seems reasonably certain that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance will hold up.

The communists are still trying to define their future programme and constitution. They have given themselves until the end of the year to decide the new shape of the party, now that it has cut ties with Stalinist Moscow.

The first task of the party is to eliminate the divisions within its own ranks. These are admitted by Jeremy Cronin, a member of the SACP Interim Leadership and its articulate spokesman. He is not one of the Old Guard and insists on the new party strengthening its own internal democratic processes and placing "more emphasis, in particular, on openness and accountability". He has spoken of different groups "who may have trouble fitting in with other members — such as former exiles, underground members who remained in the country and trade unionists".

Transformation

His own declared preference is for trade union officials, who he says have a stronger tradition of democracy than other groups, which he hopes will rub off on party members.

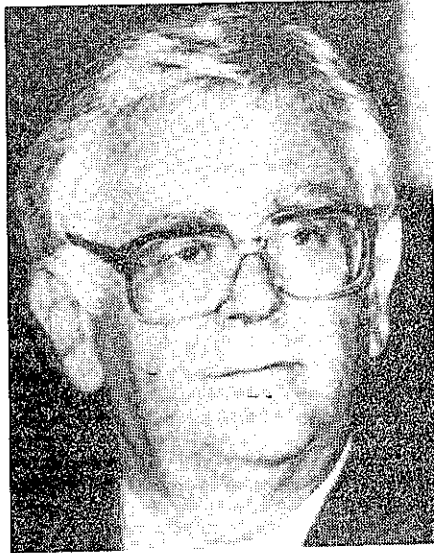
Another member of the New Guard, Anthony Holiday, has taken issue with "the insurrectionists" within the party, who run counter to those who believe it is possible to achieve a transfer of power through negotiations. The "insurrectionists" were strong enough to have their views inscribed into the party's programme at its last conference held in Cuba. Their faith lies in "a mass revolutionary upsurge of the people, in conditions which hold out the possibility of a seizure of power".

Holiday, like party leader, Joe Slovo, rejects this view. They believe that the direct line of advance to socialism in South Africa is a national democratic transformation, which is not to "defer socialism, but to advance it by the most rapid (and democratic) transformation, most likely to occur through negotiations".

One member of the Old Guard, Harry Gwala, has strongly criticised Slovo's pamphlet, *Has Socialism Failed?* One of his complaints is Slovo's denunciation of "the nihilism of Stalin". Gwala takes a favourable view of Stalin, while conceding that "no doubt many, many excesses were committed during the time of Stalinism, but who is not wiser after the event?" He in-

What role will the SACP play in the future?

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CML-1cap 2/4/91



JOE SLOVO: His pamphlet, "Has Socialism Failed?" has been strongly criticised.

sists that the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be abandoned.

While these internecine disputes are being fought out in the party's publications and in the general media, the SACP has begun to indicate the direction in which it hopes to move. The most revealing statement of its strategy has come from Raymond Mhlaba, the influential chairman of the Internal Leadership group. "Prevailing conditions," he says, "could determine whether the party would choose to run a new government with the ANC, or proceed on its own with its programme of establishing a socialist republic."

He adds: "The SACP and Cosatu need to be close together. The ANC, on the other hand, is a mixed bag where you've got capitalists as well as workers and peasants. When we say we want to set up a socialist republic, the capitalists in the ANC will not agree; but the SACP and Cosatu will be very good partners."

Top leaders

The ANC did not talk of socialism... "We regard ourselves as the vanguard of the working class. We believe it must be the working class which actually controls and runs the means of production. Those are the fundamental differences (with the ANC)."

The SACP is seeking to expand its influence and probably its control of Cosatu. Thirteen of the 23 members of the SACP's regional leaders are prominent leaders of Cosatu. Five others hold key positions in the ANC and another five are ANC stalwarts.

Among top Cosatu leaders are Chris Dlamini, vice-president; Sidney Mafumadi, assistant secretary-general; Moses Mayekiso, the influential general secretary of the Metal Workers Union;

and John Gomomo.

The decision of these prominent union leaders to play an active role in the SACP's organisation has raised serious questions for Cosatu, whose constitution lays down that its officials should not occupy leadership roles in political parties.

The breaching of the constitution has opened up a sharp debate within Cosatu.

There is also the question of prominent ANC officials holding key posts in the SACP. This inevitably raises the question of dual loyalties, especially in view of Raymond Mhlaba's criticism of the ANC's lack of commitment to socialism. Attention focuses chiefly on the role of Chris Hani, the chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), who is the chairman of the Transkei region of the ANC and the man regarded as the most likely candidate to succeed Nelson Mandela, if ill-health should force him out of leadership. Three other MK members serve on the 10-man committee of the Transkei region.

If, in the future, there should be a break between the ANC and SACP (as envisaged by Mhlaba), the dual membership of prominent leaders could seriously weaken the ANC.

Rivalry

The SACP has seriously debated the question of whether it should seek to build up a mass membership, or confine itself to recruiting only qualified members for a vanguard party.

This issue seems to have been settled, at least temporarily, by a decision of an SACP workshop in February to set a target of 30 000 members by December.

According to the SACP's Press officer, Essop Pahad, the workshop agreed that "we must build a big party, mainly composed of working-class members. But we want quality activists who will be expected to be involved in a wide range of political issues".

This decision opens up the possibility of rivalry between the ANC and SACP for members.

So long as the ANC accepts the present position that its members can also belong to the SACP, the prospect is that the two organisations will share the same members. But since the SACP has traditionally been better organised, the risk is that ANC activists will spend more time building up the communist organisation rather than the ANC's.

While the SACP is obviously well suited by the present arrangement of dual membership, the ANC has not yet — at least publicly — examined the possible conflict of interest between itself and the SACP over membership. It would be surprising if this thorny issue were not seriously addressed by the ANC in the near future.

□ Colin Legum recently paid an extended visit to SA.

Businessmen slam Azapo over attacks

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Sawetun 2/4/91

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE Pietersburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries has slammed the Azanian People's Organisation for praising guerilla attacks in the Northern Transvaal.

In a letter addressed to Azapo regional organiser the Rev Kgotsupo Leputu, PCCI president Mr FD Greyling said he was concerned about media reports of a resolution passed at Azapo's regional congress.

Praising attacks by the Azanian National Liberation Army, the resolution said the skirmishes were "demonstrating to the oppressed people and the world that the problems in occupied Azania were far from being adequately addressed by the ongoing circus of FW de Klerk and his apologists".

The resolution also called on people to support and join Azanla until victory was attained.

Greyling, in his letter, said the resolution was "uncalled for and emotional rather than factual".

Greyling said: "While the Pietersburg Chamber is supportive of moves to form a non-racial society, we unreservedly reject your organisation's comments and means of finding a solution to South Africa's problems through the barrel of the gun."

He said future prosperity and wealth could not be achieved through violence and intimidation.

**SACP accused of
creating conflict**

8/10/69 3/4/69

Business Day Reporter

11A

PLANNING and Provincial Affairs Minister Hennis Kriel has accused the SA Communist Party (SACP) of continuing to further conflict in order to make SA ungovernable.

In an interview with the Bureau for Information's magazine RSA Policy Review released yesterday, Kriel singled out SACP leader Moses Mayekiso for criticism.

Kriel described Mayekiso's involvement with the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) as indicating that "the SACP is still establishing front organisations with the purpose of furthering conflict in a disguised manner in an effort to make the country ungovernable".

Patrick Laurence reflects on the continuing De Klerk-Mandela duel

Gladiators in a political

APARTHEID

PRESIDENT de Klerk and the man who may well succeed him, Nelson Mandela, share at least one factor in common: both occupy a central position — on the ideological continuum as well as on the political stage.

The two leaders are committed to a political settlement and the birth of a new South Africa based on racial reconciliation and co-operation. In that sense they are guardians of the centre, protecting it against the destructive, centrifugal forces whirling through a society in conflict and transition.

But that does not mean that the relationship between Mr de Klerk, a belated convert to non-racialism, and Mr Mandela, who has fought racism for decades, is cosy. There is ample room for disagreement on a range of issues within their concurrence on the need for settlement.

Sanctions is one issue on which the two men have fought an intense political duel.

Mr Mandela has sought either to maintain sanctions or, at least, to slow down and control their withdrawal. Mr de Klerk, whatever his public utterances about not seeking the end of sanctions, has campaigned discreetly but tirelessly for their end. The stakes were high for both men.

For Mr Mandela and the African National Congress, international support has been a vital weapon in an array of forces which forced Mr de Klerk to change tack and seek a settlement. International support, financial and moral, however, remains critical in the coming struggle at the negotiating table and in pending post-settlement elections.

Symbolise.

For Mr de Klerk, success in rolling back the tide of international hostility is equally critical. It will signal that his change of direction is bringing tangible rewards and not merely new dangers. Nothing will symbolise his success more to Afrikaners than an international rugby tour.

Mr de Klerk's inclusion of Ireland and Denmark on the itinerary of his trip to Europe towards the end of the month reflects his growing confidence that he is winning, if he has not already won, the contest with Mr Mandela.

Ireland and Denmark, of course, represent the hard face of the European Community on sanctions. Their posture is seen from Pretoria as pro-ANC. They therefore represent a challenge to Mr de Klerk.

If they are successfully weaned from their pro-sanctions stance by Mr de Klerk's low-key but intellectually persistent diplomacy, it will be a blow to the ANC.

Looking back, it is possible to detect two phases in the political encounter between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela: in the first phase, between Mr Mandela's release in February last year and the ANC's suspension of armed struggle in August, Mr Mandela was a clear points winner; in the second, from August onwards, however, Mr de Klerk, a younger man with vastly more resources at his disposal, seems to have moved ahead as the excitement of Mr Mandela's legendary status waned.

One sign that the contest was beginning to swing Mr de Klerk's way was the EC's decision to lift the ban on new investment in South Africa.

The ANC leadership, anticipating the change, tried to get ahead of the political game by persuading delegates to its consultative conference that the time had come to modify its hardline stance and to initiate removal of some sanctions to prevent the Government claiming victory.

The leadership proposal was, however, rejected by rank-and-file delegates, many of whom experienced the sharp and bloody edge

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of Mr de Klerk's reformism: the security forces and their alleged vigilante allies. It was a victory for democracy within the ANC, but a tactical defeat for the ANC at another level.

The more recent announcement by the EC that it will lift the ban on importation of South African iron and steel and gold coins when apartheid laws are finally removed was another indication that Mr de Klerk was forging ahead. Mr de Klerk, of course, promised in his speech to Parliament on February 1 to scrap all discriminatory legislation "within months". He has since been more definite, promising to repeal it by the end of June.

These victories for Mr de Klerk in Western Europe must be seen in the context of South Africa's successful drive to forge closer ties with Eastern European countries which have jettisoned communism. His envoys have visited a string of these countries and opened trade mission there.

An embassy has been opened in Hungary. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has identified the following countries as ones in which diplomatic missions would be established before the end of the year: Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland.

South Africa and the Soviet Union have established "interest

sections" in the Austrian Embassies in Moscow and in Pretoria respectively. It is a first step towards restoring the diplomatic ties broken off by South Africa in the mid-1950s.

The recent visit to South Africa of a special delegation from the International Olympic Committee ended on a high note for South Africa. The delegation, headed by Judge Keba Mbaye of Senegal, agreed to extend conditional recognition to the newly formed Interim National Olympic Committee of South Africa.

Interpreted

The move was widely interpreted as giving South Africa an opportunity to scrap statutory apartheid and exorcise the spirit of apartheid from sport, on the field and among its administrative officials, and thus to qualify for participation in next year's Olympic Games at Barcelona.

But here the ANC appears to have got ahead of the game. Mr Mandela has reportedly told the IOC that he is satisfied with the position taken by South Africa's new interim committee, which is headed by a arch foe of apartheid — and a firm friend of the ANC's — Sam Ramsamy.

The pro-ANC National and Olympic Sports Congress has been

a prime force in setting the stage for South Africa's return to international sport. It persuaded sportsmen and women to accept a moratorium on covert or defiant links with "pirates" — international sportsmen willing to visit South Africa in return for lucrative contracts.

Steve Tshwete, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, has played a key role in nudging Danie Craven, the head of the SA Rugby Board, towards acceptance of the moratorium.

Thus, when international sporting ties are re-forged, the ANC will be able to claim its share of the credit.

In the meantime, however, South Africa's townships experience one savage massacre after another. The ANC sees the massacres as part of a sinister plan by a State-linked "third force", of which Mr de Klerk, in its view, remains conveniently ignorant.

The purpose, the ANC avers, is to destabilise the ANC and its progressive allies and prevent them from effectively challenging

the Government and its "reactionary" allies at the negotiating table or in the future one-man, one-vote election.

It is against that background that the ANC views Mr de Klerk's visit to Ireland and Denmark with anxiety, if not alarm. □

John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkatha at the expense of the ANC

Losing out in the township power

Star 3/4/91

PRIVACY

LAST week's edition of New Nation, the biggest pro-African National Congress newspaper, carried a startling critique of the ANC leadership's dismal failure to deal with the most pressing — and potentially destructive — political issue of the day: the violence again sweeping Johannesburg's black townships.

The article carried the opinions of ANC supporters in Alexandra township interviewed after the latest atrocity, the AK-47 attack last Wednesday which left dead 15 mourners at a funeral vigil.

One person interviewed, expressing a generalised sentiment, said the ANC had shown itself to be incapable of protecting the people. "The ANC was the only organisation that we trusted in everything, but now it seems as if

we are left to the mercy of the killers." What they are saying in Alexandra is being echoed in ANC circles all over the Johannesburg area, where more than 100 people have died in political violence in the last month and where at least 1 200 have been killed since August.

Not surprisingly, the ANC leadership is in a panic. Which was why Nelson Mandela called on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, head of Inkatha, in Durban on Saturday. The idea was to try to come up with something constructive to try to end the slaughter. But all that came out was lame, tired rhetoric — little to reflect the urgency of a problem which threatens to destroy the entire process of negotiated political transition

on which the country is supposedly set.

At the height of the township violence in September, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying that if nothing was done the country was "for the birds". Last week he repeated his cry. "Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community," he told his Cape Town congregation. "We can't go on forever blaming apartheid."

This, of course, is precisely what the ANC is doing. Blaming all the violence on a shadowy "third force", the ANC insists that to describe the violence as "black-on-black", as anything other than the product of yet another dastardly apartheid conspiracy, is racist. This is not to say that the slaughter should be seen merely

in terms of black savagery, a position editorial writers in the "white" newspapers increasingly lean towards. One question these eloquent pundits rarely ask, oddly, is who is gaining and losing from the violence in political terms? (Otherwise, of course, why insist on referring to the violence as "political" in the first place?)

Beyond doubt, as New Nation's piece last week served to demonstrate, the ANC has suffered more than anyone. Its credibility among the vast majority of the black population who have long supported them has been seriously undermined. And Inkatha has gained. For all the bluster and well-honed PR of Chief Buthelezi, the fact is that his party's support is minimal compared to the ANC's. A national opinion poll conducted in Feb-

ruary by the government-funded Human Sciences Research Council found that in a general election, 53 percent of the total population would vote for the ANC, one percent for Inkatha. A poll conducted by a Gallup subsidiary, Markinor, found 58 percent of black urban adults supported Mr Mandela, one percent Chief Buthelezi.

At Saturday's meeting, notwithstanding, Chief Buthelezi had the temerity to propose that he, Mr Mandela and President de Klerk should form a sort of leadership "troika" to oversee the nation's problems. If Mr Mandela did not laugh the suggestion out of court it is because he recognises that the violence in the country, and Inkatha's central role in it, have given Chief Buthelezi a measure of power, a political bargaining

position, utterly disproportionate to the support he enjoys among the potential electorate.

If the country were at peace, Chief Buthelezi would rapidly regress to the relative obscurity — one homeland leader more — to which he was reduced just after Mr Mandela's release a year ago, before the township killings flared. The violence of the last eight months has diminished the stature of Mr Mandela and significantly boosted Chief Buthelezi's. That is the politics of the township violence. If politics has nothing to do with it — if Inkatha has merely been caught up in a senseless spiral like everybody else — then the white editorial-writers are right, and it's all just barbarism. — The Independent News Service. □

Govt, ANC, Inkatha deny moves to form exclusive alliance

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government, the ANC and Inkatha have denied that they have officially discussed the formation of a "troika" alliance among themselves that would exclude other political parties.

But some Government leaders are believed to have informally discussed the idea of a National Party/ANC/Inkatha interim coalition which they believe could command 90 percent of the country's support.

Violence

The three parties responded to mounting speculation since the weekend, after a reported call by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for a troika leadership — comprising himself, President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — to "guide" the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have described the suggestion as reasonable.

The exchange happened when the two leaders met in Durban to discuss the continuing violence between their supporters.

But yesterday leading spokesmen of all three parties hastened to give the reassurance that no secret deal had been struck or even discussed.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said informal discussions were taking place concerning a multi-party conference.

Senior ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said any interim government would have to be "inclusive not exclusive".

He said the ANC believed one of the possibilities of an all-party conference was that it

could be transformed into an interim government.

There would have to be many bilateral discussions about who should attend the all-party conference. The Government was holding such discussions and so was the ANC. However, Mr Pahad was not aware of any discussions between the ANC and Inkatha on this point.

Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, denied that his party was holding discussions about an alliance with the ANC and the NP "to the exclusion of anyone else".

But the IFP was prepared to speak to everyone, including the ANC and the NP.

Government sources have also played down the meeting of parliamentary leaders which President de Klerk has called in his office for next Monday.

They said the meeting should be seen as an attempt to create a parliamentary forum rather than a "united front", as had been speculated.

Support

The sources said Mr de Klerk has already established two forums of parties within the system — a forum of ministers' councils in the three Houses of Parliament which had been meeting three or four times a year, and a forum of regional leaders (the self-governing territories and the provincial administrations) which had met a few times.

Monday's gathering would be the start of a third forum, they said.

Weekend press speculation gives the meeting a much larger importance, presenting it as an effort to counter plans by the ANC and others to unite support for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Multiparty indaba gets nod

Political Reporter

11A

The need for a multiparty conference, to determine the principles on which a new democratic constitution should be based, was yesterday endorsed by the country's main political parties.

Azapo and the PAC rejected the concept. Star 3/4/77

The conference, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, was attended by the NP, ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and the South African Communist Party.

The NP's Dr Frik van Heerden said the Govern-

ment should accept the responsibility of convening a multiparty conference after preliminary discussions with the leaders of the major political parties to determine the agenda.

The ANC's Penuell Maduna said the Government first had to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

If this were not done before April 30 — the deadline agreed upon by the ANC and the Government for the removal of the obstacles to negotiations — the ANC might "return to the era of bombs" by resuming the armed struggle, he said.



TALKING TO MATIES ... Mr Chris Hani (left) at Stellenbosch University yesterday and (right) part of the crowd which came to listen to his speech.

Hani calls for accountable military

CAN. TIMES 3/4/91 11A 2/54

Staff Reporter

PARLIAMENTARY control of the armed forces in a future South Africa was essential, ANC military chief Mr Chris Hani said at Stellenbosch University yesterday.

Mr Hani received a rousing welcome from about 800 students, at a meeting called by Nusas and the Black Students' Society.

The ANC was arguing for parliamentary control of the military, recognising the fact that the security forces had been politicised under apartheid and were

seen by many as instruments of the white state.

"Our security forces were almost in danger, at one time, of being a state within a state. Parliamentary authority was very weak, and sometimes key decisions were taken at the level of the State Security Council," Mr Hani said.

He believed a future South African army would be made up of a substantial portion of the SADF, because of its size, expertise, professionalism and sophistication. It was important, therefore,

that the SADF should be prepared to serve a democratic South Africa. That preparation and orientation should start without delay, he said.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) would see the emergence of a democratic South Africa as the accomplishment of its mission, beyond which it would wither away.

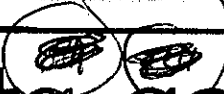
MK members wishing to continue a military career would have to join a new South African army, whose guidelines would be laid down by a new democratic government.





ANC to free dissidents soon — Hani

11A



ARG 45 3/4/91



Pictures: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

INTERESTED LISTENER: Economics expert Professor Sampie Terblanche listens to Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani at the University of Stellenbosch.

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ALL dissidents held by the African National Congress will be freed by the end of the year, says Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

In reply to questions at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday, he said that "we shall do away with conscription" in a democratic South Africa, and pledged that the ANC would tell parents why people had "unfortunately" died in a mutiny at Quatro camp in Angola.

Township violence

Mr Hani urged President F W de Klerk to "do his job" and eliminate the violence in black townships "otherwise we shall have to form defence units as a matter of policy".

He denied that the ANC was being controlled or manipulated by the South African Communist Party — of which he is a member.

"People like Mandela (ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela) and Tambo (ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo) are not communists. I don't think that the ANC has been led by a president that's a communist. I should know better."



Mr Chris Hani

Asked about ANC dissidents, he told a packed meeting at the university that it had been necessary for the movement to set up a detention centre at Quatro because agents had been sent to assassinate ANC members.

He had almost been killed in a car bomb attack in 1981, he said.

"We are in the process of releasing everybody. My own view is that everybody will

have been released by the end of the year."

A new democratic South Africa would not need a big army but "we do need an army in the event of somebody trying to attack us". The new army would be loyal to parliament and not be a "state within a state".

In a view which would probably "surprise" Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, he said the SADF, because of its sophistication and size, would probably provide the bulk of the new army.

Peaceful resolution

This army would also have elements of MK who wanted to pursue their military careers, "Bantustan armies" and cadres in the military wings of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Asked why the ANC was not protecting township residents, he said the movement was taking negotiations seriously. "We are not scoring points when we say that there is a need for the peaceful resolution of the problems in South Africa."

However, people wanted defence units and the ANC would meet soon to decide on this, he said.

Tough talking from the BCMA

Sowetan 3/4/91.

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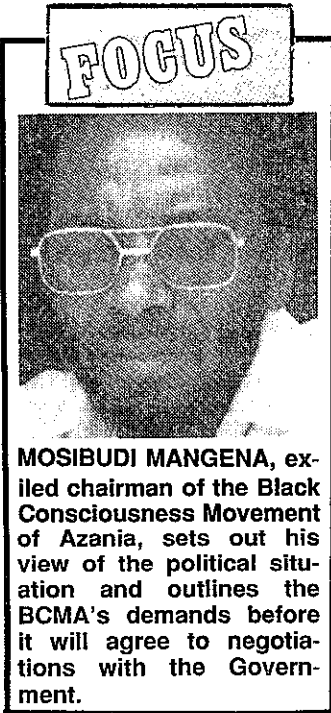
FROM inception, the BCMA envisaged some kind of bargaining taking place between the white racist power structure and the oppressed people, most probably towards the climax of the struggle.

The South African Students Organisation policy manifesto of 1971 and the writings of the leadership of the BCMA during that period, such as Steve Biko, exhorted blacks to organise and form themselves into a powerful bloc that can effectively confront the equally well-organised and homogeneous white oppressors and by so doing place themselves in a position to bargain.

The BCMA always asserted people can bring about fundamental change in Azania through organisation, struggle and making revolutionary demands. The white oppressors are completely incapable of liberating blacks, because the emancipation of blacks means the erosion of white privilege and economic domination.

In an essay entitled *Black Consciousness and the quest for true humanity*, Biko wrote: "We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. As long as we go to whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system."

"We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of whites but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the white man to correct the situation. The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very



MOSIBUDI MANGENA, exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, sets out his view of the political situation and outlines the BCMA's demands before it will agree to negotiations with the Government.

methods of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. When you refuse to make demands and choose to come around the table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters."

The above words were written in the early 1970s when the strategy and tactics of the white racist regime to maintain itself over the black majority consisted mainly of naked intimidation and brutality. With the exception of white liberals (who were very weak at the time), the National Party and other white structures

behaved like the present-day Conservative Party and Herstigte National Party.

Indeed, for a period they managed to keep blacks cowed and subservient. The philosophy of BC was a product of particularly this period. It set out to produce a new black person who would assert his/her humanity and right to be free. From the early 1970s onwards blacks have been refusing to be intimidated by the white men's violence and brutality. Clearly, strategies and tactics to maintain oppression had to change.

The overall objectives of the NP under the De Klerk and other white supremacist parties are basically the same; namely, to advance the interests and maintain privileges of whites through the oppression of blacks. What has changed drastically is the balance of power between liberal whites and the traditional types.

De Klerk and his clique have now moved to the ground occupied all along by the liberals.

The strategy of the regime is to emasculate the liberation movement, depoliticise and demobilise its opponents. Negotiations will then be conducted with a weakened and divided black community that is incapable of making any coherent demands or backing its demands with coherent organisation and meaningful political action.

The oppressed have a duty to resist these machinations of the regime. They should dismantle none of their infrastructures that enable them to wage struggle in its different manifestations.

To meet the demands of the times, the BCMA has adopted positions meant to promote the interests of the oppressed.

* The BCMA has proposed the holding of a consultative confer-

ence of all components of the liberation movements as well as workers' organisations in order to bring about greater unity in the ranks of the oppressed. We need unity now more than ever before so that we can articulate the demands of the oppressed with one powerful voice.

* The BCMA calls for the democratisation of the negotiating process which will be achieved by the establishment of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote on one voter's roll that recognises no race, region, sex or religion. Our break with racist practices of the past must be clean and complete. It will be the duty of the democratically-elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for the country.

* Modalities for the establishment of the constituent assembly should be negotiated with the regime at a neutral venue outside the country under the chairmanship of an impartial mediator. This is to protect the liberation movement from the forces of the regime and avoid the situation where the regime is a participant as well as a referee.

* The constitution must contain mechanisms for the redistribution of land and wealth. Failure to do so would mean that the economic oppression of blacks visited upon them by centuries of colonialism and racism will continue. Mere repeal of racist laws without corrective measures will ensure perpetuation of the status quo as privatised racism. In fact, the BCMA believes that the repeal of racist law and the establishment of democratic political order will only be the starting point of a long struggle to liberate blacks from the clutches of economic slavery.

The struggle must continue in all its forms until a political settlement is reached.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matthaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ANC to meet Vlok as death toll in Alexandra rises to 14

AN ANC delegation is to meet Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok today to discuss the violence in Alexandra where four more people were reportedly killed on Monday night.

This brought the death toll in Alexandra to at least 14 since Friday.

The four were apparently shot dead on Monday night when a group of unidentified men opened fire on residents, the second armed attack in two days.

An ANC statement said the meeting with Vlok would take place at police headquarters in Pretoria.

The delegation represented "a cross-section of the Alexandra community" and would include members of the ANC's national executive.

Issues to be discussed include the violence in the township, the role of the security forces and measures to normalise the situation.

8 way 314191.
Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) executive member Mzwanele Mayekiso said police patrolled the quiet but tense township yesterday amid fears the "silent war" would continue. (11A) (2/28)

A police spokesman said yesterday another bullet-riddled body had been found.

The SACP has also voiced its concern over the violence in Alexandra.

In a statement yesterday, Transvaal region publicity secretary Sam Shilowa said the killings had not been stopped by the imposition of a curfew.

"Vlok will agree with us that either he has failed or he is not willing to end the violence," Shilowa said.

The SACP also hit out at the carrying of "traditional weapons" by Inkatha, saying these were "weapons of death". — Sapa.

CAF 10/12 2147
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'No alliance for ANC and Inkatha'

BOTH the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the ANC's Mr Harry Gwala have dismissed the possibility of an alliance between the two organisations.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC had an alliance with the South African Communist Party, but the IFP "will have no truck with communism."

"Why are we being pressurised to jump into bed with them when it is politically impossible for us to do so?"

Mr Gwala said the aspirations of the people were enshrined in the Freedom Charter and if the ANC's leadership departed from that it would have problems with its own constituency.

'Three wise men' to meet

~~11A~~ 11A ~~11A~~

Sowetan 3/4/91.

THE ANC's national executive committee will meet tomorrow to discuss the formation of a "three wise men" team to deal with township violence.

This follows a decision taken at the weekend's peace summit between Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

But the ANC and Inkatha seem unlikely to agree to Government suggestions that the three-man committee - comprising Buthelezi, Mandela and President FW de Klerk - be expanded to eventually discuss constitutional matters.

Neither the ANC nor Inkatha would yesterday comment further on the

implications of Saturday's peace summit.

But ANC spokesman Saki Makozoma said the latest peace accord would accelerate the implementation of the January 29 peace accord between the two organisations

That accord:

* Called on members to cease attacks on each other;

* Suggested a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of areas affected by violence;

* Renounced the use of intimidation to win support;

* Committed both organisations to desist from vilifying one another or indulging in "killing talk"; and

* Agreed that the existing joint mechanism, set up in 1988, should be used to monitor violations of the agreement.

On Saturday, in the wake of renewed clashes between supporters of the organisations, Mandela and Buthelezi agreed.

In a five-point pact, the two leaders agreed to monitor:

* The dates, venues, speakers and subject matter of peace meetings;

* The distribution of peace accord pamphlets;

* Other activities of peace committees;

* Joint undertakings; and

* The activities of local peace units. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Former MP may join black party

2024 11A

Sowetan 3/4/91.

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

FORMER National Party MP Sam Bloomberg might consider working with a black political organisation.

The man who once said he admired former President PW Botha for being the first NP leader to tackle apartheid, told *Sowetan* yesterday that only two political parties mattered today.

He said these were the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

Bloomberg said he had been asked to consider joining the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, which is led by former Inkatha general secretary Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Asked whether he would join the organisation, Bloomberg said he had not yet started considering the suggestion.

If he had to, he could work with a black party, he said.

Bloomberg this week upset the political applecart with the announcement that he would not stand in the Yeoville by-election as it would be an all-white poll.

Vote

The seat became vacant when Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz took up a post as South Africa's ambassador to the United States.

In his statement, Bloomberg said an MP should represent all his constituents.

"This is not the case as black, coloured and Indian Yeovillites do not

yet have the vote," he said.

Bloomberg said when he campaigned for Parliament under the NP ticket in 1987, he was aware he was joining a party regarded by most blacks as representing white oppressors.

"You either joined an organisation fighting the NP and go to jail, emigrate or get inside and work from within. I chose to get inside.

"You either die for your country or live for the country. I chose to live for my country," he said.

He could have joined the DP "but who listens to the opposition? Poor Helen Suzman stood there for 30 years and in the end the DP is forming alliances with the NP."

Speaking in one voice

PAC,
ANC
to
hold
talks
soon

11A
Sowetan
3/4/91

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE national executive committees of the PAC and ANC are to meet in Harare on April 13 and 14.

The meeting was initially planned for the Easter weekend but "something went wrong", a senior ANC source told *Sowetan*.

The first meeting between "heavyweights" of both movements took place on February 4 and subsequent talks have been held, a PAC source confirmed yesterday.

While there were no final details available from either movement regarding an agenda and exactly who will attend the talks, it is understood "both NECs" will meet.

The purpose of the meeting is officially "to establish working coalitions and joint strategies about a multiparty conference and a constituent

assembly".

In reality, and unofficially, both movements feel "it is necessary to talk". The fear in both camps is that the other side "could be reading the situation incorrectly".

The ANC has opted for a negotiated political settlement and the PAC is against publicly talking to the Government and engaging in talks about the constitutional future of the country.

Coalition

In another development, it has been speculated that the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC are looking at establishing a loose coalition as an interim measure which could pos-

● To Page 2

HAVIN ANC PAC to meet

From Page 1

sibly stretch beyond a multiparty conference. (11A)
Speculation was heightened by suggestions on Saturday by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the three - referred to by the nation's media as The Big Three - should "get together" to try to stop the violence that has been sweeping the country for almost a year.

Meanwhile, dispatches came from Mauritius yesterday saying a summit meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk was planned for September.

There was no confirmation from the Government or the ANC by late yesterday.



ANC to free all dissidents by year-end

61 Dec 4/4/91

11A

TIM COHEN

THE ANC would free all dissidents being held in detention camps by the end of the year, officials said yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani told Stellenbosch University students yesterday that the ANC would tell parents why people had "unfortunately" died in a mutiny at Quatro camp in Angola in 1984, Sapa reports.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Hani's statement was not linked to the recent release of some ANC prisoners.

In terms of an agreement between the ANC and government, ANC political prisoners will be released by April 30.

Hani told about 800 students it had been

necessary to set up a detention centre at Quatro because agents had been sent to assassinate ANC members.

Another ANC spokesman, Saki Macozoma, said the ANC had begun the process of freeing dissidents long before President F W de Klerk initiated his reform process.

Even members of the Returned Exile Co-ordination Committee, which has called for an investigation into the detention of former ANC members, were released before February 2 last year.

The committee has charged ANC

leaders with corruption, failure to regard members' wishes and ordering beatings and executions in MK camps.

It has called for a commission of inquiry into the alleged torture and murder of ANC dissidents in camps in Angola.

The US State Department's 1990 annual report cited "numerous, credible and reliable" reports of ANC abuse of detainees in Tanzania and Zambia.

At the time of going to press, the number of dissidents being held by the ANC could not be established. But the US report said there were 1 100 ANC refugees in Angola. The report also claimed dissidents were being held in Tanzania and Zambia.



TIM COHEN

A TOP-LEVEL meeting between the ANC and the PAC in Harare later this month would pave the way to a "patriotic front" conference, but was not a precursor to union between the two organisations, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday. *610am 4/4/91*

The meeting is due to take place on April 13 and 14 and will be held in Harare because some of the PAC's delegation do not have indemnity against prosecution in SA. Macozoma yesterday described the meeting as important and said it would explore common ground, particularly the movements' calls for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo were due to

ANC, PAC plan a 'patriotic front' 11A

meet on March 21 to discuss the issue, but this meeting was cancelled.

Macozoma said the ANC was not hoping to re-establish a date for such a meeting, because this would have to be done in consultation with other groups.

But the ANC would "test the waters" in order to discover what the date and agenda for such a conference might be.

The meeting will be attended by members of both organisations' national executive committees, but ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is not expected to attend.

The MK chief is more reasonable than Magnus Malan makes out, argues Shaun Johnson

Hani — militant or moderate?

Star 4/19/91

(114)

THANKS in large part to the efforts of the Government's warlike Minister of Defence, Chris Hani has replaced Joe Slovo as white South Africa's bete noire.

The latest slanging match between General Magnus Malan and the Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff — sparked by Mr Hani's remark that a continuing ANC ceasefire depended on "the behaviour of the regime" — has yet again reinforced Mr Hani's image among whites as that of the man to be most feared in the ANC, the dark side of the new South Africa.

Mr Hani is presented as an unrelenting militant, a man of violence by preference, and leader of a powerful "anti-negotiations faction" waiting in the ANC wings.

In white public perception, a peaceful solution seems possible only if the "Hani-ites" are defeated by the Mandela loyalists, personified in Thabo Mbeki.

In fact, while Mr Hani's swaggering, toy-toying style and his chosen political office (he is a ranking member of both the ANC military wing and the SA Communist Party) certainly conform — probably intentionally — to his "radical chic" image, the conclu-

sion is highly questionable.

The current spat with General Malan is the clearest case in point. General Malan reacted furiously to a single sentence culled from a lengthy interview given by Mr Hani to the Cape-based left-wing journal *New Era*. He warned the MK chief of staff that his indemnity from prosecution was "only temporary", and Mr Hani responded with the political equivalent of an invitation to General Malan to jump in the lake. Rational debate gave way to bravado and bellicosity.

The interview that caused all the trouble is worth revisiting in order to make a more serious assessment of Mr Hani's role in the negotiating process, and of his likely place in the future South African polity.

First, the offending statement. It was, in fact, swathed in qualifications. Mr Hani's actual words were: "It would be wrong to say that there is no possibility of going back to armed struggle. Our dear wish is that we don't have to go back, but it doesn't depend on us — it depends on the behaviour of the regime."

This is commonplace ANC dogma, and is little different from the Government's insistence that

it will not hesitate to use force if one or other negotiating partner reneges on the agreed rules. Mr Hani's observations on broader questions affecting the negotiating process (and on the performance of the Mandela leadership) are much more revealing about the man and his mission.

They show, in stark contrast to Mr Hani's public image, a commitment to the peace process, pragmatism and democratic accountability.

Mr Hani defended the ANC leadership's (for which read Nelson Mandela's) right to "take certain initiatives" without consulting the membership on every issue. He was not "impatient or quarrelling" with those who were unhappy about decisions like the suspension of the armed struggle and the endorsement of an all-party conference, he said, "but everyone should accept the dynamism of our struggle."

"So many things are happening in our country, so fast. Much as it would be desirable to send (key issues) to the regions, I think that... it is always important to come out with something fresh, because we are not only addressing ANC members."

Similarly, he argued that the

leadership required latitude in its interpretation of the Harare Declaration. "The declaration consists of broad guidelines and cannot be interpreted in dogmatic fashion," he said. "It must be made quite clear that in pursuance of the main elements of the Harare Declaration, we are going to take a number of initiatives, like meeting the regime both at Groote Schuur and Pretoria, even before the obstacles to negotiations are removed... We shall be in trouble if we stick rigidly to positions in a dogmatic way."

On the matter of ethnic and ideological differences with other groups, Mr Hani was also conciliatory. "No groups should feel ignored or left out," he said. "We cannot brush aside easily the national question... We should not just generalise about everyone, because that would be papering over some of the objective conditions that exist among these racial groups."

Peace with Inkatha required the ANC to "moderate our language" because "it must not bring about a situation that the other side feels vilified or maligned. We should feel free to criticise Inkatha (and the PAC) and their strategies, in the same way as they should feel free to criticise

us."

"These are healthy tendencies. Once you accept that you are going to have a multiparty system, then criticism should be tolerated and accepted as a norm of democracy."

Civic associations and trade unions should enjoy independence from the ANC, Mr Hani insisted, "because they could come up in struggle against us in a post-apartheid South Africa, and they have a constituency whose interests they must defend resolutely."

"I would certainly not like a position like we have seen in Eastern Europe, and in Africa... In the final analysis they become bureaucratic structures absolutely alienated from the bulk of the workers. You find it difficult to differentiate between the leadership of the trade union and the ruling party. We should avoid that completely."

Mr Hani accepted that integration of MK and the SADF might have to wait some time, and did not rule out the possibility that some ANC members could begin to operate in an effective interim government before a new constitution has been finalised.

In the current situation, therefore, Mr Hani is clearly on board the ANC negotiations bus being

driven by Mr Mandela. Even high level Government sources say that while he is a tough negotiator, Mr Hani is a very effective, serious participant in the joint working groups, and they get on well with him.

Why then is General Malan acting as publicity agent for Mr Hani as a romantic revolutionary, simultaneously striking terror into whites and endearing Mr Hani to young black militants?

It could be that the Minister simply did not read the Hani interview, and reacted out of habit. Or the situation could be altogether more Machiavellian, with the two "hard men" of the ANC and the Government aware of the usefulness of having each other to bash, while leaving the broader peace process intact.

In any event, it is unthinkable that General Malan, still a central figure in Government, could be unaware of the constructive role being played by Mr Hani in the various embryonic negotiating forums. But if there is an unspoken agreement between the two, it carries attendant dangers: Mr Hani might be so demoralised that when the time comes to convince whites that he is "okay" after all, their fears might be too deeply etched to be removed. □



FREE MEN . . . Mr Rogerio Chamusso, Mr Mzwandile Dikana, Mr Martin Sehlapelo, Mr Mpumelelo Gaba and Mr Andries Maponya outside Cowley House in Salt River yesterday, after their release from Robben Island.

Pictures: RICHARD BELL

5 more ANC men released from Robben Island

4/4/81
11A
3077

Staff Reporter

FIVE more ANC members were released from Robben Island yesterday, including a Mozambican who has served eight years of a 24-year term.

Mr Rogerio Chamusso, 40, who originally came to South Africa from Mozambique as a migrant labourer, was arrested in 1981 and charged with terrorism. He was jailed in 1983.

Others released were Mr Martin Sehlapelo, 25, Mr Mzwandile Dikana, 32, Mr Mpumelelo Gaba, 34, and Mr Andries Maponya, 30.

A small group of people gathered in Table Bay harbour to welcome the five, including ANC Western Cape publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel, regional ANC treasurer Mr Bulelani Ngeuka and Mrs Mary Burton of the Black Sash.

A press conference was held later yesterday at Cowley House in Salt River, at which the men were introduced to the gathering and welcomed by Mr Ngeuka.

Mr Gaba read out a statement on behalf of the men, saying they were "naturally excited at being released at last" and strengthened by the "high hopes of imminent release" of fellow Robben Island prisoners.



ELATED . . . An excited well-wisher hugs Mr Mpumelelo Gaba, who spent nine years on Robben Island.

Vlok, ANC discuss traditional weapons

CAPF TIME 4/4/91 (11A) 2000

PRETORIA. — A top-level ANC-led delegation yesterday called, when they met Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, for a "total ban" on the possession of traditional weapons.

The delegation saw Mr Vlok for three hours, discussing ways of ending the violence in Alexandra township.

Alexandra Civic Organisation member Mr Popo Molefe said after the meeting that no agreement had been reached on the question of possession of traditional weapons.

Mr Vlok told a separate media conference that the issue would be discussed with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but that nothing

would be enforced unilaterally. He said any solution would work better if it was reached with the co-operation of all parties.

"I agree with the ANC that pangas and axes are not traditional weapons, but we must be very careful when we disarm people," said Mr Vlok.

"It is not only a knife or axe that can be a dangerous weapon," he added.

"A stone can be, even a woman's shoe, under certain circumstances."

Mr Vlok disclosed that the regional police commissioner, the ANC and Inkatha were working together to monitor the situation in Alexandra, and to restore peace to the township.

The ANC leaders at the meeting were NEC members Mr Wal-

ter Sisulu, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Nhlanhla.

Mr Molefe said channels would be kept open with the police regarding allegations of alleged police misconduct.

Mr Vlok said: "I assured them we are acting as impartially as possible."

He would consider the delegation's representations, and have further discussions with the ANC and other interested parties as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, police have denied claims that they threatened yesterday to kill a student activist in Alexandra who was not at home during a raid in which nine other ANC-linked activists were picked up for an identification parade.

— Sapa

From page 1

Cape Times 4/4/91
Cosatu *(11A)*

future dispensation.

The document stresses the principle of trade union independence and steers clear of nationalisation and minimum wage demands.

● Full trade union rights be guaranteed in a future constitution, including the right to strike and to organise, and a separate labour court be created with trade union representation.

● Trade unions have a right to independence from employers, political parties and the state.

● Government be accountable, not control the media and not be able to suspend workers' rights even in a state of emergency.

● A constitutional court be created and heads of government have limited terms of office.

● The economy be "democratically planned" and that the state have the right to intervene if necessary, that unions take part in economic planning, that people should be able to fight for collective ownership, that there be worker control in factories, mines and shops and full unemployment and living benefits be granted to the jobless.

● There be equality between men and women in society and marriage and that the state embark on affirmative action programmes to correct past discrimination suffered by women.

Cosatu was also participating in the National Manpower Commission to deal with labour matters which include raising the status of the body to that of a negotiating forum.

Cape Times 4/4/91
Paper sets out union demands *(11A)*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu yesterday unveiled a wide-ranging constitutional document demanding trade union independence from a post-apartheid government, the right to strike and an independent media.

It said it would launch campaigns culminating in mass marches on June 15 to underline its demands for workers' rights to be enshrined in a new constitution.

Cosatu intends presenting its document to its allies, the ANC and the SA Communist Party, and asking them to endorse the demands.

Labour observers said the document amounted to spelling out to the ANC and the SACP what workers expected in any

To page 2

Liberation groups ^(11A) seek common ground

South 4/4-10/4/91

By Waghied Misbach

THE working groups of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) will meet in Harare on April 13 and 14 to thrash out a blueprint for a patriotic front.

The groundwork for the meeting is under way, with a six-person liaison committee working on an agenda for the meeting.

This will be the first time the two executive bodies of the organisations will meet formally to discuss the future.

The meeting is being held in Harare at the request of the PAC who has refused to apply to the government for indemnity for its National Executive Committee members.

PAC spokesperson Mr Barney Desai said the ANC had agreed to the request.

Desai said there was the possibility of a National United Front Conference which would "span the social, political and cultural life of the country".



WARMER RELATIONS: The PAC's Clarence Makwetu paid a social call on the ANC's Oliver Tambo when he visited London recently.

Mixed response to signature drive

THE African National Congress (ANC) signature campaign for a constituent assembly and interim government, launched a week ago, has had a variable response in various Western Cape communities. (11A)

Most signatures were collected in Wynberg, Retreat and Heathfield; 500 were collected in a three-hour blitz on the three areas last Saturday.

A spokesperson for the Wynberg branch, Mr Mansoor Jaffer, said that their 20-person team spoke to almost 1 000 people.

In Ravensmead, the branch held street theatre backed by a gospel group. It also had a motorcade with a loudhailer.

The Maccassar, Strand and Somerset West zone is discussing a regionally coordinated approach to the campaign.

In other areas, like Elsies River, Belhar, Worcester, Guguletu and new Crossroads, discussions about the campaign will continue this weekend.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC spokesperson in the Western Cape, said most of the activity was localised. He could not release the numbers of signatures collected at this stage. South 44-104171

Manuel said the ANC would stage a protest at the harbour this weekend against "tardiness at the release of political prisoners".

Conference will take ANC full circle 1/10/91

WHEN the ANC holds its national conference here in June it will, in one sense, be starting where it left off before its 1960 banning. *South 4/4-10/4/91*

Durban was the venue of the ANC's 1958 national conference, the last held inside the country before the banning.

Mr Sibusiso Ndebele, the ANC Southern Natal's secretary, rejected suggestions that the ANC was holding the conference in Natal where its rival, Inkatha, is based, for

ulterior motives.

The constitution which operated until last year's consultative conference in Johannesburg had been drafted in Durban, and it was only proper that a fresh start be made at the same venue, he said.

It was also one of the ANC's largest constituencies outside the PWV.

Mr Zwelethu Mthembu, the Inkatha Freedom Party acting regional chairperson, said the ANC was now unbanned and was free to hold meetings wherever it chose.

Azapo, PAC seek unity

11A

South 4/4 - 10/4/91

THE black working class is eager to see the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) working together, according to Azapo's national publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley.

He says the black consciousness organisation's call for a national stayaway on the anniversary of Sharpeville last month was not only a call for peace in the townships and a commemoration of the dead, but also a plea for unity.

"There is a tremendous potential for all the components of the liberation movement to band together to iron out differences, acknowledge similarities and work out a

joint programme of action to unseat De Klerk's regime."

"We are concerned that too little attention is being paid to the question of solidarity. The only thing organisations are concerned with is positioning themselves as separate entities and endeavouring to take as much control of the political space as is possible for themselves," he claims.

Blacks have always belonged to different organisations and any pressures tend to exaggerate differences, he believes.

"We believe firmly that the black working class is tired of the killings. It wants peace in the townships, it wants the land back, full political rights and a say in the running of the economy".

Viljoen lists transition options

B1 Day 4/4/91

TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT is prepared to consider a number of ways of involving extra-parliamentary groups in decision-making during the transition to a new constitution, but will not accept the ANC model of "interim government", says Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Viljoen told the Bureau for Information's magazine RSA Policy Review government was prepared to convene the proposed multi-party conference on negotiations "next week", but hoped it would take place by the middle of the year.

Viljoen said he could not provide details of what form extra-parliamentary participation in government would take, because this would be one of the issues to be discussed at the conference.

But he gave the assurance that government would consider all contributions very thoroughly and seriously and that this would undoubtedly exercise an influence on its decision-making.

"At the same time, it cannot be expected that all inputs will be accepted out of hand.

"These inputs will be meticulously scrutinised and considered by government, because in the final analysis it has to assume responsibility for orderly and lawful conduct in the country until such time as a new constitution has been implemented," he said.

He said government's "interim participation" differed from the ANC's demand for an "interim government" because the ANC's concept implied a total surrender of power and authority by the present legal government, which was rejected.

He provided three possibilities of how "interim participation" could take place:

The multiparty conference could opt for an informal summit of the most important leaders to voice needs, criticisms and wishes regarding legislative and executive procedures for the various

political parties.

"Another possibility is that a negotiation forum or even the multi-party conference as such may serve as a channel to convey to government advice, submissions and requests concerning interim government action.

"A third possibility is to convene specialised working groups where representatives of the various parties can get together to make representations to the government during the transitional period.

Viljoen said setting the multi-party conference date was complicated by a variety of issues, including the fact that the ANC would only elect its new leadership in June and was apparently not keen to enter into serious negotiations before then.

Government's approach was that all parties with proven support which committed themselves to the process of peaceful negotiation would be entitled to take part.

Who the most important parties were would be determined during the preliminary phases of the conference.

Viljoen said the conference could not be delayed until all organisations agreed to talks.

The conference could last a few weeks or even some months.

It would discuss the composition, functioning and decision-making process of the actual constitutional negotiation conference.

It could also, by way of preparation, start deliberating on principles and important issues to be embedded in a new constitution and on which general consensus existed among all participants.

Issues on which consensus could not be reached would be left for the negotiation process.

In reaction to a question about the ANC's demand that political prisoners be freed by the end of this month and that exiles be allowed to return, Viljoen said the ANC was "recalcitrant".

"Some of its leaders demand that government should grant unqualified amnesty to all members of the ANC. This possibility was never even raised during the talks between government and the ANC."

'It's time to put our own house in order'

South 4/4 - 10/4/91.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

IT seems as if the culture of violence is taking root in our society. We are becoming brutalised and almost anaesthetised to what is totally unacceptable.

If this kind of violence continues, then the new South Africa may dawn — and that is doubtful — but it may dawn, and there will be very few around to enjoy it. Those who survive will do so only because they are tough, on the basis of the law of the jungle:

Survival of the fittest, eat or be eaten, devil take the hindmost.

My friends, there are many reasons why there is violence.

In periods of transition there is the violence due to the instability of transition, as we have seen in parts of Eastern Europe.

South Africa has never really had a culture of tolerance. The government and its supporters have used dastardly and nefarious methods to deal with its opponents, ranging from their vilification, as on SABC TV and radio and government-supporting media, to the physical elimination of people through the death squads.

Frustration

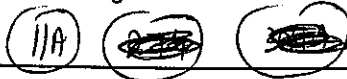
People have learned that those who differ with them are enemies and the only way to deal with enemies is to liquidate them.

Some of the violence is due to socio-political and economic deprivation and sociologists will tell you that when you think your life will end in a cul-de-sac, that you won't make it in the rat-race, your level of frustration rises and you break out violently.

In Britain, in those riots against the poll tax, a great deal of the violence was at the hands of whites who felt that they were going to be the left-behinds in the rat-race.

It is true also that we are reaping the horrible harvest of apartheid through the migratory labour system and its

South Africans could not forever continue blaming apartheid for what had gone "desperately wrong" in the black community in South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at a Mass for Justice and Peace in St George's Cathedral last week. There was much to admire in black political organisations, he said, "but there is much also which is not right". An edited extract from his homily follows:



ghastly single-sex hostels. It was an explosion waiting to happen, placing virile men in single-sex hostels cheek-by-jowl with townships where they saw other men leading normal lives with their families.

And these hostel-dwellers were alienated from those township communities.

It is true that the police and the security forces have, on the whole, behaved disgracefully, accused on all sides of a lack of professionalism as a peace-keeping force. Sometimes it might be true that some of them have sought to foment the violence. That has added fuel to the fire.

That is all true, but it is not all the truth. A lot of the violence is due to political rivalry. Political groups in the black community are fighting for turf and they do not seem to know, or certainly some of their followers don't seem to know, that a cardinal tenet of democracy is that people must be free to choose whom they want to support.

To coerce, to intimidate, is to admit that your policy can't persuade on its own merits.

People must be free to choose freely whether they want to participate or not in boycotts, in mass action. That is an irreducible, an incontrovertible aspect of democracy.

Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community. We black people must, of course, point to all the causes of violence I have pointed out and to others that I have not referred

to. But ultimately we must turn the spotlight on ourselves. We can't go on forever blaming apartheid.

Of course it is responsible for a great deal of evil, but ultimately, we are human beings and we have proved it in the resilience we have shown in the struggle for justice.

We did not allow ourselves to be demoralised, dehumanised. We could laugh, we could forgive. We refused to be embittered during some of the worst moments in the struggle.

Reverence

We seem to have lost our reverence for life when children can dance around someone dying the gruesome death of necklacing. Something has gone desperately wrong when our leaders are not listened to by their followers.

There is much to admire in our political organisations, but there is much also which is not right. Some of those who belong to these organisations are totally undisciplined. You can't wage a struggle unless you are dedicated and disciplined.

Our organisations need to go back to the grassroots and instil discipline from the lowest ranks up.

It seems to me that we in the black community have lost our sense of ubuntu — our humanness, ability to care, hospitality, our sense of connectedness, our sense that my humanity is bound up in your humanity. We are losing our self-respect, demonstrated graphically by the dumping and littering in our

townships. Of course we live in squalor and in slum ghettos. But we are not rubbish. That is what we seem to say when you see how we treat our already poor environment?

There are some things that I want to suggest.

● Firstly, all of us must help to develop the culture of tolerance. Live and let live. Let us practise the motto: I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

Let us learn to agree to disagree. Those who disagree with us are not necessarily our enemies, otherwise there would be very few husbands and wives around.

● Secondly, our political organisations need to put their houses in order; instil discipline in their members and adopt at least a minimum code of conduct, parameters beyond which we will not stray in our political activity.

● Thirdly, the authorities must disarm all groups. It is nonsense, utterly unacceptable to speak about traditional weapons. Traditional weapons kill. And it is quite wrong to allow certain groups to move around blatantly armed.

● Fourthly, let the police become a truly professional peace-keeping force that upholds law and order without fear or favour. One hopes that they can begin to be flexible — for what happened in Daveyton was due to their insisting on a law that many of our people refuse to obey.

● Fifthly, I urge all political leaders to stop their killing talk; stop their belligerent, bellicose utterances that incite others to violence, whatever the intention of the speaker might have been.

Why do they allow people like Dr Andries Treurnicht (Conservative Party leader) to get away with the kind of language that he is using? Can you imagine what would have happened to blacks if they said the kind of things that he has been allowed to say?

Vilifying

There is legislation to stop organisations such as the AWB making vilifying, denigratory, insulting utterances, racist remarks that hurt people. The government ought to stamp on such action, firmly and quickly.

● Sixthly, I want to suggest that the municipalities, city councils, local councils, churches, community organisations and political groupings participate in a campaign with the people in the townships to clean up those townships.

Perhaps our people may then begin to regain the self-esteem, self-respect and pride that they are losing.

● And, with others, finally I suggest that all of us — perhaps at midday — pause to pray, not just for our country, but for all of Africa. There is a simple prayer that many of us use, and I would suggest that it is a prayer that ought to be learned by people everywhere.

It is a straightforward prayer, composed by Trevor Huddleston:

"God bless Africa, guard her children, guide her rulers and give her peace."



ANC talks ultimatum



WELCOME HOME: Mpumelelo Gaba hugs his wife, Ntombi, after being released from Robben Island on Wednesday. Gaba was expected to be released in the year 2002.
PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

WITH the April 30 deadline in sight, the ANC this week warned that the negotiation process would be halted if all political prisoners, including those on deathrow, were not released in time.

ANC lawyer and one of its chief negotiators, Mr Mathew Phosa, said this week that the ANC would not enter proper negotiations unless all the conditions in the Harare Declaration were met.

They include the repeal of the Internal Security Act and other repressive legislation and the right of all exiles to return by April 30.

His warning follows rapid moves by the government towards negotiations, starting with the proposed All Party Conference (APC).

The ANC, in its annual January 6 policy statement, agreed to participate in the APC.

Phosa, who serves on two working groups set up by the government and the ANC after the Groote Schuur and Pretoria summits last year, said the ANC rejected the contention by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, that April 30 was a "mere target date".

"I don't see the ANC entering into negotiations unless the Harare conditions are met.

"The government holds the keys to Robben Island and all other prisons. There can possibly be no pleasure or benefit for the government in keeping political prisoners locked up," he said.

Phosa said the ANC wanted all exiles to have a "clear right to return by April 30", free from any danger.

"Those who don't return must do so as their own personal choice."

He said the government's failure to remove the obstacles by April 30 would cast doubt "on the bona fides" of President FW de Klerk.

Phosa said the ongoing township violence on the Reef and Natal "impinged seriously" on the negotiation process and was one of the main items at the ANC's executive committee meeting, which began on Thursday.

"We are saying we can't get involved in negotiations if people are killed on a daily basis. The violence is a threat to our strategy of negotiations," he said.

Rebels in ANC camps to be freed, says Hani

DISSIDENTS still being held in African National Congress camps across Africa will be released by the end of the year.

The ANC would also explain to families why people were killed during a mutiny at Quatro camp in Angola.

Speaking at the University of Stellenbosch on Tuesday night, the leader of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, explained why it had been necessary to create the detention centre at

Sowetan 4/4/91
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Quatro.

The ANC had been aware of "agents" who had been sent to join the movement in an attempt to assassinate its leaders, Hani said.

Assasins

"We have never hidden the fact that the ANC captured or detained those sent by the regime to destabilise the movement.

"Unknown to you, the State sent assassins to kill us."

Hani said he had himself narrowly escaped being killed by a car bomb 10 years ago.

"We were fighting a war against South Africa. The State did everything to destroy and cripple the ANC."

Thus, suspected agents or infiltrators were captured, tried and subsequently jailed. Some were acquitted, others were pardoned, he said.

"We are in the process of releasing everybody. My own view is that everybody will have been released by the end of the year," Hani said.

He told the audience that his joining the military apparatus of the ANC was circumstantial.

"I would have loved to be a teacher or a lawyer," he said.

Expertise

In a surprise statement, Hani said the bulk of the army in a new South Africa would comprise elements of the present South African Defence Force, because of their professional and technical expertise.

This statement would more than likely catch

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan off guard as a war of words between the two military leaders has been raging for months.

The last round ended last week when Malan took exception to Hani's remarks that MK (as well as homeland) forces would have to be incorporated into the army of a new South Africa.

But he warned that the future army would have to be loyal to Parliament, loyal to a democratic constitution and subject to parliamentary control.

ANC nets most votes, but racial divide remains

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE AFRICAN National Congress — with a little help from its political allies — commands the allegiance of three out of every four black urban residents, but might be pressed to win a simple majority in a national election.

The South African results of the internationally conducted World Social Value Study indicate that the ANC has the support of 44 percent of South Africans — of all races — in the city, countryside and within and without the homelands.

Its nearest rival, the National Party, can command only 14 percent of the vote.

But there is plenty of room for manoeuvre by all parties.

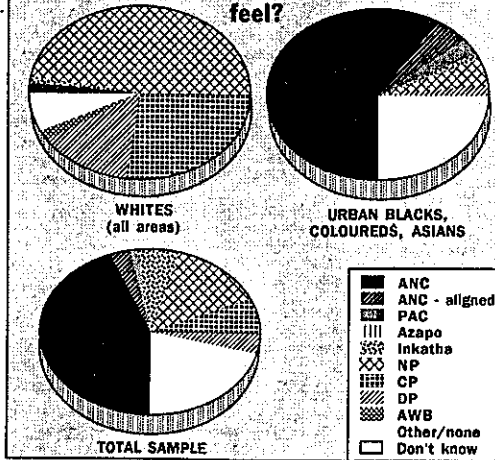
The survey found that nearly a year after the lifting of bans on political/resistance organisations, one in five prospective black, coloured and Asian voters still had not decided which party to support.

Political alienation was particularly striking in minority groups, where 48 percent of Asian respondents and 44 percent of coloureds declared they did not know what party represented their views.

The survey shows clearly that race remains the most important determinant of political affiliation. No party has uniform appeal across the racial divide or shows significant movement in that direction.

The poll found that 69 percent of urban blacks identify with the ANC and a further 5 percent with its declared allies: the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South

Which party comes closest to the way you feel?

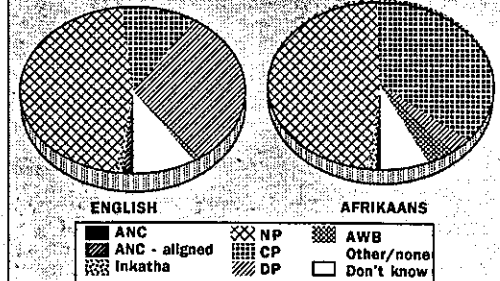


The World Social Value Study, initiated by Michigan University's Institute for Social Research, spans 42 countries. The SA study by Markinor used a locally adapted questionnaire. The sample comprised 1 236 whites (rural and urban), 200 Cape Town coloured residents, 200 Durban Asian residents and 600 urban blacks. In black, coloured and Asian areas the random sample was stratified by city and townships. The white sample used Nasionale Tydskrif's national panel. Limited information, based on a rural sample of 500 drawn from various homelands, is included.

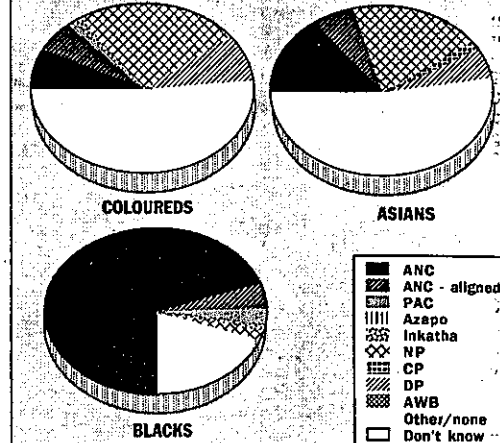
SA social value study



Variations in white responses



Variations in urban black responses



African Communist Party, United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

But the ANC scarcely registers a percentage point among whites. Here the dominant force is the NP, which has 47 percent of support spread equally over the English and Afrikaans-speaking sectors. In turn, the NP has little support among black respondents.

Ironically, though, the NP — which voted only weeks before the survey was conducted to admit members other than whites — has been more successful than the avowedly non-racial ANC in persuading people to step across the race bar-

rier in supporting it.

While white respondents accorded the ANC no more than 1 percent of support, 24 percent of coloured respondents associated themselves with the NP, as did 19 percent of Asians. In both these groups, support for the NP exceeded that for the ANC, which weighed in at 15 percent for Asians and 8 percent for coloureds.

Urban black respondents were markedly more reluctant to turn to the NP, doing so only in 2 percent of cases. Separate figures for blacks in rural areas were not available.

Within the group of urban black respondents, attitudes to

the ANC and the NP are not entirely uniform, the data suggests. For instance, if the sample is stratified into high, middle and low-income earners, there is some evidence that:

- Support for the ANC increases in the lower-income groups. Among those earning upwards of R2 000 a month, the proportion of ANC support was 60 percent, but among those earning less than R1 200 the ratio rose to 77 percent.
- Support for the NP, tiny as it is, is higher in the upper-income bracket among blacks. It tops 7 percent among those earning more than R2 000 but registers a mere 0,4 percent

among the low-income category.

Although the relatively small numbers involved, and possible regional influences, advise caution in interpreting this, the data seems to support the thesis that economic and political considerations are beginning to cut across the crude racial patterns of organisation characteristic of South Africa.

Generally, there is a suggestion that those who perceive themselves as a minority in any sense — economically, racially, ethnically or culturally — might join parties with policies which take special account of minority interests. The sub-

stantial NP support in the coloured and Indian communities suggests this trend.

In addition, white respondents show a real interest in Inkatha as their second choice — 8 percent selected it. In contrast, urban blacks are no more likely to see Inkatha as a second option than as their first choice.

The survey results make it clear that although Inkatha has 6 percent of the vote, this is based in the rural areas. Support among urban blacks is 1 percent, rising to 3 percent in the Durban area.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer recently de-

scribed his party and Inkatha as representing the "true centre" of South African politics. If the DP, Inkatha and NP — all advocates of a federal system of government — were to form an alliance, they could muster 24 percent of the vote. They would also have as good a chance as any of winning over the vacillating 20 percent and closing the gap on the ANC.

In the liberation ranks, the Pan Africanist Congress scores 1 percent overall and 3 percent in black urban areas, and the Azanian People's Organisation registers less than 1 percent all round.

The white Right continues to

be accommodated mainly within the CP (27 percent of white respondents). The more militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging wins 2 percent of white support. Total right-wing support is diluted to 7 percent of the national sample.

The cross-race dynamics of transitional politics may yet prove important. Elections are not around the corner and allegiance-shaking events are bound to precede them. But at present, South Africans are undertaking the task of demolishing apartheid society largely within political institutions shaped by race rule. □

ANC forces Soviets to cancel SA film

Star Africa Service

HARARE — The Soviet state television organisation has bowed to pressure from the ANC and cancelled a plan to make a film in South Africa for Soviet TV.

The film was to have been made last month by Vladimir Molchanov, a popular TV programme host, says the Soviet news agency, Novosti.

However, the acting head of the ANC's Moscow office, Temba Tabete, approached Leonid Kravchenko, head of Soviet TV, and

suggested the trip be scrapped.

Mr Tabete said the ANC was worried that the SA Government might use the trip for propaganda purposes.

He argued that Molchanov was not an expert on Africa and in the complicated situation prevailing in SA his reporting could be turned against the ANC and its long-standing friendship with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet television chiefs accepted the ANC's arguments and Mr Kravchenko cancelled the trip.

NEC extends talks on township violence

8/19/91
Political Reporter

Yesterday's crucial ANC national executive committee meeting to review the continuing township violence has been extended until today.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday this move could be seen as indicative of the seriousness of the matters being discussed. She confirmed that violence "in its totality" was the main item on the agenda.

It is understood regional delegates of the ANC attended the meeting, which was called to review the mounting violence, identify the causes

and thrash out solutions.

The extraordinary NEC meeting came in the wake of top level talks between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban last weekend.

In a five-point plan, the two leaders agreed that their organisations would monitor the activities of each other and that dossiers on the activities of the two groups would be exchanged.

They also agreed to the monitoring of the activities of joint peace committees and the distribution of peace accord pamphlets.

LABOUR

Sactwu slates ANC's action

at May 3/4 - 11/4/91
COSATU'S South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) last week took the highly unusual step of placing print advertisements countrywide criticising the African National Congress for lack of consultation.

The ANC was not explicitly mentioned in the adverts, which were directed at Sactwu's 200 000 members. But they centre on a consumer boycott reportedly announced by a senior ANC official, Abie Komo, at a Sharpeville Day rally in Mamelodi.

Komo was reported as saying that the boycott, from April 8 to 13, was to press for a constituent assembly.

Sactwu complained it had not "in any way" been consulted on the boycott and recorded its objection "to such lack of consultation on a major aspect of the constituent assembly campaign".

Sactwu's Paul Hartley revealed the union had since received a "clarification" from the ANC, stressing there could be no boycott affecting whole communities unless "organisations on the ground" were consulted. No boycott would take place, it said.

● See PAGE 17

US gives R5m to aid SA

Cape Town 24/91 Political Staff (SMA) (11A)

THE United States government is to give R5.2 million to Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, it was announced yesterday.

The signing ceremony took place at the Cape Town residence of US Ambassador Mr William Swing yesterday afternoon. Also present was Mr Dennis Barrett, director of the USAID programme in South Africa.

The institute was represented by executive chairman Dr Dhlomo and national director Mr Saths Cooper.

ANC riding high

11A

Argus 5/4/91

Three out of four urban blacks back party

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress — with a little help from its political allies — commands the allegiance of three of every four black urban residents, but might be pressed to win a simple majority in an all-race national election.

The South African results of the internationally conducted World Social Value Study indicate that the ANC has the support of 44 percent of South Africans — of all races, in the city and countryside, inside and outside the homelands. Its nearest rival, the National Party, has 14 percent of the vote.

But there is plenty of room for manoeuvre by all parties. The survey found that nearly a year after the lifting of bans on political/resistance organisations, one in five prospective voters in the black, coloured and Asian communities still had not decided which party to support.

Race important determinant

Political alienation was particularly striking in the black minority groups, where a full 48 percent of Asian respondents and 44 percent of coloureds declared that they did not know what party represented their views.

The survey shows clearly that race remains the most important determinant of political affiliation. No party has uniform appeal across the racial divide which apartheid has bequeathed. None even shows significant movement in that direction.

The poll found that 69 percent of urban blacks identify with the ANC and 5 percent with its declared allies, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, South African Communist Party, United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

But the ANC scarcely registers a percentage point among whites. Here the dominant force is the NP, which has 47 percent of support spread equally over the English- and Afrikaans-speaking sectors. In turn, the NP has a lean time among black respondents.

NP more success on racial divide

Ironically, the NP — which voted only weeks before the survey was conducted to admit members other than whites — has been more successful than the avowedly non-racial ANC in persuading people to step across the race-barrier in supporting it.

While white respondents accorded the ANC no more than 1 percent of support, 24 percent of coloured respondents associated themselves with the NP, as did 19 percent of Asians.

In both these groups, support for the NP exceeded that for the ANC, which weighed in at 15 percent for Asians and 8 percent for coloureds.

Urban black respondents were markedly more reluctant to turn to the NP, doing so only in 2 percent of cases. Separate figures for blacks in rural areas were not available.

Within the group of urban black respondents, attitudes to the ANC and the NP are not entirely uniform, the data suggests. For instance, if the sample is stratified into high, middle and low income earners there is some evidence that:

- Support for the ANC increases in the lower income groups. Among those earning upwards of R2 000 a month the proportion of ANC support was 60 percent, while among those earning under R1 200 the ratio rose to 77 percent.

- Support for the NP, tiny though as it is, is higher in the upper income bracket among blacks. It tops 7 percent among those earning more than R2 000 while it registers a mere 0,4 percent among the low income category.

Although the relatively small numbers involved and possible regional influences advise caution in interpreting this, the data seems to support the thesis that economic and political considerations are beginning to cut across the crudely racial patterns of organisation so characteristic of South Africa.

For instance, there is the suggestion that those who possess wealth, expertise and property will increasingly band together — across race differences — to defend these elements of privilege.

Exiles believe they won't beat deadline

Political Staff

AK6U 5/4/91 114

THOUSANDS of exiles believe they won't be back in South Africa by an African National Congress deadline of April 30.

Mr Larry Joseph, who has returned home from Lusaka, said it was becoming clear to the exiles in the Zambian capital that even if a chartered aircraft flew them home every week, not all would have returned by April 30, "a target which we had set for ourselves".

They were hopeful their return would speed up now the United Nations High Commission for Refugees had taken over the process.

Exiles thought the government was causing delays in their homecoming to give the impression the ANC was incapable of handling the process.

Those waiting to return were also being given confusing information, he said.

"It needs to be rectified. The ANC gives information but it seems even this can be conflicting."

CURRENT ISSUES

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The ANC Youth League

New Nation (Learning Nation) 5/4 - 11/4/91

The organisation of young people in the democratic movement is not a new phenomenon in the struggle for a new South Africa. We can point out the watershed of such an effort as the launching of the ANC Youth League in 1944.

This was a formation of the young members of the ANC, who represented both the political views of the ANC and the interests of young people within the movement. The youth of those times were the likes of today's ANC President O.R. Tambo, Deputy President Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu who were actually founder members of that youth league.

The youth league of the 1940s is known for the contribution it made in the ANC by moving it from its passive methods of opposing apartheid to active opposition. Whilst the ANC at the time was mainly concentrating on sending letters and delegations to protest against the oppression of our people, the youth league injected a new spirit of active resistance that resulted in militant action, for example the defiance campaigns of the 1950s.

When the ANC was banned in 1960 it meant that the youth league was automatically affected as a component. This meant that we could no longer have a mass youth league. Many young activists were subsequently forced into exile.

The activity of young ANC members under conditions of exile were harnessed under what came to be called The Youth Section of the ANC. These were ANC members under the discipline and authority of the ANC who were simply young and the youth section would cater for their interests.

Throughout, until the unbanning of the ANC, there were numerous attempts to fill the vacuum that the youth league left in the political involvement of young people in South Africa. Here we recall examples of SAS, SASM, NAYO, AZANYU. Also in the 1980s the formation of AZAYO and SAYCO.

With the unbanning of the ANC on 2 February 1990, the possibilities were opened to rebuild an organisation that would cater for the youth of the ANC.

In its first NEC meeting after the unbanning the ANC mandated its youth section to undertake the task of building a mass ANC youth league in the country. Subsequent to that in April 1990, the largest political youth organisation in SA, SAYCO held its national congress.

In its congress SAYCO resolved to phase out and give way to the establishment of a mass ANC youth league. Added to the decision of congress was that they will channel their membership into the ANC youth league on an individual and voluntary basis; also that their elected leadership at congress play a role to realise this resolution.

For the youth league to be a true mass-based organisation it has to represent a broad base of youth interests. It is against this background that from the very beginning of the process all progressive youth or student formations were called on to be part of the process of building a mass youth league.

Several youth formations have so far been involved in establishing our youth league. They include SAYCO, ANC youth section, Sansco, Cosas, Nusas, Casa, Suca and YCS. Sayco and the youth section will continue to exist and to service their specific constituencies.

We are now at a point where all the youth formations mentioned above have appointed a national committee to oversee the process of establishing the youth league. The structure is named the Provisional National Youth Committee (PNYC).

The PNYC has undertaken the task of establishing 14 regional youth committees throughout the country. Commensurately the regional youth committees are charged with the task of establishing local youth committees in every residential area of a particular region.

The local youth committees are then charged with the duty of recruiting individual members into the youth league and finally establishing a formal branch.

All youth league members shall not assume membership, but will join voluntarily as individuals and be issued with membership cards.

Finally the local youth committee will be substituted by a democratically elected branch executive. The regional youth structure will be substituted by a democratically elected Regional Executive Committee (REC) at the regional conference. The PNYC will be substituted by a democratically elected National Executive Committee (NEC) at the National Inaugural congress of the ANC Youth League.



These are comments and thoughts from youth league members around the question of independence. What do you think? You are welcome to send your ideas in to us and we will pass them on to the ANC Youth League. Perhaps you can discuss some of the points raised here in your branch or in a reading group if you have set one up.

Mike, a student at Khanya College, disagrees with the ANC on the question of the termination of the military underground operations of the ANC as well as the leadership's unilateral decision-making, for example the February 12 statement. He feels that the vast majority of the membership has not been consulted. However, Mike does not think that the ANCYL should be independent of the mother body, the ANC. He believes that the Youth League should have its own constitution, code of conduct and budget, but that its objective should be to reinforce the ANC. The Youth League should demonstrate its strength within the ANC.

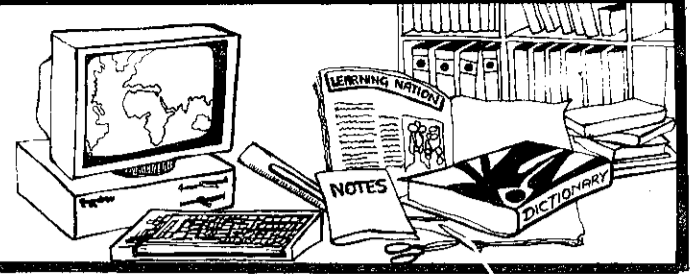
Nkosana does not think that the movement is adopting liberal ethics. He thinks that the Youth League should be an integral part of the ANC and that its programme of action should not be divorced from the ANC's. He does however feel that the Youth League should have its own budget. He also had some questions to ask. He wondered why people were calling for autonomy from the mother body and how this differed from the autonomy outlined in the provisional constitution of the Youth League. He also wondered what would happen to the name of the Youth League after "total autonomy"?

FIGHT · PRODUCE · LEARN !



P70

RESOURCES



Sharing Literacy



New Nation 54 - 11/4/91
(Learning Nation)

Next week you will be able to read an interview with a woman in Paris who cannot read or write.



Jose Tangwizi

Contemporary woodcut of colonial exploitation.

"We learners are shy, we pretend we know how to read and write. When we meet in class, we know we are not alone. We have stepped out of the shadows - we are making our voices heard."
(Johanna Khosa - September 1989).

Do you know that 9 million people in South Africa cannot read or write? If we take the South African population as 35 million and take away children under the age of six years, we can give a rough estimate that 45% of all adult South Africans are illiterate.

What do we mean when we use the term "illiterate"? The obvious answer is to say "an illiterate person is someone who cannot read or write". However, even if someone can read and write they may not have a level of literacy that enables them to function effectively in a "literate" world. There are many things that go towards making us literate, for example reading symbols, understanding concepts and definitions, etc.

For the sake of developing a definition let us say that an illiterate person is someone who has had less than four years of school and cannot read or write in their own language or (in South Africa) one of the official languages.

Who are the illiterate people in South Africa? I am sure that it will not come as a shock to you to learn that over 8 million of the 9 million illiterate people are black. The other one million is made up as follows: 600 000 "coloured" people, 110 000 "indian" people and 90 000 white people.

The racial breakdown in these statistics is necessary in order to draw attention to the fact that they directly reflect government policy of expenditure in education. For many decades the government spent approximately ten times more on white education than on black education.

You will probably also not be surprised to learn that most of the illiterate people in the world live in Third World countries or come from the poorest class in First World countries.

There are 900 million illiterate people in the world. If we consider that there are five billion people in the world, then take away all the children under the age of six years, we will probably come up with a finding that approximately one third of all adults in the world are illiterate.

What are the implications of high illiteracy in the Third World? Brian Cooper of the National Literacy Co-operative makes the following statement, "Literacy, in the fullest sense, means the ability to understand and act on the world we live in". If people don't have the ability to understand and take action in response to the world they live in then they can be easily manipulated by political powers. If one keeps a nation illiterate, there is less chance of people questioning the powers that control their lives.

In South Africa the high rate of illiteracy can be seen as a direct result of the overall social, political and economic policies which have kept power in the hands of a white minority. Therefore it is no coincidence that illiteracy is so high in black society. In order for us to eradicate illiteracy and to improve education in general, we need to struggle to change our society on all levels. But we also need to wage a direct war against illiteracy!

Obviously you can read and I can write and that is why we are sharing this information. In South Africa that is a privilege, but it should be a basic human right.

Resources

If there is anyone you know who would like to join a literacy class, why don't you send a letter to the National Organiser of the National Literacy Co-operative and s/he will be able to give you details of any literacy classes being run in your area. Their address is:

National Literacy Co-operative
National Organiser
c/o English Resources Unit
Offices no. 7 & 14
St Andrew's Centre
36 Ecumenical Centre
20 St Andrew's Street
Durban
4001

Alternatively, if you live in the Johannesburg area you can write to:

English Language Project
314 Dunwell House
35 Jorriksen Street
Braamfontein 2017
Phone: (011)339-2864

If you are in the Cape Town area, you can contact USWE:
Using Spoken and Written English (USWE)
1 Strubens Road
Mowbray 7700
Phone: (021) 689-4026

How can we take immediate action? Perhaps you know someone who cannot read or write and would like to learn. Let us share our skills so that together we can fight for this basic human right.

Everyone should "...have the ability to be able to understand and act on the world we live in".

Writing a formal letter of inquiry

Can you write a formal letter of inquiry? Remember that formal letters should always be brief and to the point. Supply only the necessary details. Always check to see that you have given your address and that you have made your request in clear and direct language.

Try this model

(Your postal address)
(date)

(Address of the organisation you are writing to)

Dear.....

Paragraph one - state how you came into contact with information and/or the address of the organisation.

Paragraph two - state your business/inquiry

Paragraph three - conclusion/thank you

Yours faithfully

Name

Does your letter look something like this?

30 Jabulani Street
Kuma Township
0000

20 February 1991

National Organiser
National Literacy Co-operative
c/o English Resources Unit
St Andrew's Centre
21 St Andrews Street
Durban 4001

Dear comrade

Recently I read an article on literacy in the Learning Nation. The article gave the above address for enquiries regarding literacy classes.

I am writing on behalf of my neighbour who would like to join a literacy programme. We live in Kuma Township near Stilfontein.

Can you please give us information about literacy classes in our area.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

J. Khumalo
Johanna Khumalo

Women marching against violence

New Nation (Learning Nation) 5/4 - 11/14 91.

11A



The 8th March every year is International Women's Day. This day is remembered because 80 years ago, thousands of women marched in New York on this day, to mourn the death of 175 women who had died in a burning textile factory in New York. The bosses had locked the doors of the factory to prevent theft. When the fire broke out, women either had to burn to death or jumped to their deaths from the 18th floor of the factory.

On the 8th of March every year, women all over the world commemorate this day. They use this day to mourn women who have fallen in the struggle, to rejoice in the gains that we have made and to celebrate the solidarity of women.

This year on the 8th of March, women all over South Africa participated in various activities. In Johannesburg hundreds of women took to the streets in a candlelit march to protest against violence against women and to demand to be safe in the streets and in our homes.

The night of the 8th was cold and wet, but the women still marched. We covered our heads with plastic shopping bags, we carried umbrellas and many just got wet. The candles went out and we lit them again and again.

Women marched from the city centre to Hillbrow. These are the areas where women are often most at risk. These are the areas where there is overcrowding and poverty, where women often work and have to catch their transport. These were important areas to march through.

Women were on the march as individuals and from organisations. Many organisations were represented, but many were not. This is significant. If we are to succeed in our struggle, we need to draw all women, from many organisations into the struggle for women rights. Women's issues should unite us. This year we could see the flags and banners of the ANC Women's League, People Against Women Abuse (POWA), Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW) and the South African Communist Party.

However many organisations were not there or did not have a banner, so we could not see them. Next year we should have more women, more organisations and more flags and banners.

We can also see that not all of these organisations were women's organisations. Many of these organisations were democratic organisations, with a long history of struggle for liberation. It is important that these organisations support the women's struggle. There are many ways that this can be done. Perhaps you would like to write to Learning Nation and tell us what you think?

There were also many men on the march. Some women felt that this was wrong. Other women felt that it was right that men supported the women. What do you think? Why don't you write to us at Learning Nation and tell us what you think?

The ANC Women's League and POWA spoke to us at the march.

Sonti from POWA gave us an important message, she said;

"The march is about violence. Many women feel safe now at the march because we are together, and this feeling of safety helps to make this a joyous occasion. But we all know that tomorrow we will be afraid again. Isn't that what this march is all about?"

Sonti also said that we must demand state run shelters for battered women in all cities and townships. Rape in marriage must be recognised. Abortion must be legalised and hospitals must have units to deal with women traumatised by rape.

Ferosa from the ANC Women's League, talked about women who had suffered in detention, been raped and sexually harassed in detention.

She talked of the violence against women and of the solidarity of women on International Women's Day. She said that we must demand the right to be safe in the streets at night, to be able to walk in the streets at 3am if we choose.

She told us that women are still oppressed, that society is still dominated by men.

She told us that this march was happening at a very important time in our history. That after many years of struggle we are at the brink of writing a new constitution. That we as women have to make sure that our demands as women are reflected in that new constitution.

The messages are clear. Now we must act.



Land reforms will boost whites' power PAC

6/10 am 5/14/91
THE PAC yesterday predicted that government's proposed land reforms would result in economically powerful whites increasing the racial imbalance in land ownership in SA.

PAC information secretary Barney Desai said: "The writing is on the wall — whites, with their economic power, will use blacks as nominees and a scramble for land will occur, resulting in the remaining land going to whites."

Desai said government's proposed reforms, which he described as "fraudulent", would increase historical inequalities which had left whites, who comprise 14% of the population, controlling 87% of the land.

He said the recently published White Paper made it clear that millions of hectares of land held by government and provincial authorities would be opened

to the free market.

"With almost half of the black population living below the poverty line and the rest in economic straights, how are the dispossessed going to be able to purchase land?" he asked.

Desai said it was "absurd" for government to claim in the preface to the White Paper that its objective was "to do justice to all citizens, also as far as rights to land are concerned; to broaden opportunities for all, while preserving lawfully acquired rights".

Desai said: "What is lawful about taking a people's land at the barrel of a gun? And what is just about asking them to buy it with resources that have been deliberately put out of their reach?"

Political Staff

Govt capturing talks high ground — ANC

3044 TIM COHEN (11A)

GOVERNMENT has used negotiations more effectively to its strategic benefit than the ANC, which is losing the "tactical initiative" to government, says a document on strategy being distributed within the organisation.

The 26-page document, Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, is one of several being produced by the ANC for discussion at its June national conference.

The warning that it has lost the "strategic initiative" constitutes a major departure from the ANC's position at its consultative conference in December when ANC members were told they held the initiative.

The document says: "Subjectively, our movement has not been fast enough in establishing its organisational machinery and adapting to the new terrain of struggle". BIPay 5/14/71

But it asserts that the ANC "set the stage and defined the agenda of the current phase of struggle".

The ANC had also ensured that its approach enjoyed the unanimous formal support of the international community, as demonstrated by OAU and UN declarations, the document says.

The document also specifies a change in the ANC's tactics.

"While in the past we pursued the objective of seizure of power and pledged to enter negotiations if the situation arose, the approach today has definitely changed.

"We have entered negotiations as a viable mechanism for the transition to a new order, under the new situation, and we pledge to pursue the perspective of seizure of power — armed and/or otherwise — if the situation changes." The document says that the situation is still fluid.

Mandela goes Green

W/Mail 5/4-11/4/91

11A



A hunting trip converts the ANC leader to conservation



Story: EDDIE KOCH
Photos: JEREMY ANDERSON
and TONY FERRAR

THE picture on the left shows Nelson Mandela proudly posing with a blesbok he shot while on safari with game wardens from kaNgwane's wildlife department.

The African National Congress leader has developed a passionate interest in environmental issues since spending a two-week holiday at a Lowveld nature reserve hunting and learning about innovative approaches to nature conservation.

The kaNgwane Parks Board is renowned for its methods — including hunting and culling of overpopulated species — that allow nature conservation to be combined with rural development.

Mandela told *The Weekly Mail*, after returning to his office in Johannesburg this week, that he believed it was vital to promote environmental conservation and to devise new methods to protect this country's fast-dwindling plant and animal species.

He spent his annual leave at the Mthethomusha Game Reserve in kaNgwane and used the opportunity to hold extensive and wide-ranging discussions with some of the country's top ecologists.

"It is important for conservation and rural development to be combined," he said. "Nature conservationists must take into account the needs of people around the reserves. They need to encourage education programmes about protecting wildlife and always act in co-operation with the local communities."

The ANC deputy president also de-

In this way he participated in a programme to generate revenue for rural communities that have donated land for the reserves.

kaNgwane's approach to conservation, especially its promotion of big game hunting, is likely to create controversy among animal rights groups.

But the kaNgwane Parks Board's philosophy is that conservation should benefit local communities and its officials recognise that delicate environmental areas will never survive unless they address the land issue in South Africa and the burning need for rural development.

They consider hunting a crucial method for generating tourism that provides jobs and revenue for social upliftment programmes in the communities that live next to the reserves.

It "involves little capital investment," says kaNgwane Parks director Jeremy Anderson, "and allows us to encourage lucrative forms of tourism while simultaneously carrying out a culling programme that ensures the most rational use of the resources in the reserve".

Mandela noted that rural people had, in the past, frequently been dispossessed of their land so that conservation areas could be created. Many saw reserves and the game wardens who run them as an integral part of apartheid's oppressive institutions.

He said land for the Mthethomusha Game Reserve had been donated to the kaNgwane Parks Board by Chief Charles Bongani Mpakenias, leader of the local Mpakeni clan.

The sensitive approach adopted by

Mandela takes a break - and swings to green

W/Mand 5/4 - 11/4/91

From PAGE 1

conservation officials has created a tremendous respect among local villagers for their efforts to protect species that exist in the rugged reserve that straddles the southern border of the Kruger National Park.

The reserve is administered jointly by kaNgwane Parks and a tribal trust company to represent the interests of the Mpakeni people.

Profits are split between the two groups, although the community sometimes receives 60 percent of the revenue generated by tourism. This is channelled into the building of schools, clinics and other social services in consultation with the community. The money is also used for literacy projects, children's creches and other welfare programmes.

The success of the kaNgwane programme, which refines ideas that have been practised in Zimbabwe and Kenya, is illustrated by the fact that Mthethomusha's rangers seldom experience a poaching problem. Yet an area of the Kruger National Park just two kilometres away is a favoured hunting ground for organised bands of poachers.

In kaNgwane only overpopulated species are hunted. As a result local

people develop a deep respect for animals and other species to be protected.

"If a man poaches he is stealing from the tribe," says Karl Lane, head of kaNgwane Parks' communication section. "For example, a hunter will pay R15 000 to shoot a buffalo and if the animal is killed by a poacher the tribe loses this income."

While being exposed to these ideas and participating in the culling programme at Songimvelo, another nature reserve run by kaNgwane, Mandela appears to have excelled himself as a sharpshooter.

"We went out on two trips and on each occasion he had only one bullet in his rifle," said Anderson. "The first time he got an impala and the second time he bagged a large blesbok roan by shooting it through the heart ... a perfect hunter's shot."

Mandela's new enthusiasm for green issues puts the ANC in the forefront of efforts to include environmental rehabilitation and protection in the building of a new South Africa.

ANC legal expert Albie Sachs last year drafted a detailed discussion document outlining ways in which South Africa could become the third country in the world — after Namibia and India — to include environmental rights in its constitution.

Stanley Sangweni, senior member

of the ANC's economics desk, has also prepared a document which outlines the organisation's approach to conservation and the need for sustainable development in rural areas, as well as critical ecological issues such as soil erosion, air pollution and nuclear energy.

Other conservationists who met Mandela during his stay at Mthethomusha include National Parks Board head Robbie Robinson, Wildlife Society of Southern Africa director Tony Ferrar and kaNgwane Parks chairman Johan Kloppers.

"I was deeply impressed with the concern shown by the different officials that I met from the parks boards and their enthusiasm for involving the community in ecological issues," said Mandela.

John Hanks, chief executive of the Southern African Nature Foundation, said it was vital that new governments in South Africa place environmental issues on the top of their agendas.

"I was delighted to hear of Mr Mandela's commitment to humanising conservation and of his support for the principle of consulting local people in the development of conservation projects," said Hanks. "More importantly, he has realised the value of ensuring that the benefits of these projects go back to local communities."

Ferrar said his meeting with Mandela had created a useful link between established conservation bodies and the ANC and hoped that it would be the first in a series of consultations between green groups and political organisations.

ANC budget plans for host of new taxes

by PATRICK BULGER

AN ANC budget would introduce an array of new taxes to boost state revenue by almost 50%, the latest issue of its official mouthpiece *Mayibuye* says.

A capital gains tax, a capital transfer tax, a land tax, a progressive property tax and a minimum business tax would be used to boost tax revenue from its present 28% of GDP to 35% of GDP.

The ANC says it would increase government share of GDP to 35% over five years. If this could be coupled to a 3% annual growth rate, an additional R40bn could be raised for government spending.

It would also pursue a less conservative deficit financing policy — increasing its share of GDP to 5%, compared to government's present 3%.

Savings would be made by redirecting spending away from defence and duplicated apartheid structures to social expenditure. *Bloam 5/4/91*

The ANC would provide a capital subsidy of R12 000 for 1,2-million houses; spending R20m on each of 250 townships; R5bn for an employment training scheme; R6,5bn to establish 150 000 small farmers; R7,5bn for school building and teacher training; R550m to train one million adult literacy teachers; R11bn to equalise pensions; R2,5bn on a feeding scheme for pregnant mothers; R2,5bn on a school feeding scheme and R3,2bn on industrial restructuring. About R300m would be set aside to provide short-term work to one million people developing a rural infrastructure and R300m for primary health clinics.

This is a total of R58,75bn.

The ANC said a budget should form part of a comprehensive national development strategy.

The organisation criticised the 1991 national Budget for being "uncaring" and favouring the rich while providing limited direct relief for the poor.

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IN the most serious threat yet to the peace process, the African National Congress yesterday said it would suspend all constitutional talks with the Government if certain steps were not taken by May 9 to stop the township violence.

The ANC's national executive listed seven security-related demands to be met within a month — including the sacking of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Driaan Vlok.

And in a stinging attack on the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC laid the blame for violence aimed at "inflating the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena".

Reaction

— See Page 2

The ANC also dismissed IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's suggestion of a "troika" — consisting of the KwaZulu leader, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk — to deal with the violence.

Yesterday's demands, formulated at a two-day extraordinary meeting of the ANC's leadership, were that Ministers Malan and Vlok be dismissed, and all SADF and SAP officers who bear direct responsibility for the setting up and management of the Civil Co-operation Bureau

Meet our demands or talks are off, Mandela tells FW

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

(CCB) and other hit squads be "rusticated" (isolated and penalised).

● All special counter-insurgency units be publicly dismantled and disarmed, including the CCB, Koevoet and the Askaris. A multi-party commission should be set up to oversee this process.

● All police officers implicated in the Sebokeng massacre in March last year be immediately suspended and charged, and all officers implicated in last month's Daveyton and Benoni shootings on March 24 be suspended pending the findings of a commission of inquiry.

● Satisfactory assurances be given that security forces will use civilised methods of crowd control, and the use of live ammunition be prohibited on such occasions.

● Laws be introduced in the current session of Parliament to outlaw the carrying of all weapons, including traditional weapons, at

public gatherings and processions.

● Effective steps be taken to begin the process of phasing out hostels and other labour compounds and transform these dwellings into family housing units and single occupancy flats.

● An independent commission of inquiry be set up to investigate all complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

Yesterday's ultimatum was contained in an open letter to President de Klerk and his Cabinet, released at a press conference at the ANC's Johannesburg head office.

Addressing the press conference, Mr Mandela hinted that the ANC might reconsider the ultimatum "if the Government responds in a satisfactory way".

This is the second ANC deadline presented to the Government recently. In December, the ANC warned that it would review the suspension of the armed struggle if all political prisoners were not freed and all exiles not allowed to return by April 30.

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 6/4/91 (11A)

Talks

FROM PAGE 1

The letter puts the blame for the protracted violence squarely at the Government's door.

It is "inconceivable" that the Government lacks the capacity to curb the violence which first broke out in September 1984, it says.

"The ANC is of the view that the Government's equivocal attitude to the cycle of violence reflects either an attitude of cynical irresponsibility or is evidence of connivance at acts of organised terror in the hope that they will succeed in destroying or seriously crippling the ANC."

Mr Mandela, flanked by information head Pallo Jordan and SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, told a press conference that the departments headed by General Malan and Mr Vlok had been responsible for the deaths of close to 8 000 people.

He attributed these deaths to faction fighting, unacceptable methods of crowd control, "the connivance of the Government" and the activities of a government "third force".

A grave-looking Mr Mandela said this ultimatum was the most serious threat yet to negotiations.

"This is a very seri-

ous matter. I sincerely hope that the Government will treat it in this light," he warned.

The letter contained a detailed evaluation of recent incidents of violence, singling out groups wearing "red headbands", government agents, the KwaZulu police, well-organised groups of armed men using automatic weapons, and gangs of hoodlums and vigilantes.

The ANC launched a surprising attack on the IFP, after months of sensitive negotiations between the two parties.

Asked if the ANC's dismissal of the IFP would not fuel tension between supporters of the two groups, Mr Mandela said Inkatha was a minor political grouping and the ANC had no hesitation in saying so.

Dismissing the "troika" concept, Mr Mandela said he had earlier suggested that he, Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi visit strife-torn areas. However, this should only be a single mission.

Minutes after the conclusion of the press conference, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's office faxed a full response to the ANC's statement, saying any loss of confidence in the pre-negotiation talks between the ANC and the Government should be laid squarely at Mr de Klerk's doorstep for "failing to control" Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi.

Fire Vlok, Malan - ANC

Shock, dismay at ultimatum

W/C ARS 6/4/91

11A

By Political Staff and Sapa

POLITICAL leaders have expressed shock, dismay and suspicion at the African National Congress's threat to pull out of negotiations.

The ANC's open letter to President De Klerk — threatening to withdraw from constitutional talks unless he meets several tough conditions by May 9 and sacks Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and his Law and Order counterpart, Mr Adrian Vlok — has taken the political world largely by surprise.

In response, Mr De Klerk said the move appeared to be an attempt to draw political gain from township violence.

He reaffirmed the government's concern about continuing violence, a matter "that should not be exploited by anyone for political gain".

"Now that we are entering the straight of removing obstacles, new demands are made and the goalposts moved in order to cover up serious problems within its own (ANC) ranks," he said.

The ANC's open letter was based on allegations which were one-sided and incomplete.

Mr De Klerk said the open letter was being studied and a fuller response might follow.

'Committed to peace'

ANC director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki said the political situation had developed to a stage where a fairly rapid solution seemed possible, but the "shadow of violence" had forced the ANC to take the "sad" decision to review its participation in the negotiation process.

But he reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to a peaceful political settlement, saying the movement had to do "absolutely everything in its power to drag the country out of its culture of violence".

He was addressing a fund-raising dinner in Pretoria last night.

General Malan's spokesman Dr Das Herbst said the ANC's demand for his dismissal was "laughable and ludicrous".

He said the ANC's demand for action against the Civil Co-operation Bureau was "behind the times" because the CCB was already "non-existent".

Mr Vlok said today his statement was being prepared.

Conservative Party defence spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said there were unconfirmed rumours that most of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were already in the country. "That may be why the ANC is flexing its muscles. The position is very serious and anything can happen."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said the threat to break off negotiations was "empty and unconstructive".

"If negotiations are broken off at this time, it means we have to go back to the status quo ante; unrepresentative white government trying unsuccessfully to run South Africa in very difficult circumstances which can only get worse."

He said the ANC threat was "very sad" and hoped it would be headed off by negotiations.

'Laughable, unacceptable'

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the ANC statement was "totally laughable and unacceptable".

"No government with self-respect will be blackmailed with such demands. It is unimaginable that the government will yield."

Other demands, formulated at a two-day extraordinary meeting of the ANC's leadership, were:

■ All police implicated in the Sebokeng massacre in March last year be immediately suspended and charged, and all officers implicated in last month's Daveyton and Benoni shootings on March 24 be suspended pending the findings of an appointed commission of inquiry.

- Satisfactory assurances be given that security forces will use civilised methods of crowd control, and these forces be disallowed to use live ammunition on such occasions.
- Laws be introduced in the current session of parliament to outlaw the carrying of all weapons, including traditional weapons, at public gatherings and processions.

NEWS

PAC disowns 'bullet' slogan

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress has dissociated itself from the slogan "One settler, one bullet" at a meeting with two British Cabinet ministers.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd and Overseas Development Minister Mrs Lynda Chalker at a meeting in London last week that the slogan had its roots in Zimbabwe.

He said: "It's not part of our programme or policy."

He said the PAC failed to understand why there should be anxiety about the slogan "shouted by an unarmed kid in Soweto" when the white population had 2.5 million licensed guns.

Mr Makwetu told Mr Hurd and Mrs Chalker that the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly with a system of proportional representation was not exclusive. It included all population groups.

"They understood our reasons for calling for a constituent assembly, but urged us to talk to the government,"

said PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai, who was also at the meeting.

The PAC's view was that it had responded to an invitation to exploratory talks with the government.

"We told them that we had replied to this letter and that the matter had gone no further than that. The ball is in the government's court."

The PAC delegation said the movement saw no point in taking part in the government's planned multiparty conference "because the parties taking part cannot be said to have a democratic mandate. We asserted that the real test of proven support must be the ballot".

The PAC also told the ministers that it would not discuss the release of its cadres from prison and the return of exiles with the government.

"We see no point in negotiating about preconditions to negotiations."

The PAC delegation, invited to Britain by the British government, comprised Mr Makwetu, Mr Desai and Patricia de Lille, the movement's secretary for foreign affairs.

They also met African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo at his North London home.

ANC drops bombshell

CAP 7/4/91 6/4/91 11A

From PATRICK COLLINGS JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has issued a seven-point ultimatum to the government, threatening to break off all negotiations unless Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok are sacked and security forces purged by May 9.

Describing the present impasse on violence as the most serious threat yet to negotiations, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said he considered the demands to be "perfectly reasonable".

"By putting forward these demands we want to put the negotiation process back on track, because a situation has now arrived where the conditions for negotiations ... have now being disturbed by (continuing township violence)," he said.

The demands, set out in an open letter to President FW de Klerk, include:

- The dismissal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the sacking of all SADF and SAP officers responsible for "the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCBs and other hit squads";

- The outlawing by Parliament of the carrying of weapons, "traditional or otherwise", at public assemblies, processions and rallies;

- The public dismantling and disarming of all counter-insurgency units "such as the Askaris, 32 Battalion, the CCB, Koevoet";

- The immediate suspension from duty of all police members implicated in the massacre at Sebokeng on March 22, 1990 and of policemen responsible for the shooting at Daveyton on March 24 this year;

- Assurances that in future the government will take other security or-



MINISTERS 'MUST GO' ... Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok

Inside comment:

Exercise in Brinkmanship

See — PAGE 4

gans employ "acceptable and civilised methods" of crowd control, and that police not be issued with live ammunition at mass meetings, and;

- Steps be taken to phase out single sex hostels and to transform them into family units and flats.

The letter was released at a Johannesburg press conference yesterday by the ANC's National Executive Committee after a two-day meeting.

Speaking at the press conference, Mr Mandela blamed the government and security-force "inaction" or "complicity" for the

estimated 8 000 deaths in inter-racial black strife countrywide since 1984.

Suggesting that Mr Vlok and General Malan were indirectly responsible for the deaths of nearly 8 000 people since factional fighting erupted in September 1984, Mr Mandela said it was "inconceivable that the authorities lacked the capacity or the skill" to stop the bloodshed.

"In no other country would the government keep ministers who have been responsible, whose departments have been responsible, for the deaths of close to 8 000 people," he said.

Last night a spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said the President — who is on holiday — would study the letter before reacting.

When asked what measures the ANC would take to ensure that members of its organisation did not take part in township violence, Mr Mandela said the ANC condemned violence and was the only organisation which had singled out its members for discipline.

Sapa's political correspondent also reported sources saying Mr De Klerk and senior members of the government had noticed a "distinct hardening of attitude with the ANC" and the new demands had not come as a complete surprise.

Mr Mandela said he was prepared to discuss the ultimatum with Mr De Klerk, but said it was premature to say whether the ANC would push for the implementation of all its conditions if the government granted several before the May 9 deadline.

Mr Vlok said: "I want to first examine the document before issuing a response."

General Malan's spokesman, Dr DAS Herbst, described the ANC's demand for General Malan's resignation as "laughable and ludicrous".

He said the CCB had already been disbanded.



THE true shape of South African society is slowly emerging from the mists of Nationalist propaganda, and from the shadows of anti-apartheid conspiracy. We cannot yet discern the real South Africa, but already it is obvious that this is not the country we thought we knew.

Among the myths that have fallen away since the unbanning of the proscribed political movements is, for example, the old notion — so beloved of the more bigoted English "liberals" — that the Afrikaners were uniquely shaped by their history and their church for the role of racial oppressor, and that they were therefore incapable of change.

A companion myth, that the future will be settled in a titanic last struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism, is rapidly yielding to the ruthless struggle for power between black people, in which whites have become marginal.

Indeed, white South Africans look like being reduced, as they have been in Zimbabwe, to mere onlookers, or technocrats (like the police) who are expected to keep the place functioning while more important people devote themselves to the demanding tasks and burdens of power politics.

Meanwhile the ANC, which loomed so formidably a year ago, has quickly acquired a reputation for monumental incompetence. It is run, to a very large degree, by members of the SA Communist Party: Ahmed Kathrada, Joe Slovo, Essop Pahad, Raymond Suttner, Jeremy Cronin, and others who are still coy about their communist affiliations.

A year ago the ANC seemed a strong horse under a communist rider; since then it has been reduced to a pony, led by the nose. Not even its supporters claim for it the competence to run a railroad, much less a

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

51 Times 7/4/91.

country.

Nor does the old ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance look nearly as solid as it did.

The UDF, whose members bore the brunt of the anti-apartheid struggle in the 80s, has disintegrated. Some of its most prominent leaders have been shipped abroad on scholarships for the duration of the power struggle; others, especially union leaders, have turned out to be SACP "sleepers", quietly planted in strategic positions long ago.

Cosatu's vice-presidents Chris Dhlamini and John Gomomo and assistant general secretary Sidney Mafumadi are members of the SACP interim leadership group; other Cosatu officials are almost surely covert SACP members.

NEVERTHELESS, Cosatu has begun to develop its own agenda, separate from the ANC agenda. It is too early for outsiders to tell what Cosatu is trying to achieve, but it seems to me that once again its overt and covert communist leaders are applying to South Africa the lessons of Russian history.

The lesson which Western liberals draw from recent Soviet experience is that free societies, which are able to discover their true nature and to fashion appropriate definitions of their problems, succeed better than totali-

tarian states that, like apartheid South Africa or Soviet Russia, hide the truth from themselves.

The lesson that communists draw from the same evidence is that the Russians erred in their execution of the communist programme, in particular by letting the party establish domination (and ultimately control) of "the workers". Hence the recent efforts of Cosatu to ensure the survival and independence of the trade unions as a separate power base.

That's progress. When a communist party insists on entrenching in a constitution, beyond the reach of a mere legislature, such rights as freedom of the media, it risks becoming an ally in a liberal cause. It is also, ironically, playing with powerful forces which it does not understand.

Trade unions, by their nature, depend upon conformity, and they traditionally deal very harshly with dissidents in their own ranks. This may be the only country where unions have actually set their dissidents on fire, or publicly executed them before 2 000 terrorised on-lookers, but it is not the only country where union discipline has been upheld by murder.

Conformity, however, is a trap. Nonsensical slogans, such as "an injury to one is an injury to all" have spawned greater nonsense, such as



"pass one, pass all". At the same time, the demand for discipline has spawned an impatience with dissent, and a growing lust for power among union leaders.

When a union movement, therefore, demands independence for itself and freedom of expression for everybody else, it is feeding the forces which tend to undermine conformity, and to expose its own contradictions. A trade union in which each member is free to act as he thinks best is a contradiction in terms.

THIS brings up another contradiction which is emerging. The unionised workers already constitute a privileged elite, to whom all the good things of life (up to university education for the children) are available. They are most threatened not by capital, nor by Afrikaners or whites, but by the unemployed masses who peddle tomatoes or hijack cars simply to survive.

The gulf between this country's unionised elite and the unemployed under-class grows wider by the day. In organisational terms, the natural haven of the workers is the trade union, and the natural haven of the jobless is the political party. When Cosatu draws a line between itself and the ANC, it may also be drawing a line between the worker elite and the

masses.

We are so accustomed to thinking of ourselves in terms of apartheid terminology — rich whites, poor blacks, four "race groups", and so forth — that it remains difficult to grasp the central fact of South African society: diversity.

We are a nation divided racially across the entire spectrum from Scandinavian blonde to Ethiopian black. We are as divided by religion as India or Ireland. We are divided by language, history, habits, values, prejudices and hatreds. We cannot agree on the simplest of common values, such as the right to life, or, at the inane level, Sunday observance.

In such a country, anything less than freedom must be oppression; and freedom itself must be an atomising force that makes the individual supreme.

SOME people, thinking still in the terms of the past, suspect that President De Klerk has a hidden agenda to retain power for the Afrikaners, or for the whites as a whole.

The suspicion is irrational: the reason he abandoned the attempt to suppress political opponents was that the white community had exhausted both the will and the resources to maintain oppression.

Moreover, President De Klerk has unleashed on the nation forces of free inquiry and political dispute which are destroying not only the old sustaining myths of white hegemony, but also the revolutionary myths of the anti-apartheid movement. The oppressor in South Africa is no longer necessarily white, and the victim is not necessarily black.

Cosatu's bid for freedom from the ANC suggests that, from the present confusion, we may yet fashion a set of principles to make this country safe for diversity. To do anything less will be to fail.

ANC social tax plan draws business flak

STimes 7/4/91 (Bus/T)

By CURT VON KEYSERLINGK

THE ANC's proposal to increase State spending by R40-billion in the next five years, financed by more taxes and greater deficit spending, will scare off investors in their droves, says an executive of a mining and industrial group.

The proposal and comments on this year's Budget are contained in the ANC publication *Mayibuye*.

The ANC calls for an increase in State spending from about 25% of gross domestic product (GDP) last year to 35%. The money would be raised by new taxes, such as those on capital gains and capital transfer. It wants a land and progressive property tax. It calls for a minimum business tax.

The calculation of the additional revenue is based on the assumption that the economy grows at 3% a year. This appears optimistic because average growth since 1985 has been less than 2% a year.

The ANC says that cutting the top marginal tax rate in the latest Budget is "inappropriate given the current priority to redistribute income to the poorest sections of the population ... In fact, further taxation of the rich would have been completely justified."

The Government's deficit financing policy — about 3% of GDP — is conservative. Deficit financing amounting to 5% of GDP would be "responsible", says the ANC.

The additional funds could be allocated to social upliftment programmes over and above money already allocated to them.

The ANC says the latest Budget of R75-billion should be allocated differently.

But Econometrix director Tony Twine says: "This approach to the economy has been tried before in Eastern Europe and has failed ignominiously. If a future government went ahead on these lines, South Africa's GDP

would shrink dramatically and State spending would quickly exceed the 35% proposed by the ANC.

The mining and industrial executive says: "We had hoped that our discussions with the ANC showed them some sense, but these proposals prove the opposite. The ANC has been coy in talks with us and has avoided spelling out the excesses contained in these proposals.

"Businessmen have made the mistake of assuming that the ANC's silence indicates that it is listening to their arguments."

SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) director-general Raymond Parsons says: "Sacob urges the ANC to understand that an even larger State share of GDP, especially if it involved yet higher deficit financing, would produce higher inflation.

Negate

"That would impoverish all South Africans, threaten the balance of payments, and reduce SA's ability to achieve even a fraction of the social expenditures the ANC envisages.

"We all agree that SA needs a faster economic growth. A sound taxation system would aid such growth. An unsound system would negate it. Implicit in the ANC tax proposals is the idea that business can be taxed in isolation. Most taxes are passed on to the public — either in higher prices, lower wages or increased unemployment.

"SA must remain internationally competitive when it comes to taxes if foreign investment and even local investment is to be encouraged."

By **NORMAN WEST**
and **DAWN BARKHUIZEN**

HARDLINERS in the ANC have won Round Three in the struggle between hawks and doves to control strategy for negotiations for a new South Africa.

This is the conclusion of top government negotiators who studied the ANC ultimatum issued by Nelson Mandela as an "open letter" and which brought negotiations to the brink of disaster this week.

The ultimatum, delivered on Friday at a news conference by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, sets May 9 as a deadline for President De Klerk to dismiss both Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and to take other steps to curb violence. If Mr De Klerk fails to comply, the ANC will withdraw from all negotiations.

ROUND ONE came on December



NELSON MANDELA
Courting disaster

16 when a three-day consultative conference forced the adoption of a set of hawkish demands after condemning the ANC leadership for suspending the armed struggle.

ROUND TWO came on January 8 and was won by the doves: the ANC's 79th anniversary document broke a looming deadlock in negotiations by calling for a multi-party congress in advance of a constituent assembly.

An attempt, reportedly led by ANC information chief Pallo Jordan, to restore the hardline position in talks with the government later that month failed.

Now **ROUND THREE** seeks, more strongly than before, to reassert the hardline strategy of using negotiations to prepare the way for a resumption of armed struggle.

Despite the hardline demands, both ANC and government sources insisted yesterday that the negotiation process was "still on track" — although at great risk.

An ANC source said that working groups and liaison committees would continue to meet, pending the outcome of the demands.

Government sources said last night the ANC was so deeply divided that it was not ready to begin negotiations by April 30. The ultimatum, setting a later deadline, was a ploy to play for time.

They said the ANC was beginning to realise that the April 30 target date for the return of exiles might well be met because of the good progress Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee was making to comply with the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC wanted another excuse for a delay because it was not ready to begin talks, sources said.

Attack

Government officials said it was significant that the ultimatum, coming less than a week after an ostensibly friendly meeting between Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, included a diatribe against Inkatha Freedom Party.

This attack was seen as an attempt to undo the partial agreement of the previous week and to reduce Inkatha to the status of a minor party in the constitutional talks.

President De Klerk, responding to the ultimatum, said that it appeared to be an attempt to draw political gain from the township violence. The

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

ANC THAW AWAYS BRITNIX GO

Shock ultimatum to FW reveals internal split over tactics as talks near

S/Times 7/4/91

11A



Hawks gain ground

SITimes 7/4/91
From Page 1

attempt to blame government forces for the violence was unfair and not in keeping with the facts, he said.

"Now that we are entering the straight of removing obstacles, new demands are made and the goalposts moved in order to cover up serious problems within its own (ANC) ranks," he said.

It was strange that the ANC attacked Inkatha so vehemently while the two organisations were holding high-level talks about the violence between them, he said.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok said the minister regarded the ultimatum as blatant political propaganda.

Mr Buthelezi said yesterday he was "flabbergasted and disappointed".

He said he had received no indication from Mr Mandela that the NEC meeting "would produce the kind of outcome it did".

"I had hoped that we would now work quickly and with a common purpose for peace and engen-

dering political tolerance. I now ask how I can deal with the ANC/SACP alliance in the light of their actions and utterances."

Reacting to the State President's rejection of their demands, the ANC yesterday noted "with great regret the tawdry response ... that confirms our impression that the extensive loss of life by black people has made no impact on him or his government".

The ANC issued its "open letter" ultimatum at a news conference on Friday and said failure by the government to meet its demands would result in the suspension of all constitutional negotiations and withdrawal from the all-party congress.

The ultimatum, formulated by the ANC's National Executive Committee during a two-day plenary session, is seen by the ANC as the most serious threat yet to negotiations between itself and the government.

It comes in the wake of an admission by the ANC — revealed in a 26-page discussion document —

Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC — that it had lost the initiative to the government.

The ANC demands:

- Legislation during this parliamentary session to ban the carrying of weapons, including traditional weapons.

- The dismissal of Mr Vlok and General Malan and the suspension of all SADF and SAP officers responsible for the setting up, management, crimes and misdemeanours of the Civil Co-operation Bureau and other hit squads.

- The visible dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, 32 Battalion, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z-squad and the establishment of a multi-party commission to oversee this process.

- Suspension of policemen implicated in the killing of black demonstrators at Sebokeng township in March last year and also those involved in the shooting at Daveyton, Benoni, on March 24 this year pending a commission of inquiry into the incident.

No settler, no bullet

Slogan not PAC policy

CP Correspondent

SO-CALLED settlers, scared of the spine-chilling slogan of "One Settler, One Bullet" can relax - the PAC has turned its back on it.

At a meeting in London, PAC president Clarence Makwetu told British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Minister of State and Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Lynda Chalker, that the slogan was not a South African one, but had originated in Zimbabwe.

Makwetu said: "It's not part of our programme or policy."

He added that the PAC failed to understand why there should be anxiety about this slogan, shouted by an unarmed kid in Soweto, when last year 2.5 million gun licences were issued to whites.

Makwetu told the two ministers that the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly with a system of proportional representation included all population groups.

"They understood our reasons for calling for a constituent assembly, but urged us to at least talk to the government," said PAC spokesman Barney Desai, who was also at the meeting.

"Our view is that we have responded to an invitation to have exploratory talks with the government. We told them that we had replied to this letter and that the matter has gone no further than that. The ball is in the government's court."

The PAC delegation gave the government's planned multi-party conference the thumbs down "because the parties taking part cannot be said to have a democratic mandate. We asserted that the real test of proven support must be the ballot".

The PAC told Hurd and Chalker it saw no point in discussing the release of its cadres from prison and the return of exiles with the government.



Makwetu . . . rejected multi-party talks because parties represented do not have a mandate.

Mandela bags a blesbok

S/Times 7/4/91.
By DOMINIC JONES

NELSON Mandela last week swapped his suits for khakis and trekked off into the bush to bag himself a blesbok.

The African National Congress deputy president went on a shooting safari with top conservation figures during a two-week break from his hectic schedule.

And he so enjoyed the experience that he returned home with a leg of venison and recommended to members of his National Executive that they, too, get away on twice-yearly bush-breaks.

Mr Mandela, accompanied only by close personal aides, was the guest of the Kangwane Parks Board and stayed in a R300-a-night game lodge near the Kruger Park.

The hunt formed part of the board's programme of raising money for conservation and rural development through organised game killings.

Conservationists who met the ANC leader said they were heartened by his concern for wildlife and keen interest in

conservation principles.

Wildlife Society director Tony Ferrar and Kangwane Parks director Jeremy Anderson were also impressed with Mr Mandela's crack-shot shooting.

He killed an impala on his first hunt and a blesbok the next day, each with one bullet.

Mr Ferrar said he hoped Mr Mandela's visit would be one in a series of contacts between wildlife groups and political organisations.

Mr Mandela also spent two days in the Kruger National Park as a guest of SA National Parks Board director Robbie Robinson.

Concern

Dr Robinson and a small group of Kruger Park rangers hosted an informal buffet dinner for Mr Mandela at the park's Skukuza rest camp.

He said he had been presently surprised and encouraged by Mr Mandela's deep concern and interest in conservation and the environment in general.

ANC plans to treble size of executive

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC wants to treble its national executive committee to 105 members in an attempt to broaden its policy-making body and to embrace previously excluded representatives from trade union movements and civic-based organisations.

And, in keeping with its attempts to establish itself along traditional party political lines, an ANC "shadow cabinet" of about 20 members will execute policy.

A document proposing the restructuring of the ANC's NEC will be circulated in the ANC regions for discussion this week.

The proposals were finalised by the existing ANC NEC on Friday and will be presented for debate and endorsement at the ANC's June national conference.

The document proposes that the existing 35-member NEC be enlarged to 105

members who will meet every two months to discuss policy. The extension of the NEC will make allowances for a wider spread of regional representation.

Of the 105 members, a "shadow cabinet" of about 20 people will implement the policies on a full-time basis.

According to ANC officials, the NEC needs to be enlarged to include leaders like Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

Women

Leaders of this calibre, whose contribution to ANC policy is seen as crucial, have been unable to hold permanent positions on the NEC because of their union commitments.

Extending the NEC will allow them to make contributions to policy on a part-time basis without compromising their work.

The discussion document also proposes that 16 places on the enlarged

NEC be reserved exclusively for women as part of the ANC's affirmative action programme.

There are only two women on the ANC's NEC, an imbalance that needs to be corrected, ANC officials say.

The women's positions will probably be occupied by representatives from the 14 regions of the ANC Women's League and the other two positions by the two top Women's League executives.

The document also proposes that two places on the enlarged NEC be reserved exclusively for youth representatives. These positions will most likely be held by the president and deputy president of the ANC's Youth League.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is expected to be elected president of the shadow cabinet when Oliver Tambo steps down in June.

The position of deputy president will be given less prominence and the second most powerful position in

the shadow cabinet will be that of the secretary general, officials say.

Observers believe the position of deputy president will probably be occupied by a member of the old guard — possibly Walter Sisulu.

Resign

The other two top positions — treasurer and secretary general — will most probably be occupied by Africans, ANC officials say.

There are growing calls for secretary general Alfred Nzo and treasurer Thomas Nkobi to step down from their positions in June.

Many of Mr Nzo's responsibilities have recently been shared by NEC member Aziz Pahad, who is effectively serving as deputy secretary general.

It is likely that Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing and Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of international affairs, will retain their present positions.

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11A

ANC meet PAC in a bid to form a united front

ST Times
21/4/91 By SIPHO NGCOBO

(119)

FULL national executive committees of the ANC and PAC will meet for two days in Harare this week to discuss the formation of a patriotic front — probably the biggest united front in extra-parliamentary political history.

The meeting on April 13-14 will be held in Harare because some of the PAC's delegation do not have indemnity against prosecution in SA.

Optimism is already high in leadership and rank-and-file circles of both organisations that the PAC might finally compromise and agree to go to the negotiation table.

Membership of both organisations feel the mere fact that the full NEC members of both organisations were meeting was evidence that there was progress.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said the meeting would enable both organisations to iron out their differences on how to pressurise the government on the question of one-person-one-vote.

High on the agenda of the historic meeting is a multi-party conference and a constituent assembly.

The PAC demands a constituent assembly, based on one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA, on a common voters' roll and rejects the ANC's proposal for an interim government as a transitional mechanism.

Sequel

The PAC's rejection of an interim government stems from the fact that the interim structure would have no new constitution and that the ANC might find itself administering apartheid.

The historic Harare meeting is a sequel to a number of meetings the two organisations have held in an effort to iron out differences.

Said Mr Alexander: "We are going there to work out our differences on a number of issues. We are happy that the opportunity has come, but we cannot predict what the outcome will be."

At a recent meeting, the ANC proposed that serious consideration be given to the participation of certain homeland administrations and parties. In this regard, Transkei and the Inyandza Party of KaNgwane were mentioned.

However, the PAC maintains that, if homeland leaders are to be allowed to take part, they must first cut ties completely with the South African government and resign their positions as leaders.

Both organisations have tentatively agreed that a united front should consist of 3 500 representatives from a large spectrum of organisations.

Invited

According to the proposed structure, the ANC and PAC will have 400 representatives each; other political bodies 10 each. Trade union federations, like Cosatu and Nactu, will have 50 representatives each, while non-affiliated unions will have two each.

The SA Council of Churches will also be invited to participate in the front with 10 representatives, while other religious bodies will be asked to appoint two each.

Sporting bodies, like SACOS and NOSC, would be asked to nominate five each and other sports bodies two each. The SA Music Alliance will be asked to appoint three members and other national cultural movements one each.

Regional and local civic bodies would have one representative each, while national student, youth, women's and teachers' groups will have five each, as will the Council of Traditional Leaders of SA. Other traditional leader formations will have two each.

FABCOS and NAFCOC would send five representatives each, while other organised business bodies will be asked to nominate three each.

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Protect us, Cosatu asks ANC

11A
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THE one million members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions have demanded that the ANC and SACP protect workers' rights under a democratically-elected government in a new South Africa.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of Cosatu's major union, the National Union of Mineworkers, said this week that all governments abused their powers. The labour movement therefore wanted its rights to be set out in "in black and white".

Cosatu insisted on trade union independence from a post-apartheid government and the right to strike. It also demanded limits to the power of the state.

Mr Ramaphosa, who is also an ANC member, said Cosatu's demands would not jeopardise its alliance with the ANC and the SACP. The alliance would

By EDYTH BULBRING

continue in a new South Africa and aim for reconstruction and reconciliation.

The demands had been drawn up in consultation with the SACP and the ANC and he foresaw no problems with their endorsement.

He could not rule out the possibility that Cosatu would clash with a new government over some issues, although this was not unhealthy.

Demands

The question of overlapping membership in the union and political parties was also something that would only be resolved after liberation, he said.

Of the six Cosatu office bearers, three are members of the SACP's internal leadership

group, while the other three are ANC members.

The five constitutional demands are:

- A guarantee of full trade union rights under a future constitution, including the right to strike, to organise and to create a separate court to interpret labour regulations;
- The independence of trade unions from the state, companies and political parties;
- An accountable government that would guarantee a press free from state control, guarantee that workers' rights would not be abrogated, the creation of a constitutional court and limited terms of office for government officials;
- A democratically planned economy with the state having the right to intervene;
- Participation in economic planning;
- Total equality between

men and women in marriage, employment and in society with affirmative programmes as a follow-up.

Cosatu Workers' Charter Committee co-ordinator Ebrahim Patel said the demands recognised that democracy needed to go beyond parliamentary rights.

Positive

While the trade union movement's relationship with the present government was hostile, he expected an ANC-dominated government to be sympathetic to labour issues and predicted a warmer relationship.

Union independence from a future government was important to allow the trade union movement to differ from government where interests conflicted.

Independence would ensure that unions would also be able to take up their own programmes and not rely completely on government, he said.

Cosatu's demands would also be put to other trade union movements and political parties like the PAC, he said.

Mr Patel was optimistic that Cosatu's demands would be endorsed by the alliance and that the alliance would not be affected.

ANC NEC member Aziz Pasa said the ANC had always championed workers' demands and agreed with the total independence of trade unions.

He said there could be no disagreement in principle with Cosatu's demands, although he expected the finer points to be debated.

He emphasised that the independence of the trade union movement from a new govern-

ment did not automatically put both parties on an antagonistic footing.

However, labour observers said the demands reflected a healthy distrust by Cosatu of the capability of any future government to deliver policies in the interests of workers.

Insist

Intense debate over the finer points of the demands would also result in shifts in the alliance between Cosatu, the ANC and the SACP and Cosatu's eventual departure from the alliance once an ANC-dominated government was in power, they said.

Labour Brief publisher Dr Duncan Innes said he expected Cosatu's demands to bring to a head the tense debate within the unions over the wisdom of members holding leadership positions in both the union and political parties.

There was a significant overlap in the leadership positions of Cosatu and the SACP, he said. If Cosatu's demands were rejected by the SACP and the ANC, it was likely that the more independent-minded unions within Cosatu would insist on its leaders choosing either the political party or the union.

Dr Innes believed that once a democratically-elected government was in power, Cosatu would leave the alliance.

Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit director Francis Wilson, said the document reflected determination by the unions that they would not be swallowed up by a future ANC-dominated government.

GRADUATE STUDEN	
1980	15
Honours	2
M.A.	1
Ph.D.	0
Total	3
FTE	4

Opposing parties agree on ideal of democracy

ST Times 7/4/91
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE four-day confidential conference of the Aspen Institute ended in Cape Town with "unofficial consensus" among the divergent South African participants on the ideal of a negotiated settlement leading to a democratically elected government in South Africa.

US Senator Dick Clark, chief organiser of the Aspen conferences, held annually in different parts of the world and sponsored by the Carnegie and Ford Foundations, said delegates' contributions were kept confidential.

However, he said that it was heartening that all local participants, in their addresses and debates, had agreed that SA should move towards a negotiated, democratic constitu-

tional settlement.

The Conservative Party, because of its policy not to talk to the ANC, refused an invitation to attend the high-powered conference — making it the only significant South African political party not to attend.

The four-day conference included 17 foreign delegates, including Republican and Democratic US congressmen and a Russian from the Soviet Union's Department of African Affairs.

Local participants included the NP, DP, ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo.

President FW de Klerk and Gerrit Viljoen, the Constitutional Develop-

ment Minister, addressed the conference on the last day.

Harry Schwarz, South Africa's ambassador to Washington, attended the conference discussions as an observer and briefed Foreign Minister Pik Botha on US-SA relations, which Mr Botha later described as "excellent".

The lifting or retention of sanctions by the US in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act dominated the conference.

The ANC, Azapo and PAC representatives put the case for the retention of sanctions. They did not doubt Mr De Klerk's sincerity, but argued that lifting sanctions now would be premature.

Inkatha sided with the NP and DP in arguing for them to be lifted.

Belief

The chairman of the American House Foreign Affairs sub-committee on Africa, Mervyn Dymally, said he had been impressed by the "cool, calm and deliberate" manner in which Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy president, had "held steadfast" in his view against the lifting of sanctions despite tough questioning by delegates.

He had also remained steadfast in his belief that Mr De Klerk's reform programme was reversible despite Mr De Klerk's declarations to the contrary.

One of the most prominent proponents of sanctions, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town, stunned the world on the last day of the conference by contradicting Mr Mandela, Azapo and the PAC and calling for a review of sanctions.

MAFIA-STYLE POLITICS

CIP res 7/4/91 (11A)

AS the ANC's campaign for an elected constituent assembly gains momentum a question that is increasingly asked concerns the practicality of an election when political intolerance rules in so many townships and settlements.

FW de Klerk's government was held responsible at the signing of the Harare Declaration for achieving a free political climate through the repeal of legislation such as the notorious Internal Security Act and the ending of repressive security activity.

Today these demands still stand - and with justification - yet black communities experience intolerance and violence that was not expected at the time of the Harare Declaration in 1989.

ANC organisers and activists working at branch and community level now repeatedly voice their concern about the lack of a 'culture of debate'.

But no longer can they readily blame the "other side", for, as one argued, "the intolerance we are now experiencing cuts right across the political spectrum".

That there are many sides to intolerance only adds to the complexity of the problem.

For one thing, communities are finding it difficult to accept the right of other parties to exist.

"Not unexpectedly", said one ANC organiser, "the Inkatha Freedom Party is not accepted in the Transvaal as a political organisation, given the legacy of violence."

He doubted also whether ANC-supporting townships would allow the PAC or Azapo to campaign on their own platforms.

Of course, this form of intolerance is both a black and a white affair. Despite the February 2 unbannings the De Klerk government has failed to convince black communities that it has turned its back on 'intolerance'.

For example, fears of state-meddling in the relationship between the ANC and the SACP persist.

Secondly, intolerance is being used as an effective weapon for building power bases and weakening others.

Inkatha in particular is said to be guilty of this - as bloodied assegais and axes establish the organisation in Reef townships.

The flip side of the coin is the weakening of the ANC. Without doubt its credibility has suffered as it fails to meet community demands for defence.

Also, political affiliation now carries an extraordinary high price. Katshehong is a good example of just how damaging the violence has been to the ANC's recruitment drive.

At the height of the East Rand violence last year ANC membership figures in Katshehong were put at about 7 000. After the hostels emptied for Christmas and peace returned, the numbers almost doubled to more than 12 000.

Another source of intolerance is the so-called 'third force' or 'hidden hand' - vigilante killers said to be white right-wing elements within the security forces.

Intolerance also contains an assertive criminal element. Excluded from residents, who are vulnerable during violent confrontations.

There are also strong suggestions that the killings in Alexandra in March 1990 were



Deadweight ... two more victims of South Africa's intolerance of political opposition begin their final journey to a state mortuary. Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Political intolerance - cutting across the political spectrum - has taken hold in many townships, reports JENNY CARGILL in the latest edition of the magazine *Work in Progress*.

brought into dispute the people's courts. Once regarded as an instrument of liberation, people's courts are as a result being disbanded by the ANC in some areas.

tence and anger is increasing being directed against activists who disregard democratic processes, according to ANC organisers.

That tribalism and ethnicity are becoming entrenched as a source of intolerance is particularly worrying.

The squatter settlements are becoming increasingly assertive politically. The social instabilities

Rising intolerance a bloody threat to 'culture of debate'

number of demands and actions on the political agenda which point to a serious need to tackle the intolerance and its too often violent consequences. But political organisations are also prepared to

mands, which have seen the ANC, PAC and Azapo share platforms; and the planned Patriotic Front.

Nevertheless the intolerance and the killings continue. Numerous people were killed after this year's bridge-building efforts.

Activists point to the problem of getting leadership accords accepted by the rank and file - but



PEOPLE'S PRESS
Where's the Press? We'll speak out!
Professionals will be given the first priority in the new state. We'll be there to help you. We'll be there to help you. We'll be there to help you. We'll be there to help you.

Spectrum of opinion must be tolerated

PEOPLE are dying in great numbers because of the current political state.

Most of those dying do not know a thing about alleged inter-organisational conflict.

I would hate to be killed by a fool who did not know my political views.

From what I perceive innocent, illiterate people are the ones used to spearhead the conflict.

Parties involved in the conflict are meeting in a desperate attempt to stop what they have started, but are the ones who indoctrinated the innocent.

The reason the conflict cannot be stopped is that to re-educate them is a mammoth task - unlike indoctrination.

I am particularly disheartened to see the strife start just as we are about to see the dawn of our liberation.

We are aware there are differences of opinion among whites, yet there is no white civil war.

It is unfortunate that we have come to perceive our political differences as threats to one another's existence.

I think we should give each other, and every black organisation, the opportunity to exist.

Even after democratic elections, the parties which do not succeed should continue to exist so that in future we have the capability to replace a government which has fallen into disfavour for not ruling according to majority aspirations. - Nicholas Nkuma, Auckland Park

ANC must 'fight state violence'

THE ANC must begin to defend the people against violence by the state.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela promised us shortly after his release the days were over when people would be defenceless against state hostilities.

Then the ANC promptly accepted the government's request to suspend Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

A few months after this the violence by armed people resumed against unarmed people.

Mandela, Joe Modise and Chris Hani you must allow the people to arm themselves against the violence of the state.

Another source of intolerance is the so-called 'third force' or 'hidden hand' - vigilante killers said to be white rightwing elements within the security forces.

Intolerance also contains an assertive criminal element. For some time 'comtsoetsis' have been abusing the very communities they say they serve and have

brought into disrepute the people's courts.

Once regarded as an instrument of liberation, people's courts are as a result being disbanded by the ANC in some areas.

The criminal element in politics is increasingly taking on a Mafia-style character. Protection money is now being ex-

tracted from residents, who are vulnerable during violent confrontations.

There are also strong suggestions that the killings in Alexandra in March can be sourced to councillors angered over losing access to kickbacks and patronage by being forced to resign.

Community impa-

ctation, are becoming entrenched as a source of intolerance is particularly worrying.

The squatter settlements are becoming increasingly assertive politically. The social instability and limited political development of these communities instigate their own brand of intolerance.

There are however a

number of demands and actions on the political agenda which point to a serious need to tackle the intolerance and its too often violent consequences.

The government is being targeted for action. The ANC wants an independent commission of inquiry which would "in-

vestigate and recommend appropriate measures against those responsible for the violence".

But political organisations are also prepared to carry some responsibility. Examples of this are: the January 29 peace pact between the ANC and Inkatha; joint action around common de-

people were killed after this year's bridge-building efforts.

Activists point to the problem of getting leadership accords accepted by the rank and file - but local agreements are being pursued and there are signs of success.

In Vosloorus, for example, talks have resulted in an Inkatha-supporting residents committee agreeing to the ANC-aligned civic association leading negotiations with the Transvaal Provincial Authority.

Implicit in these local level talks is some acceptance of the idea that political legitimacy is not the property of one party only.

But efforts so far at freeing the political climate have not allayed activists' concerns that the causes and consequences are still not being adequately addressed.

These concerns have triggered soul-searching over liberation tactics.

A long-standing SACP member argued that the ANC is suffering from its policy of 'making the country ungovernable', adopted at the start of the 1984 township uprisings.

It was highly popular with the youth in particular, but there was far less success in replacing government structures with 'organs of people's power'.

None of this, of course, removes blame from the state. As the SACP's Cheryl Carolus said: "We have had a state which legalised the suppression of dissenting voices. The lesson to people has been that scores are settled in a violent way."

Nevertheless the ANC is likely to pay a high price for this intolerance. Communities expect it to be the 'most morally correct'.

Some ANC organisers are worried that the intolerance will, as one put it, "drive people to become apolitical".

There are already signs of this as recruitment figures still fall far short of expectations.



Cheryl Carolus . . . "We have had a state which legalised the suppression of dissenting voices."

THE BATTLE

OF THE GIANTS



Thousands marched to Johannesburg Prison yesterday to demand the release of political prisoners. (Inset) A truck was petrolbombed by irate marchers in Krugersdorp. ■ See Page 5

C/Pres 714/91

By SEKOLA SELLO, S'BU MNGADI and Sapa

THE ANC and the government are locked in combat for the political high ground as pre-negotiation talks between these two major players enter a decisive phase.

The ANC landed the first punches on Friday when it gave the government an ultimatum to meet several demands, including the dismissal of ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan, or risk aborting the multi-party conference and the constitutional discussions.

In what is seen as a hardening of attitudes by the ANC, the movement has given the government until May 9 to fire Malan and Vlok and meet six other tough conditions - demands which observers say the government will reject out of hand.

To underline its resolve, the ANC took the unusual step of sending State President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet an open letter listing its grievances and demands. Copies of the letter were also sent to the press.

The ANC also lashed out at Inkatha, accusing it of complicity in the killings

FW in a fury

as ANC takes

a hard line on

negotiations

taking place in black townships. The accusations come in the wake of fears that criticism could worsen relations between the two organisations and increase bloodletting, particularly on the Reef.

The letter to the government has drawn a harsh response from De Klerk who accused the ANC of making new demands and moving goalposts in "order to cover up serious problems within its own (ANC) ranks".

Apart from denying the government was to blame for the violence and that it was also not keen to see the negotiations

Big prizes in L

WATCH your Learning Press next week for a great new competition.

Each week for the next 17 weeks wonderful prizes can be won.

A portable radio worth R250, a men's or ladies digital watch worth R150 and a pocket calculator worth R50 will be awarded to the first three correct entries drawn in the Learning Press/Via Afrika Bonanza.

Five dictionaries will also be given away each week.

In October, a final bumper draw

What the ANC

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The letter to the government has drawn a harsh response from De Klerk who accused the ANC of making new demands and moving goalposts in "order to cover up serious problems within its own (ANC) ranks".

Apart from denying the government was to blame for the violence and that it was also not keen to solve the problem, De Klerk did not say whether he will accede to the demands.

He said the letter was "being studied and if necessary a full response would follow".

The ANC has dismissed De Klerk's allegations that there are problems within the organisation. Instead, the ANC said De Klerk's "petty response ... confirms the impression that the loss of black people's lives has made no impact on him or his government".

According to Stellenbosch University academic Jannie Gagiano, the latest moves indicate that both sides are trying to take up "strategic positions".

Gagiano said that since the two parties started the negotiations process last year, the ANC has gradually lost its image of a revolutionary movement.

"The ANC has lost too much ground to the government and must start refurbishing its image as a liberation movement.

"This latest move gives it the chance to re-establish its image, particularly among the constituency which was critical of the leadership at the December 16 conference."

The Maties lecturer said that while the ANC is trying to seize the political initiative, the government is unlikely to yield much. In a stand-off between the two parties, De Klerk is likely to have the backing of the international community while

From Page 1

the ANC may be seen as "demanding too much".

Observers believe the ANC's attitude signifies a new approach to negotiations. This follows an admission, revealed in a 26-page discussion document, that it had lost the initiative to the government.

The document, entitled *Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*, has been published for discussion at the ANC's congress in June and admits openly that its decision to opt for negotiations has resulted in the organisation losing the initiative.

De Klerk's initiatives led to the easing of sanctions and the opening of international - and African - diplomatic links despite opposition from the ANC.

In response to the ANC's criticism that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is a "minor player", IFP leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed". He promised to reply in full during tomorrow's sitting of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly.

A statement released yesterday by Vlok's office rejected the ANC's ultimatum and said the personal attacks were "blatant political propaganda".

A spokesman for Vlok, Captain Craig Kotze, said: "We wish to point out that Minister Vlok's personal involvement in attempts to prevent and curb the violence are well known. His record speaks for itself."

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League has decided to call on the ANC to suspend negotiations with the government.

In its place the Youth League has called for a programme of action involving the ANC, Cosatu, PAC, Azapo, SACP, Nactu and other anti-apartheid movements to teach the "De Klerk regime a historical lesson".

What the ANC is demanding

THE ANC demands include:

- The dismissal of ministers Vlok and Malan and all SADF and SAP officers responsible for "crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads".
- A ban on the carrying of weapons "traditional or otherwise" at public assemblies, processions and rallies.
- The dismantling and disarming of all counter-insurgency units and the establishment of a multi-party commission to oversee this process.
- The immediate suspension from duty of all policemen implicated in last year's Sebokeng massacre and the shooting in Daveyton on March 24 this year.
- Assurances that in future the SAP, the SADF and other security organs will employ "acceptable and civilised methods" of crowd control and that police are not issued with live ammunition at mass meetings.
- Steps be taken to phase out single-sex hostels.
- The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security forces.

Taverner shot dead

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

A WELL-KNOWN East Rand taverner was shot dead during a fight with a senior member of the Daveyton City Council this week.

Ummeli Zachariah Mlambo, 47, of Daveyton, died in the township of a bullet wound.

He was president of the Daveyton Taverners' Association and Friendship Club - a co-operative of mohodisano and burial societies.

East Rand police liaison officer Finnie Slab-

bert said the council official was in a serious condition in the Far East Rand Hospital after he was allegedly stabbed by Mlambo.

No arrests have been made and a murder docket has been opened.

Charges relating to possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition are also being investigated.

Mlambo - who owned a tavern and several shops in Daveyton and nearby Etwatwa - leaves four children.

He will be buried on Saturday.

To Page 5

ANC must 'fight state violence'

THE ANC must begin to defend the people against violence by the state.

NEKA

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela promised us shortly after his release the days were over when people would be defenceless against state hostilities.

Then the ANC promptly accepted the government's request to suspend Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

A few months after this the violence by armed people resumed against unarmed people.

Mandela, Joe Modise and Chris Hani you must allow the people to arm themselves against the violence of the state.

Who is going to vote for the ANC while its people are dying. - Zwelibanzi Bomela, Johannesburg

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What the ANC is demanding

Express 7/4/91.

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Maties give Hani a rousing welcome

CP
Apr 7/91

CP Correspondent

CONTROVERSIAL Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani ventured into the intellectual heart of apartheid this week – and tamed it.

Fears that a scheduled address by him at a Stellenbosch University meeting would be disrupted by conservative students proved unfounded.

The historic speech by the MK leader was warmly received on the Matie campus, the same campus that produced a number of South African Prime Ministers, including BJ Vorster.

Hani, who was surrounded by bodyguards at all times, left the university's Sanlam Hall to the sounds of chants in praise of the ANC and MK.

He must have been pleased by the fact that some 50 toyi-toying students preceded him to his car.

Earlier, a packed auditorium vigorously applauded a remark by Hani that military conscription would not be enforced in South Africa under an ANC government.

He brought the house down when he answered a young man, perturbed about the influence the South African Communist Party had on the ANC –

by stating that he himself was a party member.

He denied that the SACP was manipulating the ANC and explained the historic reasons for the ANC/SACP alliance, adding that party members were subject to the movement's discipline.

"Mandela (ANC deputy president) and Tambo (ANC president) are not communists. I don't think that the ANC has ever been led by a communist president," Hani said.

When asked about the fate of dissidents held by the ANC, Hani said they would be "freed by the end of the year".

He said it had been necessary for the movement to "set up a detention centre at Quattro in Angola because agents had been sent to assassinate ANC members".

"We have never hidden the fact that the ANC captured or detained those sent by the regime to destabilise the ANC – to kill our members."

He said he had almost been killed in a car bomb attack in 1981.

"We were fighting a war against South Africa ... the state did everything to destroy and cripple the ANC."



Chris Hani ... seen in a toyi-toying mood.

FUNERALS, observed one mourner at a recent Soweto funeral, are a way of life for black people.

"Week after week I find myself coming to the same place, Avalon cemetery. If I'm not burying one of my family members, it is a neighbour or somebody I've never even known or heard of," he said.

The last five years have been hell. If it was not a mass funeral for people killed by the oppressor, it was one for a victim of inter-organisational violence or those thugs termed the comtsothis.

Church leaders, sociologists, political analysts and just about everybody who cares for human values condemn the violence gripping our society. But no one seems to come up with a solution.

At a funeral I attended in Soweto on Thursday of yet another victim of this arnachy, Johnny Maswangayi, it was amazing to hear how ordinary folk view the violence.

To them it is no longer

□ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Burying our dreams



C/Pren 7/4/91



important what their political leaders have to say. It is no longer important what the government says or intends doing. To them all that counts is that their lives are at stake.

The ecstasy that greeted the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the return of political exiles; the reform policies of FW de Klerk and many other good things in the past year have been marred by the high death toll in our townships.

I have come across a number of people who no longer care what Mandela, De Klerk and

Mangosuthu Buthelezi say on TV or in the media. They believe these leaders have a hidden agenda which inevitably gives rise to violence within the black community.

The ordinary folks' analysis is simply that: ■ Mandela and the ANC have been away too long from the centre stage and they are now grappling with the high expectations of the black masses.

To them the release of Mandela meant freedom. The unbanning of the ANC and the PAC meant a new government. The return of exiles meant a new order. And when all these

things are not happening, the people get restless and want to grab power.

■ Buthelezi and Inkatha have been operating above ground but on the wrong platform created by the oppressor. Their only political enemy for a long time has been the Black Consciousness Movement and later the UDF.

The unbanning of the ANC and the PAC stole the limelight from them. Buthelezi has been singled out as a person who hates to be upstaged by any other leader. After all, it is said, he uses ethnicity and tribalism to remain on top.

■ De Klerk and the National Party are still firmly in control. Their good intentions in scrapping apartheid are counterbalanced by the trigger-happy security police who still use live ammunition in unrest situations.

The ordinary folk in the townships believe what De Klerk says, but see no tangible results. They are still unemployed, have no roof over their heads and still cannot vote.

The Black Consciousness philosophy, the torch bearer in politics when the PAC and the ANC were banned, does not have all the answers. However, its adherents believe there's only one route and that is to go back to the philosophy of "black man, you are on your own".

The idea that black people should restore their pride and start loving one another seems to be gaining ground. I will not be surprised if we find a way out of this morass when, guided by this philosophy, we remember who we are and what he hope to achieve.

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ANC 'to explain' its threat

ANC leaders will explain the organisation's threat to call off constitutional negotiations to the foreign diplomatic corps tomorrow.

The ANC said on Friday it would suspend talks if government had not taken steps, including the dismissals of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, by May 9.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose party was strongly criticised in the ANC statement, is expected to warn in a speech today that peace talks with the ANC could be in jeopardy.

ANC and government sources said yesterday they were unaware of any immediate plans for a direct meeting between the two sides to discuss the ANC's threat.

The ANC's national executive committee demanded that Malan and Vlok be dismissed because of their inability to end township violence. It also claimed that perpetrators of violence aimed to inflate

Business Day Reporters

Inkatha's image.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC believed the ball was in government's court, but added the organisation would explain its decision at a meeting of foreign diplomats tomorrow.

Although no foreign government had formally reacted to the ANC ultimatum by yesterday, international response is expected to have a fundamental bearing on the organisation's foreign relations.

Macozoma agreed the ultimatum was likely to be discussed at this weekend's talks with the PAC in Harare which are expected to devise common strategies and explore the possibility of a united front.

The ANC has also insisted that carrying weapons at public meetings be banned.

Other demands were that the CCB and

To Page 2

Threat

Askaris — "turned" ANC guerrillas — be publicly disbanded along with the "notorious" 32 Battalion and Koevoet.

The ANC further demanded that immediate steps be taken to address the issue of single-sex hostels and that there be an independent commission of inquiry.

President F W de Klerk said the open letter with the ANC demands was based on "one-sided and incomplete allegations" and it appeared the ANC had used it to achieve political gain from the violence.

De Klerk said it also appeared that as ~~outcomes to negotiations~~ were rapidly being removed, the ANC was setting new conditions and was "attempting to shift the goalposts to shroud the serious problems within their own ranks".

The ANC described De Klerk's reaction as "tawdry" and "petty". "His response confirms our impression that the extensive loss of black lives has made no impact on him or his government."

Buthelezi said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed" by the ANC's statement on Friday and added he would make a major statement on the issue today.

Cosatu supported the ANC's demands and said its members who had been affected by violence regarded the ultimatum as long overdue. A statement said members would discuss what action to take if government failed to meet the May 9 deadline.

- Picture: Page 3
- Comment: Page 6

From Page 1

Peace bus in trouble

8/4/91

Star 8/4/91.

11A ~~2-11A~~

IN RECENT months it had become fashionable to visualise South Africa's negotiations process as a temperamental vehicle, requiring jump-starts and occasional services, but generally sound and with fairly good roadholding.

In the wake of Friday's ANC ultimatum to the Government, the metaphor has to be extended: the peace bus has had its first major accident.

The bodywork is in a terrible mess, and the engine itself could be damaged. It is too early to pronounce it a write-off but, for the first time, that terrifying possibility exists.

Basic confidence in the process itself has been shaken as never before, and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society. It will take yet another high-profile, face-to-face meeting between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela (complete with carefully worded face-saving statement) to rescue it again, but this will not be as easy as before.

Belief, especially among whites, in the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and ability to deliver it will be difficult to sustain, and international investors who have been sniffing around the South African market will run off yelping in horror.

The horrific township violence — the point of the ultimatum — will continue as the leaders lock horns in politicking, instead of linking arms in peacemaking. One could go on with the sorry list: in all, the ef-

It's the ANC deadline — not its demands — that has brought negotiations to the precipice, writes
SHAUN JOHNSON.



From trust to psychosis . . . Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk must now work through a shattered private accord.

fect of the accident is catastrophic.

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks — just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible — seem to be only one part of a much bigger and more complicated picture.

There is no doubt that the township carnage is a matter of the deepest concern to the or-

ganisation, and that fingers can be pointed at the security forces' performance in this regard. The ANC has a strong case when it charges that black lives are treated far more cheaply than white in this country.

The problem is the cumulative effect of ANC demands, and their association with a deadline which, unless met, threatens apocalypse.

The ultimatum shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the national psyche. There has developed a vague but crucial belief that Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela are, somehow, working things out between them. The ultimatum has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis.

Unless the ANC leadership (and this seems unthinkable) was unaware that the announcement would have this effect, there are surely other powerful dynamics at play. Certainly, the Government's negotiators believe that the ultimatum is a stalling and diversionary tactic. It will not be implemented to the letter, they say, but will buy time for the ANC to get its organisational house in order as well as placating the increasingly restless hardliners within the movement.

According to this scenario, militancy has been simmering ever since Mr Mandela gave delegates a dressing-down at the ANC's consultative conference in December. It was compounded by his moderate and accommodating statement of January 8, and again after the ANC made further concessions to the Government in the "DF Malan Accord" of February 12.

Militants were angry about the substance of these policy decisions and also by the fact that they were not consulted on them. In general — and not

without some justification — it was believed that the Government, with its immense resources, was leading the ANC negotiating teams by the nose.

This mood has been heightened by the relentless violence and the broader political implications thereof. In particular, there is panic in ANC circles at the attempted elevation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a status equal to that of Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. This is not justified by his support levels, it is argued, and is a ruse to reduce ANC influence in negotiations.

Coupled with a woeful lack of ANC organisation around the country — it is even possible that the ANC's June conference will have to be postponed — this has caused ANC militants to try to put on the brakes, and the pressure has become too much for Mr Mandela to withstand. The ANC's priority now is to regroup internally (the planned expansion of its national executive committee forms part of this), whether or not this throws the negotiating schedule out of kilter.

It is therefore a comprehensible strategy for internal damage-limitation, but is implemented at the risk of the entire peace process. To return to the motoring metaphor: it is likely that the vehicle can be panel-beaten this time around, and that it will be on the road again. But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again. □

Buthelezi will respond today

Mandela sticks to ultimatum

Star 8/4/91

(11R)
(Signature)

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela yesterday slammed the door on any flexibility in the ANC's ultimatum to the Government.

There would be no engagement or discussion between the African National Congress and the Government after May 9 if President de Klerk effectively rejected the organisation's demands to end the violence in South Africa, the ANC deputy president told the US television network CBS.

Interviewed by telephone from his home in Soweto on "Face the Nation", Mr Mandela said the ANC had made it clear that the Government had until May 9 to respond to ANC demands.

Asked if Mr de Klerk had not already effectively rejected the demands in his initial reaction, Mr Mandela said if that were the interpretation, it could be taken for granted that nothing would follow after May 9.

Asked if it was not unfair to blame the whites and apartheid for all the violence in the country, especially as even Archbishop Desmond Tutu had said blacks must also examine themselves for

what was going on, Mr Mandela said: "Archbishop Tutu is entitled to express his views. I do not necessarily agree with him insofar as he attributes this violence solely to faction fighting between black organisations.

"We have said faction fighting is merely one of the elements. There is a third force. There is the use of unacceptable methods by the police which have resulted in heavy casualties.

"There is the connivance of the Government, its failure to use its capacity to put an end to the violence."

Asked if he was not concerned that his threat of mass unrest, in the event that the US lifted sanctions against South Africa, would isolate and turn the international community against him, Mr Mandela said: "No. The failure of the Government to honour agreements ... with the ANC obliges us to take some action."

Asked whether President de Klerk should be rewarded for what he had done, he said: "I find it very difficult that anybody should reward an oppressor and not the victims. The people who need to be rewarded are the victims of apartheid and not the man who applies apartheid."

Asked whether the victims of apartheid were not suffering more than anyone else

from sanctions, Mr Mandela said he disagreed.

He added: "If the international community took into account the wishes of blacks, and the SA Government and the mass media did the same thing, I would not today be sitting in Soweto. I would be sitting in the Union Buildings."

Mr Mandela said that some people said blacks were free as a result of Mr de Klerk's changes. In fact, he still could not vote.

While some of Mr de Klerk's reforms were commendable and he was to be congratulated for them, it was pointless to repeal the Land Acts and Group Areas Act and not give resources to blacks to take advantage of the repeal of the legislation.

Asked if he still regarded Mr de Klerk as a man of integrity, Mr Mandela said: "We must not exaggerate the integrity of any person, no matter what his position is. We must concentrate on the policy he represents, and Mr de Klerk represents a policy which has brought a lot of suffering on the people of South Africa. Our people are suffering now."

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected to respond to the ANC today.

● Peace bus in trouble — Page 11.

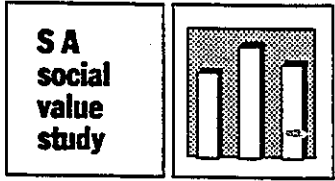
Big thumbs-up for democracy

Star 8/4/91

114

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The World Social Value Study, initiated by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, spans some 42 countries. The South African component used a locally adapted questionnaire. The sample comprised 1 236 whites (rural and urban), 200 coloured residents of Cape Town, 200 Asian residents of Durban and 600 black



people in major urban centres. The black, coloured and Asian sample was stratified by city and township.

● More details: contact Marketing and Media Research.

IN THE present climate, to express distaste for democracy seems almost as unacceptable as spurning mother's milk.

This impression is borne out by Markinor's local results for the World Social Value Study, in which nearly half the sample expresses strong — and not just moderate — support for the notion that "democracy is preferable to any other form of government".

Nearly 48 percent of a sample drawn from urban and rural areas, inside and outside the

homelands and spanning all races, strongly agreed with this point of view.

Only 5 percent could muster equally strong feeling for the proposition that "in some circumstances a non-democratic government is preferable to a democratic one".

Predictably, there are racial variations in the pattern, with 56 percent of urban blacks prepared to express the strongest possible support for democratic government and whites weighing in more modestly with 36 percent, alongside coloured and Asian respondents, where 30 and 32 percent respectively took this stance.

Even among whites, however, no more than 8 percent would strongly support the notion that non-democratic government might sometimes be preferable.

What is equally strongly suggested by the Markinor poll is that democracy means decidedly different things to different people.

● For all black groups — including the coloured and Asian minorities — it is substantially more important that equality be achievable than that personal freedom be accommodated. More than half of respondents in all three black groups opted for equality, while about one in three valued individual freedom more highly. Whites continue to place great emphasis on individual freedom — seven out of 10 choosing it over creating equality in society.

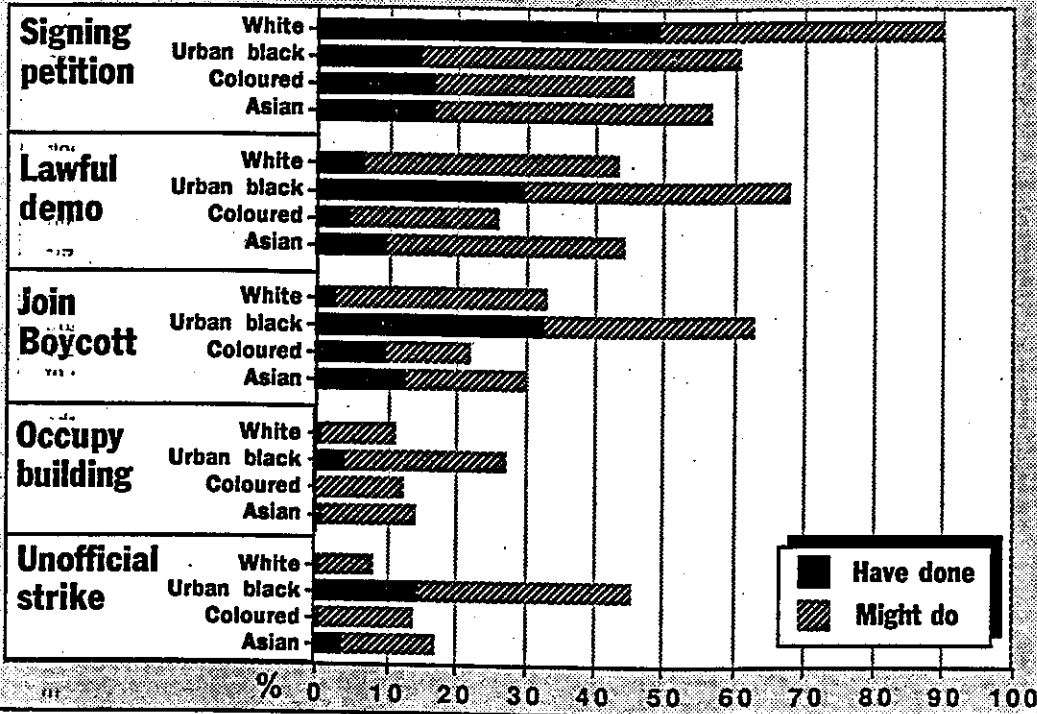
● Urban blacks have a particularly high expectation that government should be open to popular influence. A full 53 percent of black urban respondents agreed strongly with this proposition, as did 40 percent of the Asian sample. The concept has considerably lower currency among whites — only one in five deems it really important. However, there were relatively few in any racial group who felt strongly supportive of the directly opposed view: that government should be directed with a firm official hand.

Significantly, Markinor observes, in the decade since a similar poll was conducted, the tendency towards accepting extra-parliamentary political pressure has increased substantially across all race categories.

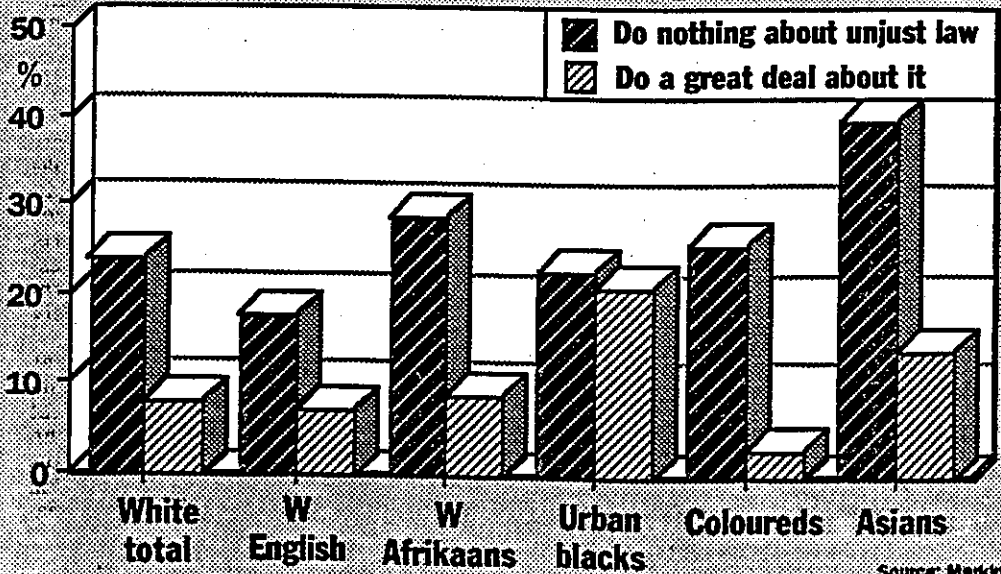
This suggests that it is likely to become an ever greater component of what South Africans accept as democratic practice under a democratic government.

● Tomorrow: South Africa's working class: left-wing or just militant? □

Levels of political activism



Power of individual - agree strongly



Source: Markinor

ANC move

8-11 814191

monument

after attack

By Mckeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

11/11

An alleged right-wing attempt to destroy Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK) Heroes Monument — unveiled in Mamelodi on Saturday — has led to the removal of the statue to a safer place.

Members of the ANC moved it a few hours after it was unveiled by MK chief of staff, Chris Hani.

A senior ANC member in Pretoria, Moss Chikane, told The Star that ANC marshals had to move the life-size bronze statue to a safer place after a group of men in minibuses attempted to destroy it on Saturday night.

Mr Chikane condemned the attempt saying the monument was erected by residents of Mamelodi and they had the right to honour their fallen heroes.

When The Star visited the monument yesterday, only flowers, palms and a huge rock on which the bronze statue had been placed, remained.

Mr Chikane said the organisation would make arrangements with a private company to protect the monument.

The monument, placed opposite the Mamelodi City Council offices, commemorated Solomon Mahlangu, an ANC guerilla executed in 1979 for his part in the shooting of two John Orr's employees at a Goch Street warehouse on June 13 1977.

Youth League 11A

'must be critical'

By Stan Hlophe *SAW 8/4/91*

ANC president Oliver Tambo yesterday urged the ANC Youth League to play a vital role in galvanising and transforming the passion of the youth for freedom into a viable programme of action for the final eradication of apartheid.

In a message from London to the Youth League conference in Durban, Mr Tambo said it was necessary to have a formidable and disciplined Youth League.

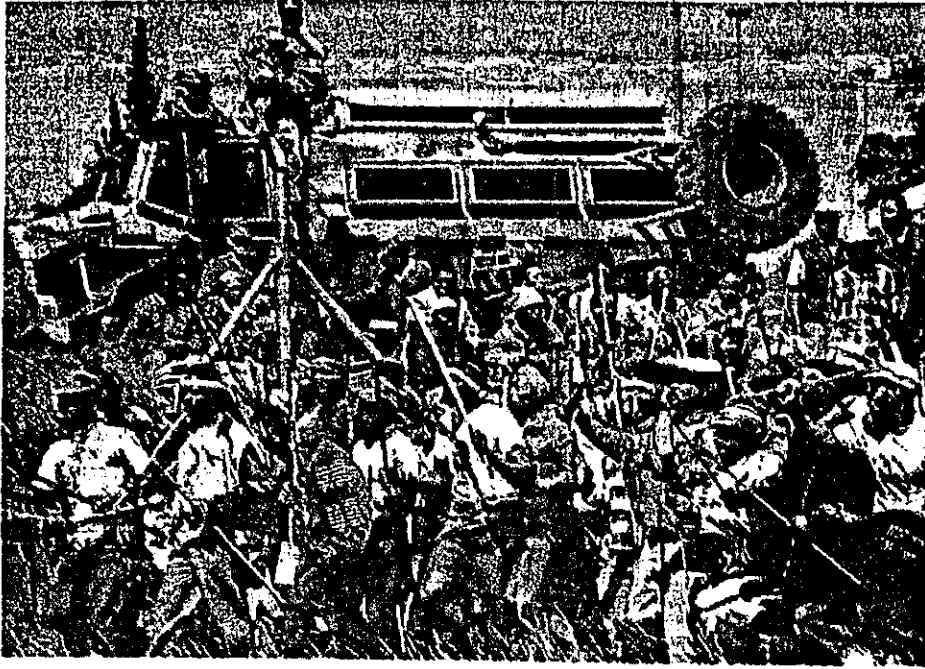
However, he said he had confidence that the Youth League's deliberations would be guided by a desire to be objective and even critical of some of the shortcomings that the liberation movement had encountered "in the long march to freedom".

He said they were meeting at a time "when we as freedom fighters are confronted with new and more difficult challenges flowing directly from the momentous victories we have scored over the years".

Mandela firm on deadline

FIRM

CHC Traps 8/4/91 (114) [Signature]



CLOSE WATCH . . . Police in an armoured vehicle watch a group of Zulus armed with a variety of "cultural" weapons at a peace rally held by the Inkatha Freedom Party in Katlehong, east of Johannesburg yesterday.

CHC Traps 8/4/91 (278)

Picture: AP

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday defended the organisation's controversial threat to break off negotiations with the government in an interview on US television — amid growing fears that the ANC's seven-point ultimatum could derail peace talks with Inkatha.

Mr Mandela told CBS's "Face the Nation" programme that the ANC's May 9 deadline was "firm" but appeared to show flexibility in saying that President F W de Klerk must "respond" by then or face a cut-off of all discussions with the ANC.

ANC leaders are to explain the ultimatum to the foreign diplomatic corps tomorrow.

Chief Minister of Kwazulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed" with the statement released by the ANC on Friday.



MK TRAINING CONTINUES — SAYS CHRIS HANI

See PAGE 2

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence erupted yesterday in two Reef townships — Soweto and Katlehong — hosting Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) peace rallies, leaving at least nine people dead and six injured, police said.

At both rallies IFP leaders told armed followers that traditional weapons were part of the Zulu culture, did not threaten peace and would never be relinquished.

In a challenge to the ANC, which is seeking legislation banning traditional weapons, IFP's youth leader, Mr Themba Khoza, told supporters in Soweto that "organisations" should not call for the disarming of Zulus.

"(The ANC) carry AK-47 rifles while we are only carrying assegais and sticks," Mr Khoza said.

In the East Rand township of Katlehong at least five people were killed. Four of them burnt to death, shortly after thousands of

Nine killed as violence flares in townships

Inkatha supporters heard IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalosi call for peace.

During the rally an Inkatha supporter, believed to be in his mid-20s, died after he was "accidentally" stabbed by a fellow supporter.

Earlier in the day two men were beheaded and stabbed to death in the Mandela Village squatter camp bordering Katlehong, allegedly by a group of men from neigh-

bouring Holomisa squatter camp. Police spokesman Major Dave Bruce said he could not confirm whether the men's deaths were linked to the IFP rally, held one kilometre away.

Last night armed residents of the Holomisa squatter camp said they were preparing themselves for an IFP attack at "any minute".

In Soweto's Emdeni township an IFP member returning from the peace rally was stoned to death and another six people were injured in various clashes, police said.

Major Bruce said that after the IFP rally in Katlehong gunmen shot at a police Casspir with an AK-47 rifle and a group of about 100 people stoned police vehicles.

The body of a shooting victim was found nearby.

Major Bruce said none of the deaths had resulted from police action. — Own Correspondent

The ANC's open letter to Mr De Klerk included a stinging broadside at Inkatha, saying that the aim of violence sweeping the townships was "to inflate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player on the political arena".

The ANC also called for a total ban on "traditional weapons".

Chief Buthelezi said he would respond further in a major statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this morning — amid fears that the development has introduced grave new tensions in the fragile relationship between the two organisations.

Political observers have interpreted the ANC's stand as a move to reduce Inkatha's status in any talks.

Mr Mandela, speaking on "Face the Nation" by telephone from his Soweto home, also warned of an increase in "mass action" because of the government's "failure to honour agreements with the ANC — if persuasion fails, the only alternative we have is to use the power which we command".

With the continuing bloodshed, the ANC's de-

To page 2

CHC Traps 8/4/91 (114) [Signature]

mands for government action on violence and the security forces were not unreasonable, the Democratic Party's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said yesterday.

He said he was not particularly surprised by the ANC's ultimatum to the government.

He also pointed that the ANC was a very late addition to the long list of organisations and newspapers — which included the Conservative Party — that had called for the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

"The majority of their demands have been made before, not only by them but also by other interest groups in the country.

"Given the fact that the threat to withdraw from negotiations is currently about the only card the ANC has to play, I am not unduly surprised at the ultimatum," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said at the weekend that the present black violence was a direct legacy of ANC policies and the organisation was answerable to the people of South Africa.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok, Captain Craig Kotze, said the minister rejected the ultimatum as far as the personal attack on him was concerned as blatant political propaganda. — Political Staff and Sapa.

11A ~~11A~~

Umkhonto training continues — Hani

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe commanders have been travelling around the world looking for places to upgrade cadres' training, Umkhonto's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, says in an interview with the ANC's official magazine, *Mayibuye*.

Mr Hani says training and upgrading of Umkhonto is continuing outside South Africa.

"We have expanded our camps in a number of countries to accommodate the growing inflow of recruits," he says.

"We have opened up new avenues for training a regular army, naval officers, pilots, etc.

"Now we are negotiating with many more countries to increase the number of our cadres under-

going this type of training."

Mr Hani says the ANC is under tremendous pressure from young members to provide them with training.

"They want to become soldiers in a future democratic South Africa."

While he rejects the notion that the SADF will continue being the army of a future South Africa, he says the SADF cannot be wished away.

"I think it is possible for those elements to undergo rehabilitation and reorientation to be part of a new South African army."

On Umkhonto's role during the transition phase, Mr Hani says he expects the interim government to confine the SADF to barracks, start creating facilities for Umkhonto cadres to

return and set up barracks where Umkhonto will also be confined.

"We do not want (Umkhonto) and the SADF to come out of barracks and interfere in the political processes that will be taking place."

But he adds: "In order to build an atmosphere of confidence in the police I expect the interim government to consider a role for Umkhonto cadres in the police force.

"There exists a justifiable perception within the black community that the police force is racist because of its history of terrorising and suppressing the oppressed.

"It is going to be very difficult for the people to accept that the police are now playing a facilitative role in the process of transition," Mr Hani says.

ANC stance disappoints Buthelezi

KWAZULU chief minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "flabbergasted and disappointed" with the statement released by the ANC on Friday.

However, he said he would respond further in a major statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly today.

In an open letter, the ANC served an ultimatum on State President FW de Klerk concerning the ongoing violence in the townships and called for the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The ANC also charged the violence was perpetrated to "inflate the image of the IFP from

that of a minor to the rank of that of the third major player in the political arena".

In response, Chief Buthelezi said ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had told him he had cancelled his trip to West Africa because the issue of violence was serious.

Future

"There was no indication from him that the NEC (National Executive Committee) meeting would produce the kind of

outcome it did - which does not augur well for future constructive dealings between our organisations.

"In light of the actions and utterances of the ANC/SACP alliance, I am consulting with leaders of the Zulu nation and the IFP about how I can deal with them," Buthelezi said.

"I had hoped we could now work quickly and with common purpose for peace and engendering political tolerance," he said. - *Sapa*.

11A

~~11A~~

Sowe Jan
8/4/91

Hani planning to train naval officers, pilots

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commanders have been travelling around the world looking for places to upgrade cadres' training, Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani says in an interview with the ANC's official magazine, Mayibuye.

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TIM COHEN

to be part of a new SA army."

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Police

"We do not want (Umkhonto) and the SADF to come out of barracks and interfere in the political processes that will be taking place."

But he adds: "In order to build an atmosphere of confidence in the police, I expect the interim government to consider a role for Umkhonto cadres in the police force."

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"It is going to be very difficult for the people to accept that the police are now playing a facilitative role in the process of transition," Hani says.

sations that are already on offer to Indian students. The admission of Black students is based on the principle of opening educational institutions to all race groups.

- (b) A further intake into the colleges has been accepted in order to bring the first-year student capacity to full to meet the anticipated demands of the new South Africa by training as many teachers as possible.

(3) Yes.

(a) 277

- (b) Junior Primary
Sciences
Physical Education (Girls)
Afrikaans (Senior Secondary)
Mathematics (Senior Secondary)
Computer Science
Typing
Industrial Arts

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, subsequently used in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

SACP: criminal investigation

*†. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 5 on 5 March 1991, the South African Police intend conducting a criminal investigation into generally known pronouncements and actions of office-bearers of the South African Communist Party that constitute *prima facie* contraventions of section 55 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, without a member of the public lodging a complaint about them with the Police?

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*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, in answering this question one or two matters first have to be placed in perspective. Because the SA Communist Party leaders are not making any statements and no one is performing any acts which obviously comprise the elements set out in section 55, read together with the definition of "communism" in the Internal Security Act, Act 74 of 1982, no criminal investigation in this regard is envisaged at present.

It must be borne in mind that the essential characteristics of communism have changed, whilst the doctrine of this ideology, as embodied in South African legislation, is linked to the obsolete view of this doctrine.

Communism, as applied in the Eastern Bloc countries, is outmoded and/or has crumbled. The present modernised ideology is therefore no longer applicable to the provisions embodied in section 55 of the Act.

Even in statements by SACP leaders there is a move away from the pure form of socialism, communal ownership and despotism indicated as

an offence in the aforementioned section. Furthermore, it could hardly be argued that the SACP is still intent on establishing any doctrine, ideology or plan aimed at bringing about political, economic and industrial or social change in the RSA under the leadership of a foreign government, to which reference is made in the definition of "communism".

In order to normalise the political situation in South Africa, the ban applying to organisations such as the ANC and the SACP was lifted on 3 February 1990. In this way the aforementioned organisations were therefore legalised.

Because negotiation is the key to reconciliation, peace and a new and just dispensation in South Africa, the Government has decided to remove all obstacles standing in the way of negotiation. The emphasis has therefore shifted to a debate and a discussion on political and economic standpoints.

The unconditional lifting of the ban on the SACP and other organisations has now placed everyone in a position to practise politics freely in South Africa.

Consequently, the Government has committed itself to reviewing security legislation as well and for this reason section 55 of the Act will be reviewed through to the hon the Minister of Justice. Aside from this, the Government has also committed itself in paragraph 7 of the Pretoria Minute to giving immediate consideration to the repeal of all those provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1982 which refer to communism or the promotion thereof.

The SA Police have also taken cognisance of the Government's standpoint on this matter. For this reason the focus as far as the police are concerned is shifting from offences committed on the grounds of ideological convictions, to normal crimes, that is to say the prevention of crime in all its manifestations.

The Government continues to reject the communist ideology in the strongest terms and will continue to combat it in a democratic manner.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, I want to discuss the third point in the hon the Deputy Minister's reply first. He placed the emphasis on

*Mr C B SCHOEMAN: Mr Speaker, the whole matter which we are discussing here today relates to the inability of the Government to control squatting in South Africa in an orderly way, particularly in sensitive areas such as the Dukuduku natural forest area, despite the fact that the legislation needed to act against squatting already exists.

Management and control of the environment have become very controversial in South Africa—the previous Minister of Environment Affairs can attest to that—especially when sensitive matters are not dealt with correctly. According to the information which I have received, 13 areas, some of which were identified by the Wildlife Society, were investigated as sites to which the approximately 400 squatter families in the Dukuduku area could have been moved. They were not acceptable to the squatters, the Mtubatuba community, the municipality or the Monzi farmers' association in that area.

The CP wholeheartedly agrees with the farmers' reluctance to see any more agricultural land destroyed, and that security may become a serious problem in future. That has already been proved at squatters' camps in South Africa. This Government's obsession with its new South Africa, in which everyone in South Africa all of a sudden lays claim to every area and occupies it by creeping annexation, as is happening now in the Dukuduku forest area, changes such areas virtually overnight into Third World settlements, as has already happened in some areas of Natal, in particular around Durban. This is all thanks to a spineless Government which does not mind seeing the purity of the Dukuduku natural forest destroyed.

We ask the Government please to transfer this area from the Natal Provincial Administration to the Natal Parks Board, which can then declare it a nature area and then manage it as such.

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, it is true that the Dukuduku situation provides a most telling example of man's never-ending struggle to live in harmony with his environment. In the Dukuduku forest—hon members who have been there will agree with me—we have one of the most precious possessions there is to be had in this country. [Interjections.] It is one of the gems which we must treasure. [Interjections.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

At the moment, however, there are also people living in the Dukuduku forest, and we must make an effort, not roughly but compassionately, to find these people a home somewhere [Interjections.] I am not prepared to use bulldozers to remove people from that forest before we are able to settle them elsewhere in an orderly and proper way. [Interjections.] It is the task of this Government as far as possible to be accommodating to the people of this country, to keep them happy and to influence them to be positive citizens of the country. It is therefore not as easy as merely identifying some small spot and establishing a little residential area.

Mr C D DE JAGER: [Inaudible.] [Interjections.]

*The DEPUTY MINISTER: The hon member should rather take better care of his horse, which looked so ugly on TV at the great rally, otherwise I will set the SPCA on him. [Interjections.] The hon member should rather not say anything about nature, because he does not even know how to treat his horse. [Interjections.]

We are looking for a sensible place where we can settle these people, who also have possessions in the form of livestock, so that they can make a living as small farmers.

Mr R F HASWELL: Mr Speaker, it would not surprise me at all if many, if not most, of the hon members of this House do not know how to spell Dukuduku, let alone know where it is. There are therefore not many who will in fact appreciate just how significant the ecological area is. [Interjections.] I would like to compliment my colleague the hon member for Bryanston on bringing this to the attention of the hon the Minister.

The hon the Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs did not address the ecological situation at all. He has attempted this afternoon to convince the House that proper and widespread consultation is taking place with the people of Dukuduku on a regular basis. I want to assure the House that the people of Dukuduku are growing exceedingly tired of waiting for proper consultation. In January they were told that it was a matter of weeks. In March they were told the same. The situation continues to exist. I am beginning to think there is a fly in the ointment. I am not saying it is the hon the Deputy Minister. Perhaps it is the hon MEC in charge, or the hon member for Umfolozi, but someone is certainly

holding up proper consultations and the effective resettlement of these people.

The hon member for Bryanston pointed out that it was not only a question of resettlement. If we allow the continued denudation of this forest, it will be transformed into a veritable desert. That is actually what will happen. I think the hon the Deputy Minister must realise that these people must be resettled well away from the forest. However, what seems to be happening is that whenever a site is identified, White farmers and White local authorities object and then the Government goes into full retreat. Then the rumours of leaving the squatters in the forest are started. The Government will have to face the problem. The people of Dukuduku need access to land and housing. At the same time we have to save this very valuable asset. We need some straight answers on this matter, and not the continued stuff about consultation. There has been more than enough time to consult. The hon member for Bryanston was well on his way to solving this problem when it became a party-political issue. [Time expired.]

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Speaker, what distresses me about this matter is the contempt for any consultation with other parties apart from the Government and some of the squatters. I may tell the hon the Deputy Minister that I spoke to the squatters' legal representative about 10 days ago. He told me there had been promises to come back to them which had not been fulfilled. The squatters have not heard anything.

The Deputy Minister must realise that as time goes by, the forest is steadily being destroyed. The local and international repercussions are going to be considerable.

I also want him to note that this is a landmark case. It is beginning to happen elsewhere. Dukuduku is the forerunner. It is happening in the Sordwana State Forest right now where there is a court case next week about the same sort of thing. It has to be handled well. We definitely have to have compassion. We have to find something for these squatters as soon as possible otherwise it is going to be too late. So far these people in this arrogant Government department seem to think that they are the only people with the right to solve problems, and they appear to be inefficient and incompetent as well as insulting.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I find it very strange that the hon member, as far as I know, has not approached me or the hon the Minister offering his services in this regard. We can only succeed in resettling people, and doing it in an orderly way, if we have the support of everyone. I could have had them resettled already or have been in the process of doing so. It is not a matter of dragging one's feet. I am trying to accommodate them in a better way. My personal opinion was that there might be other alternatives that we must investigate first. I have been there, I have sat with the so-called squatters—people living for 30, 40 or even 50 years in the forest—under a tree discussing the situation. I cannot stand up and go back to my office and make decisions without taking into account the people concerned.

*There is no question of our dragging our feet. Thirteen different sites have been investigated. We cannot simply examine sites at random. We must see which of those sites is best suited to the special purpose which we want to achieve with these people.

I want to make another point. If we had removed those people and settled them somewhere else, that would not have been the end of the problem. Action would still have to be taken, because a natural forest like the beautiful Dukuduku forest is obviously an open invitation to people who cannot be settled properly elsewhere. They would go and settle there. So we are not going to solve the problem today or tomorrow. It is a continuing problem against which we will always have to act in future. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Political organisations: support

*1. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the State President: † Hansard 7/4/91 (11A) ~~3074~~

Whether it is Government policy at present not to give any direct or indirect financial or other support to any political organisation or party; if not, what policy is currently being followed in this regard?

B678E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

I refer the hon member to my answer to his question on 5 March 1991 as well as my answer to Question No 1 on 12 March 1991 in Parliament. I reiterate once again the point of principle, namely that denials in related instances may lead to later refusals to supply information in other instances, because it would not be in the public interest, being construed as admissions.

Inasmuch as the question may relate to matters other than those envisaged in the Protection of Information Act, 1982 and other related legislation, I am prepared to say that it is not government policy to render direct or indirect financial or other support to any political party or organisation, except government aid made available for a specific purpose on an equal basis, such as the payment of constituency allowances and the cheaper provision of voters' rolls in terms of section 25 of the Electoral Act, 1979.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, are we to understand from the last part of his reply that he will now allow for example the CP and the DP the same space on an equal footing in the *RSA Policy Review* to put forward their policies as what that entire publication is doing for the NP image at present at cost to the State?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the one problem of Parliament is that it is so predictable. The hon member knows as well as I do that the *RSA Policy Review* does not put forward the NP policy as party policy but that it puts forward the policy of the Government of the day. [Interjections.] If the CP wants to have anything like their policy put in it in full, they must win an election. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply that the Government does not make money available to political parties, I would just like to ask whether the NP is still the Government or not. [Interjections.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, as the hon member finds out daily in dismay, the NP is still firmly in the driving seat. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the the hon the State President's reply, I would like to ask him whether the Government, in making money available for propounding Government policy is not in fact propounding NP policy in the Review.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, it is an argument as old as the hills in this House. The Government has a mandate and a responsibility to be accountable because its policy is carried out. Therefore the Government has a responsibility to keep the public informed of how the mandate that was entrusted to it is being carried out. That is what is done in Government publications.

The hon member will perhaps do better if he spends his energy constructively as he has done in the past, ie by rather negotiating, even if it would be against the instructions of his party. [Interjections.]

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I would like to know from him whether it is his standpoint that the Government provided no money to the DTA during the election process in South West Africa.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, my reply now for the third time on how funds are spent, appears clearly in the noted replies.

We cannot give details by way of denial of particular matters, ie how we spend funds that are administered in a special way in terms of an order of this Parliament, because if it is not denied on a following occasion a conclusion may be reached. Therefore it is clearly on record that we do not make known any details of such matters. [Interjections.]

†Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I wish to say that the important issue here is not that old stories be raked up. [Interjections.] We furnished certain information to the hon the Minister of Law and Order. However, now I would like to say to the hon the State President that the important thing is that we believe that the political playing field should be equal for all

political parties and extra-parliamentary organisations. *Hansard 9/4/91*

†The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! What is the hon member's question? 11A

†Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, my question is whether the hon the State President can give us the assurance that it is also the Government's approach.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, we do not only try to make the playing field equal for all political parties; we also give a helping hand—different to the way in which it is referred to in the question—to the smaller parties who cannot utilise an equal playing field themselves, like the DP! [Interjections.]

Harms Commission: SADF co-operation

*2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:

- (1) Whether he instructed certain persons who are or were employed by the South African Defence Force to co-operate with the investigations of the Harms Commission and the Auditor-General; if so,
- (2) whether he intends taking any disciplinary or other action against those who disregarded his instructions; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? *Hansard 9/4/91*

B707E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

- (1) I did not give any specific instructions to certain people in the South African Defence Force to give their co-operation in respect of the investigations by the Harms Commission and the Auditor-General.

It is expected of all officials and other persons in the service of State to give their full co-operation at all times in respect of all matters concerning the administration of the country. This includes matters such as investigations by judicial commissions of inquiry and the Auditor-General.

- (2) and (3) Where proper, action is taken in terms of departmental prescriptions, regulations and conditions of service against any employee of the State who makes him or herself guilty of a refusal to render

service or of a disregarding of instructions.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the State President, is he aware of the fact that there have been complaints that in both the report of the Harms Commission and the report of the Auditor-General the specific instructions of amongst others the State President—also of the Minister of Defence—have been ignored by some of the officials, and can he tell us if steps have been taken specifically, in respect of those complaints against individuals in or outside the Defence Force? We would like a specific reply as to whether steps in this connection are intended.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, if the hon member wants details about specific persons, it would be better to direct the question to the line function Minister concerned. In general, I can say that I am aware that the persons who were involved in the matter dealt with by the Harms Commission had their services terminated, that steps were taken and that action was definitely taken within the framework set up by me, also in respect of refusal to serve. [Interjections.] *Hansard 9/4/91*

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, does he know, in his capacity as State President, that is as chairman of the Cabinet, whether the hon the Minister of Defence gave any such instructions to members of the CCB?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, if the hon member wants information about the hon the Minister of Defence, and what he had done, he ought to ask him himself. I have confidence in the hon the Minister of Defence and he can speak for himself. [Interjections.]

Ministerial financial involvement

*3. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the State President: *Hansard 9/4/91*

Whether he will furnish information on whether any Minister or Deputy Minister has at any stage had any financial involvement, including involvement by way of loans or shareholdings, with a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if not, why no; if so, what are the relevant details? B714E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Inkatha chief warns of civil war

Buthelezi and Vlok lash out at the ANC

6/04/91 9/4/91

11A

TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT and Inkatha yesterday attacked the ANC's seven-point ultimatum on violence and accused the organisation of derailing the negotiation process.

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the negotiation process had been thrown off track by the ultimatum, and warned negotiations might have to continue without the ANC.



● VLOK

Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi that the ANC had raised the spectre of civil war and effectively walked out of negotiations by threatening to suspend talks if demands to end township violence were not met by May 9.

The ANC's demands include the dismissals of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, the withdrawal or disbanding of certain security forces and an independent inquiry into the violence.

Our political staff reports that Vlok told a news conference in Cape Town last night that government was not contemplating any steps to get negotiations back on track

Vlok said although government considered the latest setback to the peace process "in a very serious light", he did not think it was an insurmountable problem.

Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Assembly the ANC might want to start a new process in which government began handing over power to it. But these negotiations would exclude Inkatha, he said.

Buthelezi appealed to foreign donors to stop funding the ANC, whose "totally destructive, ill-conceived and power-grabbing" ultimatum could provoke civil war.

Buthelezi said "radical" reform had been unstoppable until the ANC's ultimatum. The ANC had now made what it knew to be demands which would not be met.

The ANC and its Communist Party ally were trying to thwart the negotiation process. Forces in the ANC's "military and violent wing" had pushed it into a "no-return" position, setting the stage for a power-grabbing attempt.

"They had never any intention of negotiating themselves into a position in which the ANC would simply be one party among many."

Buthelezi said negotiations might have to go ahead without the ANC.

He urged President F W de Klerk to tell the world the international community should pressure the ANC "to rip out of it the cancer of its own lust for power".

Buthelezi hinted broadly that the ultimatum was not the work of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

ANC 6/04/91 9/4/91

11A

□ From Page 1

The ANC said yesterday it did not intend responding to Buthelezi's comments.

Vlok said the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance had been exposed as the "common denominator" of the violence sweeping the country which it could not control.

Vlok said, notwithstanding government's considerable efforts to curb the violence, the ANC/SACP alliance remained "locked in a power struggle".

But Vlok noted that government was still talking to the ANC and that the joint ANC-government liaison forum had met yesterday.

Vlok said government's detailed response to the ANC's seven-point ultimatum was in the hands of De Klerk and that his department was investigating "very carefully" all the ANC's allegations.

Asked if he believed that the ANC's ultimatum meant the organisation was likely to resume the armed struggle and whether government was preparing for this, Vlok responded: "We are prepared for any eventuality but we are committed to the process of negotiation."

Vlok said although the ANC was engaging in "war talk and sabre-rattling", it would eventually have to come to the negotiating table.

Questioned about the prospects of his being fired in order to promote negotiations, Vlok said this matter was in "the very capable hands" of De Klerk.

Pressed on whether he might be prepared to resign, Vlok said: "I am not prepared to stand in the way of the future of the country. If I am personally in the way of this, then I will consider my position."

Vlok said it was very difficult to say what the ANC had in mind by issuing the hardline ultimatum to government.

But he believed the ANC was experiencing problems between the hawks and doves within the movement and that the radicals were trying to position themselves ahead of the ANC's June conference at which the new leadership would be elected.

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League yesterday endorsed the ANC's ultimatum.

Mandela to be speaker

THEO RAWANA

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will address the second annual meeting of the National African Federated Transport Organisation (Nafto) tomorrow night.

Nafto national chairman Peter Rabali said yesterday the conference was intended to create a discussion forum for the transport challenges of the new SA.

Among others who will address the conference will be former Reebok International CEO Joseph la Bonte, noted for his strong anti-apartheid sentiments.

His topic: Investment Opportunities in a New SA. Department of Transport director-general Ronnie Meyer will also be a guest speaker.

Tutu's bold view conflicts with anti-apartheid group

Star 9/4/91

By Anthony Garvey
Star Foreign Service

DUBLIN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has put himself in direct conflict with the leadership of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement by repeating his call for a rethink on sanctions and welcoming the visit to Dublin later this month by President de Klerk.

Sanctions had been imposed conditionally because of apartheid, he told his critics. "We are moving in the general direction when they can be lifted."

And he described the De Klerk visit for talks with the Irish government — bitterly denounced by local anti-apartheid campaigners — as "a good thing".

He was speaking in County Mayo where he led a crowd on a 16 km

walk to commemorate the Irish famine nearly 150 years ago.

At the end of the walk he made a plea to world leaders to end the current scourge of famine.

On the sanctions issue, Archbishop Tutu said: "What we want to see is the emergence of democratic institutions in South Africa, and everything must be done to persuade all the parties to sit around the negotiating table and ensure that this takes place."

Killings

"My call is to the black community and its leadership to sit down and discuss and review the sanctions. If most of them say the time is not right, then we will have to go along with that decision."

On the De Klerk visit,

he said: "You have invited him and it is important that he should know the strength of feeling that people here have against apartheid. It is a good thing that he comes to a place where he will be picketed and will not receive the enthusiastic welcome that Ireland gave Nelson Mandela."

Referring to the spate of township killings, he said one of the problems was that the police force did not enjoy the confidence of everyone.

"But we must also admit that much of the violence is due to political rivalry in the black community, for we have not developed tolerance for the different points of view."

Archbishop Tutu is on a 10-day visit to Ireland to attend a conference of the world's Anglican prelates.

1.0 Since the outbreak of violence that began in Natal, the country has witnessed a scale of bloodletting hitherto unknown. Estimates provided by agencies who have been monitoring the situation place the numbers of those who have lost their lives in excess of 5 000.

Since the signing of the accord between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party on January 29 1991, the scale of violence has not diminished. On the contrary, it has assumed a more organised and systematic character. In many parts of Natal the violence has taken on a random character, to an extent that it can be regarded as directed against the community itself.

Death and the destruction of homes and property on such a scale would be considered a national disaster in any sane society. The scale of the human tragedy alone provides sufficient motivation for us to address you with our grave concerns.

1.1 Throughout the period in question there have been clearly discernible patterns in this unfolding violence that indicates disturbing features which by now should have been noted and be preoccupying the attentions of the authorities. We are, like many others, alarmed at the degree of inaction on the part of the authorities.

1.2 In almost every instance of violence that has erupted on the Reef, for example, the following patterns have emerged. A group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific political party, have established control over a migrant labourers' hostel through acts of intimidation.

Those who would not submit to such pressure are subsequently driven out of the hostel. These individuals constitute themselves into a group, with insignia for common identification (usually a red head band). Supported by others of like purpose, bussed in from other areas, they then stage a provocative armed demonstration through the township, escorted by the police.

1.3 Without exception, the townships that have suffered armed demonstration did not previously have any visible presence of the Inkatha Freedom Party. In all the cases in question the majority of participants in such demonstrations have been bussed in from other localities. Instances when the police have averted attacks or deterred the perpetrators of such attacks are extremely rare. Even among cases where the assailants have been identified, the number of

Open letter to State President de Klerk and his Cabinet from the National Executive Committee of the ANC

them who have been arrested or charged is derisory.

1.4 In at least five separate incidents, all of which occurred on the Reef during the past nine months, armed gangs of men have launched well organised and co-ordinated attacks against commuters on the trains between the townships and Johannesburg city centre; on the homes of bereaved families during funeral vigils; and on selected hostels. Those responsible for these actions are distinguished by their remarkable capacity to evade detection by the police and other security services. In each of these instances the authorities were advised well in advance to take precautionary measures but they failed to do so.

1.5 Since July 22 1990, on at least three separate occasions when the authorities were summoned to assist or to avert violence, they have themselves committed acts of violence that have re-

group in an unprovoked attack, causing the deaths of at least 12 persons.

1.6 Every effort had been made by the local civic association to gain the co-operation of the police. An agreement had even been reached that no armed demonstration will be permitted and that those bearing any weapons would be disarmed. The police did not honour this agreement and permitted an armed demonstration. And rather than building on the spirit of trust, established through previous negotiations, fired on an unoffending crowd. A number of those injured in this incident have subsequently been arrested, some taken from their hospital beds, and are in detention.

The police have made counter-claims to the effect that they were under attack. Based on previous experience, we have no reason to place confidence in these

these waves of violence coincide uncannily with ANC-launched campaigns and with mass campaigns launched by other elements of the democratic movement.

Recent pronouncements by a political figure serving in the anti-democratic and unpopular structures foisted on the African urban population by Government indicate that it is their intention to resist expressions of opposition to these bodies by a resort to armed intimidation and violence. Direct links between such expressed intentions and the acts of violence that have occurred have been drawn by this same individual. The concerted effort to draw councillors into the ranks of the Inkatha Freedom Party with the promise that it will protect them against mass pressure also suggests the intention of using violence to ward off demands that councillors resign.

It is the considered

from the root causes of poverty, hunger, deprivation and want in our country, and have rendered it more difficult to achieve united action among the African people for generally accepted and commendable goals.

Those responsible for fomenting this violence have the clear intention of sowing divisions and stoking up a psychosis of fear, insecurity and mutual distrust among the African people. At the same time, they hope to prey on the worst fears and prejudices of our white compatriots and thus make them more apprehensive about a democratic transformation.

We are persuaded that the Government's evident reluctance to act with expedition and vigour against the instigators of this violence betrays a hope that their actions will rebound to the Government's favour in the short and interme-

rganised terror in the hope that they will succeed in destroying or seriously crippling the ANC.

The Government's inaction calls into serious question its true intentions and sincerity regarding the entire peace process and the democratisation of South Africa. In view of this the ANC demands:

● That the Government take legislative measures during the current session of Parliament to outlaw the carrying of weapons, traditional or otherwise, at public assemblies.

● The dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads.

● The visible, public dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, Battalion 32, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z Squad etc and the establishment of a multiparty commission to oversee this process.

● The immediate suspension from duty of all police officers and constables who were implicated in the massacres at Sebokeng on March 22 1990 and the commencement of legal proceedings against them; the immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shootings in Daveyton, Benoni, on March 24 1991, pending a commission of inquiry into that incident.

● Satisfactory assurance that in future the SAP, SADF and other security organs will employ acceptable and civilised methods of crowd control; and that the issuance of live ammunition to the police on such occasions be disallowed.

● Effective steps are taken to begin the process of phasing out the hostels and other labour compounds and transforming them into family units and single-occupancy flats.

● The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security services.

2.4 If by May 4 1991 these demands have not been made the ANC shall:

(a) Suspend any further discussions with the Government on the All Party Congress; and

(b) Suspend all exchanges with the Government on the future constitution of our country.

April 5 1991

Annexure: Roster of Significant Incidents of Police Inaction. □

The ANC demands the dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads.

sulted in death. A case in point is that of Sebokeng on September 3 1990.

Thirty-eight people had been killed in a pre-dawn attack on a hostel in Sebokeng. A judicial inquiry subsequently found that members of the South African Defence Force, who had been called to the scene to contain a potentially explosive situation, opened fire on a crowd, killing four persons and inflicting grave injuries on several others.

An equally disturbing case is that which occurred in Daveyton, Benoni, on March 24 1991. The known facts indicate that after a large number of persons were bussed into Daveyton, a provocative armed demonstration was staged from the hostels to a nearby stadium to hold a rally. The police had been advised of the probability of violence by township residents and were patrolling the streets. A group of residents, concerned because of the armed demonstration, assembled on an open space to discuss their response. The police opened fire on this

claims.

An alarming feature of the violence is the role being played by the KwaZulu police in support of armed groups in launching attacks on specific areas. In January 1991 a large contingent of armed men, reinforced by the KwaZulu police, invaded the Ndwendwe area of Oshindweni and made off with 30 head of cattle.

1.7 There has been a startling increase in the use of automatic weapons, assault rifles and other firearms on the Reef since September 1990. Despite repeated efforts on the part of ANC, civics and other democratic bodies to assist the police and other Government intelligence services with information pertaining to these arms and the trade in arms, not a single arrest has been made and not a single arms-cache uncovered, nor has the supply line been interrupted. The apparent incapacity of the South African authorities in this regard beggars description.

2.0 It is evident from our observation and that of others that the peaks in

opinion of the ANC that it is inconceivable that the authorities lack the capacity or the skill to prevent the violent deeds we have enumerated. We suspect that, at best, the feeble response on the part of the State betrays an absence of will to take measures to avert violence, detect and bring the guilty parties to justice, because the perpetrators of this violence are providing a line of defence for Government institutions that would otherwise have been rendered dysfunctional.

2.1 Since the outbreak of this current cycle of violence there has been an avalanche of charges of police partiality, connivance and complicity in acts of violence. Apart from shrill denials from the relevant ministry, no adequate explanation has been forthcoming regarding the acts or omissions of the authorities.

It is evident that the killings, maimings and beating that have occurred have greatly inflamed feelings of ethnic antagonism among various sections of the African people; have distracted public attention

diate term.

2.2 The impact of this cycle of violence is that it has raised the costs/risks entailed in being a member of or of being identified with the ANC and its allies. In certain cities and rural areas it has resulted in "no go areas" from which ANC members, activities and symbols are excluded, not by the law, but by gangs of hoodlums and vigilantes. This is designed to weaken the credibility of the ANC, limit its scope for growth and disintegrate its new legal structures.

This has proved a far more effective means of political repression than the legal measures previously employed by the State to crush the democratic opposition. Its aim is to inflate the image of the Inkatha Freedom Party from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player on the political arena.

2.3 The ANC is of the view that the Government's equivocal attitude to the cycle of violence reflects either an attitude of cynical irresponsibility or is evidence of connivance at acts of or-

Pallo Jordan says ANC wants to 'jar' Government

Staff Reported

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9/4/91

The information chief of the African National Congress, Pallo Jordan, would not be pinned down last night when a panel of journalists on the SABC's "Agenda" repeatedly questioned him on his organisation's flexibility with regard to the seven demands set before the Government in an open letter to President de Klerk last Friday.

Mr Jordan stressed that if the ANC's demands were not met, the organisation would not proceed with discussions on an all-party congress and a new constitution.

However, asked by Peter Sullivan, representing the Argus company, whether the ANC would be flexible if only five of their demands were to be met, Mr Jordan said the ANC had always displayed flexibility in the past when it had been necessary

to move the negotiation process forward.

"The Government has dug in its heels," he said.

Pressed by "Agenda" presenter Harald Pakendorf on what the ANC's recourse would be if their demands were not met, Mr Jordan said the organisation had made its course of action quite clear.

Action

He was, however, "not in a position to discuss" any possible recourse to mass action and insurrection.

Downplaying the ANC's demand for the dismissals of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan, Mr Jordan said it was one of the seven demands and was "nothing out of the ordinary. We are not the first people to demand that Malan resign".

The underlying purpose of the list of demands was to alert the

Government to the crisis in the country and the number of people dying in ongoing violence.

Although it was generally preferable to talk than to stand away from one another during a crisis, "sometimes one has to jar your interlocuters into recognising the seriousness of the situation".

The deterioration of the political situation in many of the black townships was contrary to a condition of the Harare Declaration that there should be a situation in this country in which normal political activity could take place, Mr Jordan said.

"That is what we are talking about."

He dismissed as "absurd insinuations" and "wild speculation," that the demands were a sign of weaknesses within the ANC.

Scaly package sent to London ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A sinister package containing a snake and a lizard was received through the post by the ANC's London office yesterday.

It was the latest in a series of bizarre pranks perpetrated against the organisation here in recent months.

In other incidents, forged letters giving repatriation details were sent to the homes of 400 ANC members, and several members received invitations to attend a joint AWB-National Front

fundraising braai on Hampstead Heath next month.

Posted in South Africa, these too, are apparently a hoax.

Mr Mendi Msimang, the ANC's chief representative in Britain, said yesterday he feared an informer within the organisation might have leaked the list of exiles' home addresses.

Commenting on the forged ANC letters, he said they were designed to sow confusion, adding: "I think this is a message which says: 'We know where you are and

we can get at you at any time."

He said the AWB/National Front letters, with joint letterheads, each also included AWB application forms, handbooks and stickers.

Yesterday, Mr Msimang said, a package posted in Guildford, south of London, arrived at the ANC office, containing a dead snake and a lizard which was "still shaking".

The police were informed and took the package away for further investigation.

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March ban: ANC calls for boycott

Call - 11/15 9/14/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has called for a mass boycott of all white-owned businesses in Krugersdorp and Randfontein in response to the forced cancellation of an ANC march in Krugersdorp at the weekend.

Witwatersrand ANC spokesman Mr Thami Lumphoko said yesterday the boycott would probably start on April 20.

Saturday's march was aborted after thousands of ANC supporters were confronted by gun-wielding rightwingers.

Mr Lumphoko said the boycott would go ahead even if the town councils involved agreed to let the ANC stage another march.

He said he expected the ANC leadership to support the boycott.

A spokesman for the Krugersdorp Town Council said he did not know of the boycott plans and the council was not planning to discuss the issue.

Randfontein council was unavailable for comment yesterday.

Civics issue call to arms

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC-aligned Civics Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) yesterday urged township residents to arm themselves and form defence units.

The organisation supported the ANC's call for a ban on the carrying of weapons, but said that as long as the government failed to heed this call it was necessary for residents to defend themselves against vigilantes and "third force" elements.

Cast spokesmen told a press conference the organisation had asked President F W de Klerk to meet them on Thursday to discuss the escalating violence on the Reef.

Cast would demand the urgent scrapping of hostels, which it said had become "vigilante bases", and the immediate resignation of remaining black councillors and management committees who had become "the actual source of violence against our people".

Cast president Mr Moses Mayekiso said while his organisation supported the ANC's disarmament call, until it was heeded communities would have to carry weapons for self-defence.

These weapons would include firearms.

VLOK: I'LL QUIT

But not agree to ANC ultimatum

CAPE TIMES
9/4/91
11A

By BARRY STREEK and ANTHONY JOHNSON

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said last night he would quit if he stood in the way of negotiations.

His statement came after he attacked the ANC as the common factor in violence in the country.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had warned that "civil war" could erupt as a result of the ANC's hardline stance.

Mr Vlok's statement was in response to questioning about the ANC's ultimatum to the government which included a demand that he and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should resign by May 9.

'Consider position'

"I am not prepared to stand in the way of the future of this country," Mr Vlok, who has been Law and Order Minister since 1988, said at a press conference.

"If I am personally in the way of this, then I will consider my position," Mr Vlok said.

But he said he would not resign, and it was in the hands of President F W de Klerk.

"I am prepared to abide by his ruling and his decision," he said.

In an angry statement Mr Vlok accused the ANC of fomenting the fighting now sweeping the country and acting as a "dictatorial liberation movement".

"They realise that they are losing their power base, have a divided leadership and are uncertain about their future role in the new South Africa," said Mr Vlok.

Earlier Mr Buthelezi charged that the ANC was making the kind of demands that could precipitate "nothing less than a civil war in South Africa".

He said that he had told Mr Nelson Mandela that he and King Zwidehini would never abandon traditional weapons.

The ANC had scuttled political negotiations for the moment in issuing Friday's ultimatum to President De Klerk and in destroying the newly established accord between the IFP and the ANC.

Mr Buthelezi, speaking to the KwaZulu legislative assembly, said that as far as he



ON RECORD . . . Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and his spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet at last night's briefing.

AWB offer to support Vlok

PRETORIA. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday assured ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan of his commandos' support if they ever needed it.

Mr Terre'Blanche spoke after appearing court with Mr Piet Rudolph and 12 other AWB members on a charge of obstructing the police. They had been arrested at the weekend during an ANC march in the city.

He said the two ministers should have known they could not negotiate with communists and then expect them to become friendly.

If President F W de Klerk dismissed his ministers he would have to yield if the ANC insisted that its members fill their portfolios.

Mr Rudolph said he would assist the AWB in creating a "fighting machine" which whites could join "if total chaos and anarchy break out".

"We are on the eve of this, whatever Mr De Klerk and the government says," he warned. — Sapa

was concerned the negotiating process — which included the government, the ANC and the IFP — was no longer on track.

At his press conference Mr Vlok said that although the government considered the latest setback "in a very serious light", he did not think it was an insurmountable problem and thought it could be resolved by further talks.

He noted that the government was still

talking to the ANC and that the joint ANC-government liaison forum had met yesterday.

● Fighting flared up again yesterday in Katshehong on the Rand, with fleeing residents saying more than 100 shacks were set on fire during a raid launched from a rival camp.

Police said the body of a man with hack wounds had been found, but residents said the toll was probably higher.

● The South African Communist Party internal leadership expressed support for the ANC ultimatum.

The party reiterated its belief in a negotiated political settlement, but said the escalating violence was jeopardising negotiations.

● The ANC-aligned Civic Association of Southern Transvaal grouping (Cast), called for an urgent meeting with Mr De Klerk to discuss violence, and for township residents to arm themselves and form defence units.

A proposed meeting with Mr De Klerk on Thursday will discuss the disbanding of existing community councils, the resignation of councillors and their replacement with interim local authority structures and the destruction of hostels.

'Alarming' response

Meanwhile, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he found both the ANC's ultimatum to the government and Mr Buthelezi's response "alarming" for the delicate negotiation process.

He added that all the progress that appeared to have been made between the ANC and the IFP towards a peaceful relationship seemed to have been lost.

He said he took some comfort from Mr Buthelezi's conclusion that negotiations could not be allowed to come to a "full stop".

Dr De Beer said the DP would continue as "bridge-builders" and that setbacks would only increase the party's determination to bring parties together.

Labour Party spokesman, Mr Les Abrahams said that it was understandable that the ANC should react to township violence under pressure from its bleeding constituency.

● Meanwhile, on British television last night, Mr Mandela reiterated his threat to suspend talks if Mr Vlok and General Malan are not removed from office.

ARBUS 9/4/91
11A ~~BB~~

'Imperialist' Britain turns down Azapo appeal

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The British government has refused to grant funds to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) this year and Azapo officials have accused them of "doling out funds to political organisations in a sectarian manner".

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, told a press conference in Durban that they had been turned down by the British government because they were not prepared to "wheel and deal" with President De Klerk and had not renounced the armed struggle.

"The British government claims it supports Inkatha and the ANC because these organisations are speaking to De Klerk and because they have renounced violence," he said.

RESPONSIBLE

"However, both those organisations are primarily responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent black people in townships countrywide.

"It seems to us that the British government is prepared to give money to

organisations that are responsible for black people's deaths.

"Azapo is a legal organisation that has operated inside this country since its birth in 1978. It has never had a policy of bearing arms ... and thus it is strange for the British to call on us to renounce the armed struggle.

"The British government's demand that Azapo speak to (Mr) De Klerk before it gives money is typical of imperialist governments. It also vindicates Azapo's position that it is Britain and the United States of America that are behind De Klerk.

NO RIGHT

"We want the British government and the people of Britain to know that they have no right to hold organisations and people in this country to ransom.

"Black people in this country will determine their own future without having guns to our head by imperialist powers who dangle carrots of filthy lucre. It is this money that is responsible for our continued oppression and for the deaths in the townships," he said.

MPs pay is ammo for public servants

8/02/90 14/11/90

GERALD KELLY

PRETORIA — Public sector staff associations will tell government in an expected salary showdown in the new financial year that the 26% pay hike MPs voted for themselves earlier this year contradicted President FW de Klerk's appeal for moderate salary demands.

Earlier this year MPs voted themselves 26% pay increases against the 10% non-pensionable allowances given to government workers.

Senior government workers emphasised yesterday if Cabinet expected moderation in increase demands it had to demonstrate moderation in the increases which politicians granted themselves in the new financial year.

Expectations among senior public servants are for increases of 15%.

The Public Servants' Association, which speaks for about 250 000 central government workers, says it will base its case for increases firmly on government commitment to pay private sector-related salaries.

Also, PSA GM Hans Olivier says De Klerk undertook to give special priority

to government workers who received only the 10% non-pensionable allowance in April.

Informed calculations show the 306 MPs in the three houses of Parliament will earn well in excess of R30m this financial year.

The 22 white ministers and their 12 deputies will earn about R35m excluding perks.

Rents

An example of perks is the nominal rents they pay for houses in Cape Town and Pretoria.

Earlier this year, MPs got an across-the-board pay hike of R12 000 a year, plus the 10% non-pensionable allowance granted to government workers.

This gave them a salary of R34 000 — an increase of about 28%.

A Cabinet minister's total salary, including a reimbursable allowance of R36 618, jumped about 38% to R185 800.

You take a step to the left . . .

What urban black workers want

From JO-ANNE COLLINGE,
The Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

THE frequency — and intensity — of strike action and the substantial gains made by trade unions in the past two decades tell us that South Africa has an organised and militant urban working class.

POLL

Is it also a working class that sees economic issues in terms of the left or Marxism?

Markinor's recent South African survey, undertaken as part of the international World Social Value Study, offers some tentative insights on the question.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the sub-sample on which these are based is small — 600 black residents of Durban, the PWV and the coastal Cape cities — and that it contains a small proportion who are not workers.

Although there is no "working class" sample as such, information about the "black urban" sample suggests that it is composed overwhelmingly of workers or members of their families.

For instance, 30 percent of the sample were unemployed, 15 percent were students and 5 percent housewives. But three out of four respondents who had jobs declared that they were artisans or skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

Household incomes confirmed this. The average household income for this sample was R850, dropping to R616 in the Cape. And fully 35 percent of households — with an average size of 5,6 members — had an income of under R700.

Further, only 16,4 percent had completed school, while 43 percent had some high school education and 42 percent had varying degrees of primary school education or no formal schooling.

Asked to place themselves on a left-right ideological continuum, 40 percent of respondents came up with a "don't know" answer. Those with little formal education, women and old people were particularly reluctant to commit themselves on this question.

Among those who did answer, there was a strong preference for the left. On a 10-point scale, 22 percent of the black urban sample placed

themselves on the far left while a total of 42 percent claimed they were somewhere to the left of centre. Only 20 percent claimed to be right of centre.

Does this mean that the majority of workers in South Africa's cities want to see the means of production placed under their control, that they believe that only owners of capital fatten on the efforts of workers, and that the State should carry the burden of economic planning and management?

No, says the Markinor survey.

According to the poll, South African workers certainly want fundamental reform of the economy and a greater share of the pie. They believe that the State should play a more assertive role in directing the economy. But they do not look to nationalisation of industry nor to worker self-management of factories.

These are some of the findings of the survey:

Workers, as represented by urban black sample, were far more likely to explain poverty in terms of injustice than the more affluent white group. Fully 64 percent of the urban black sample blamed

poverty on social injustice and only 14 percent felt it was due to the laziness and lack of will of the individual.

Among whites, there was a strong tendency to blame the individual for lack of effort (43 percent of respondents), while only 30 percent felt injustice played major role.

Despite the prevalence of the notion of injustice, only 10 percent of black urban residents associated themselves strongly with the statement that "people can accumulate wealth only at the expense of others". A substantially greater 61 percent agreed strongly with the proposition that "wealth can grow so that there is more for everybody".

It is unlikely, by expressing this view, that respondents were looking to the "hidden hand" of the free market to ensure that all got a better deal from a growing economy. Fully 53 percent felt strongly that government regulation of the economy should increase, while only 10 percent would speak forcefully for decreased government regulation.

In addition, 61 percent expressed strong agreement with the notion that salaries should be made more equal. Only 16 percent felt strongly

that increased incentives were a better idea than more equal pay.

But relatively few envisaged State ownership of trade and manufacturing. Only one in five respondents agreed strongly that government should increase its share of trade and industry. Twice as many felt strongly that private ownership of commerce and manufacturing should be increased.

Considering jointly the questions of ownership and management, only 10 percent chose the arrangement where the State owned enterprises and appointed managers. Minimal support (8 percent) was forthcoming for the notion that workers themselves should own businesses/factories and choose their own management.

By far the most popular notion was that "owners and employees" should take part in selecting management — the idea was approved by 49 percent of respondents. In addition, 30 percent were prepared to leave the running of the show, including choice of managers, to the owners.

Despite its nominally left character, this sample showed almost equal levels in confidence in the trade union movement and big business. The rating of a "great deal of confidence" was accorded the trade unions by 42 percent of the sample, while 40 percent gave the same rating to major companies.

"Quite a lot" of confidence was granted the trade unions by 34 percent of respondents and major companies won similar support from 35 percent.

The existing social security system enjoys a much lesser degree of confidence in the townships. This must be seen in a context where 50 percent are emphatic — and not just mildly in agreement — that the State should take the initiative to provide for all.

The survey suggests that urban workers have a keen appreciation that economic growth is vital to their well-being and is a key national goal. In addition, while nationalisation of industry/trade does not emerge as a policy commanding major grassroots support, redistribution is quite another matter. Clearly a large number of township workers expect a future government to intervene to ensure that wealth generated is more equally spread.

Markinor 9/4/91



Plans for boycotts are denied

THE Southern Natal region of the African National Congress yesterday denied it had planned a nationwide consumer boycott between April 8 and April 14.

In a Press statement, the ANC said although the National Campaigns Committee had agreed in principle to launch a nationwide consumer boycott, it emphasised that such a campaign could only be embarked upon "after a thorough consultation with all organisations and structures on the ground".

This consultation was still in progress.

"The ANC, the Congress South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party therefore declare there is no consumer boycott planned on those dates," the statement said. - *Sapa*.

ANC threat to the lifting of sanctions

ANC 9/4/91 11A

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress threat to break negotiations with the government unless specific action is taken to halt the violence may delay the lifting of American sanctions.

The US administration, Congress and Washington think-tanks are concerned at the possible unravelling of the negotiation process.

Observers believe that unless the ANC and the government reconcile their differences it would be difficult for President George Bush to say the time had arrived for the suspension of some sanctions.



President Bush

Archbishop Tutu

Specific conditions

In terms of US law, sanctions may be suspended or changed once political prisoners have been released and three out of four other conditions have been met.

The administration believes all the conditions have been met or are close to being met.

However, a vociferous group on Capitol Hill is opposed to lifting sanctions until either the ANC says it is all right or blacks have the vote and there is a majority government.

Hold hearings

The US House of Representatives foreign relations sub-committee on Africa is to hold hearings on the issue on April 30.

But if at that date the negotiation process between the government and the ANC appears to have broken down, it would be difficult for the administration to say it was a favourable time to start lifting sanctions, a source said.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has put himself in conflict with the leadership of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement by repeating his call for a rethink on sanctions.

Negotiating table

Sanctions had been imposed conditionally because of apartheid, he said. "We are moving in the general direction when they can be lifted."

He said: "What we want to see is the emergence of democratic institutions in South Africa and everything must be done to persuade all the parties to sit around the negotiating table and ensure that this takes place."

"My call is to the black community and its leadership to sit down and discuss and review sanctions."

No return for ANC, says IFP

Sowetan 9/4/91

ULUNDI - The driving forces in the ANC's military wing have pushed the organisation into a no-return position which has temporarily scuttled negotiations and set the stage for the movement's attempt to seize power.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday in response to Friday's ANC "open letter" to President FW de Klerk.

The newly established accord between the ANC and IFP had been destroyed.

"The South African Government cannot speak

on behalf of the IFP and anything it says about the negotiation process still being on track is political poppycock," he said.

Friday's letter attacked the IFP, saying township violence was orchestrated by the State to inflate the image of the IFP to the rank of a "third major player in the political arena".

Demands

The ANC had made impossible demands on the Government and knew they could not be met, Buthelezi said.

"What the ANC is actually doing is making the kind of demands which would precipitate what will be nothing less than a civil war in South Africa."

The ultimatum had come at a time when there was a "quantum leap" away from the politics of the past 14 months. - Sapa.

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The Institute said

Mandela firm on ultimatum over Ministers

8/10 am 9/4/91

IAN HOBBS

11A

3200R

LONDON — The ANC will definitely suspend peace talks with the government next month if Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok are not removed from office, Nelson Mandela said on British television last night.

The grim-faced ANC deputy president said on Channel Four TV News that government was responsible for the continuing crisis of bloodshed. Government had the capacity to end the violence and "they are not using that capacity".

There could be "no question" of negotiations continuing after May 9 if Malan and Vlok remained in the Cabinet, he said.

He refused to use the media to answer

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning that the ANC action would spark civil war, or reports claiming the ANC leadership was split, saying the issue was between the ANC and government.

"We are discussing with Inkatha and we intend to continue discussions with them."

Asked if part of the problem was not that he believed that "certain people" in government were in league with Inkatha and behind the violence, Mandela said:

"Whether it is in the form of faction fighting amongst black organisations or

because of the activities of a third force, or because of the complicity of the security services of the state, or the connivance of the government — the issue is between the ANC and the government."

Claims that the violence was the consequence of the inability of himself and Buthelezi to bring about control were a "misconception".

□ ANC information chief Pallo Jordan was asked on the SABC programme Agenda last night how the ANC would react if government met four or five of its demands. Jordan said the ANC had "always displayed flexibility when it was necessary to move the negotiation process forward".



March row: ANC calls ^(11A) for boycott

^(Dad) DARIUS SANAI

THE ANC has called for a mass boycott of all white-owned businesses in Krugersdorp and Randfontein in response to the forced cancellation of an ANC march in Krugersdorp on Saturday. ^{31 Day 7/4/91} Witwatersrand ANC

spokesman Thami Liphoko said yesterday the boycott would probably start on April 20.

Saturday's march was aborted after thousands of ANC supporters were confronted by gun-wielding rightwingers.

Liphoko said the boycott would go ahead even if the town councils involved agreed to let the ANC stage another march. "They must be shown that our freedom of association is a right, not a privilege."

ANC stewards ordered people to turn back on Saturday because "we don't want to gamble with people's lives".

The date for the boycott will be finalised after discussions with Azapo and the PAC this week, he said.

He expected the ANC leadership to support the boycott, and that the liaison between the groups involved would make it "fully effective".

A spokesman for the Krugersdorp Town Council said he did not know of the boycott plans and the council was not planning to discuss the issue.

The Randfontein Town Council was unavailable for comment yesterday.

negotiation and the importance of this instead of law enforcement.

The very fact that he is answering the question here this afternoon instead of the hon the Minister himself, is an indication to us that the hon the Minister is already beginning to move into the background in case it should become necessary for him to go in the interests of negotiation. [Interjections.]

I now come to the hon the Deputy Minister's reply with regard to the fact that no offences are being committed. It is common knowledge that transgressions of this particular section occur regularly. Surely it is common knowledge that the SACP reorganised itself last year at a large public meeting that was attended by tens of thousands of Blacks and televised Speeches promoting the objects of communism were delivered on that occasion. Furthermore, Joe Slovo was later afforded an opportunity, at the invitation of the SABC, to defend communism on a Sunday evening, during prime viewing time.

What I am going to quote now, relates to the second explanation of the hon the Deputy Minister in regard to the outdated concept of communism. As recently as March this year *The Citizen* quoted Joe Slovo as follows:

"But distortions of Communism," he added "do not dispose of the correctness of the Socialist objective"

It went on to say:

He said the ethical content of Socialism and Marxism was not very far removed from that of Christianity.

That is a defence of communism. All of these statements and actions are offences. Yet the hon the Deputy Minister said on 5 March this year, as he has done today as well, that the SA Police were not investigating any offences in regard to this section 55 crime. His reason at that stage was that no charge had been laid with the police. On that occasion he left no doubt that the SA Police would not investigate a contravention of section 55 themselves, even if it were committed in their presence.

When the hon member for Ermelo subsequently submitted a written inquiry to the Commissioner of Police, the commissioner replied in a letter on 11 March this year that he assumed that what the hon the Deputy Minister had really meant, was

that the SA Police had no information that section 55 had been contravened and that this was the actual reason as to why no investigation had been launched by the SA Police. [Interjections.]

On the one hand, this explanation in itself is astonishing in so far as it asserts that the SA Police are unaware of all the blatant contraventions, some of which I have just mentioned. On the other hand, it is an apparent contradiction of the reason this hon Deputy Minister has advanced in this House as to why no police investigation has taken place. [Time expired.]

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the CP has taken the Government to task on account of its inability to take action against apparent offenders in terms of section 55 of the Internal Security Act, such as the SA Communist Party.

It seems to me that on the face of it, and from a purely legal point of view, the CP does have a point, and it is probably their prerogative to point this out. [Interjections.] I must say, I was not impressed with the legal technicalities of the hon the Deputy Minister's reaction in this regard. What is more important, however, is that section 55 is one of the many examples on our Statute Book that represent political intolerance and that ought to be removed from our Statute Book as quickly as possible. The type of section that makes the peaceful propagation of any political stance within our country illegal, has no place on the statute books of any democratic state. [Interjections.] This is the important thing and this is what the DP insists on.

To a large extent, of course, the hon the Deputy Minister's dilemma is attributable to his colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice, who was asked as early as 6 March last year by my colleague the hon member for Johannesburg North whether he would be prepared to devote attention to certain sections of the Internal Security Act which sought to restrict the normal functioning of the unbanned organisations. Then the hon the Minister engaged in glib talk and tried to play the fool, and so on. Today it is very clear that the hon member for Johannesburg North had a very good point. [Interjections.]

I now want to predict that in due course we shall be dealing with the repeal of section 55. The hon the Minister has just asked me whether I do not have the *Government Gazette*. I now want to ask

him whether he can abolish a law of South Africa simply by giving notice in the *Government Gazette*. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, I could counter the hon member for Roodepoort's introductory remarks as to why I was dealing with this question, by way of the following statement. If his party had regarded this matter as being very important, they would not have used him to introduce the interpellation. [Interjections.]

The hon member referred to the promotion of communism, but he did not refer to the promotion of communism and then test this against the provisions of section 55. The fact that no member of the CP has to date gone to the police and said that there is a contravention of section 55 and he would like to lay a charge, is clear proof of this. [Interjections.] The hon member also proved today that there is no case to be made for his argument when the statements to which he referred are tested against section 55.

Reference was also made to the statements of Mr Slovo. Mr Slovo has also changed his standpoint in regard to communism since communism fell in East Europe. [Interjections.] A document was published in January 1990 on the occasion of the seventh congress of the SA Communist Party, in which Mr Slovo said the following on page 27:

Ons party se program is stewig gefundeer op 'n na-apartheidstaat wat vir alle burgers die basiese regte en vryhede sal waarborg van organisasie, spraak, denke, die pers, beweging, woonplek, gewete en godsdiens, volle vakbondregte vir alle werkers met inbegrip van die reg om te staak, en een persoon, een stem en vrye en demokratiese verkiesings. Hierdie vryhede maak die kern en wese van ons nasionale bevryding en sosialistiese oogmerke uit en impliseer klaarblyklik politieke pluralisme.

[Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr M J MENTZ: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister is making one big mistake. After all, he knows that we have frequently lodged complaints against communism. The hon member for Bethal lodged a complaint against communism as recently as a few months ago. The problem we have, is that we lodge complaints—I myself have lodged complaints and the hon member for Roodeplaat has lodged com-

plaints—and what happens then? The Government indemnifies the communists, because they are all treading the same path. [Interjections.]

That is the position we are in here. This hon Deputy Minister is placing the police in the most invidious position ever. [Interjections.] What are they doing? That hon Deputy Minister initially tried to say they had not received a complaint, and for that reason they were not prosecuting the people. When he was forced into a corner, he said they were no longer prosecuting in any event.

The sad thing about this matter is the fact that unfortunately the Commissioner of Police does not know that the Government no longer intends prosecuting communists, because look what the Commissioner of Police said in his letter. He did not say what the hon the Deputy Minister said, namely that they were no longer going to prosecute. He said in his letter that they were continually monitoring the situation. He said they were keeping an eye on the communists. He said that all information in connection with the activities of the SA Communist Party was receiving continuous attention. So far no information had come to their attention to the effect that offences had indeed been committed, but they were still instituting prosecutions in regard to communism.

The SA Police are therefore blissfully unaware of the fact that this Government no longer intends taking action against communism. That is the invidious position in which our poor police are being placed. That is not all, however.

*An HON MEMBER: That is an unconscious Minister!

*Mr M J MENTZ: The problem is, as the hon the Deputy Minister pointed out here, that they are no longer going to prosecute, and because they are no longer going to prosecute . . .

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The problem is that the hon member's time has expired.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister keeps coming up with a fresh surprise in relation to his incompetence, because he read here from a document published in 1990, with reference to which he said Joe Slovo had changed his views on communism and that this view no longer conformed to the requirements of communism.

Mamelodi MK statue *Sowetan 9/4/91* removed for safety

A STATUE in memory of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, unveiled at Mamelodi near Pretoria at the weekend, has been removed.

Mr Pasty Malefo, an executive member of the local African National Congress branch, said the statue was removed for "safe-keeping".

He could not, however, confirm reports the statue was removed following threats by rightwingers to deface it.

Reports circulating in Pretoria yesterday suggested a minibus-load of armed men had gone to the statue, which is mounted on the entrance to the township, but were driven off by locals.

The statue was unveiled by MK chief Mr Chris Hani. - *Sapa*.

Bid to save peace talks

Mandela
and FW
crisis
meeting
on the
cards

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TOWN LIBRARY

Sowetan 9/4/91 ~~11A~~ 11A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

AN emergency meeting between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela to rescue the negotiation process "should and could" take place within days.

This is the feeling among senior Government sources in Cape Town following the bombshell ultimatum to De Klerk by the ANC last Friday.

However, a tough attitude persists within the ANC. Sentiment is that things cannot be resolved that simply.

An extra-parliamentary political source said yesterday that "for too long the negotiation process has depended on the friendship between Mandela and De Klerk".

"This, too, must change," the source said.

The ANC has stressed that it is serious about Friday's ultimatum.

If the Government does not meet the demands, the ANC will have no choice but to

Is the prospect of negotiations with the Government worth saving? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise and air your opinion to the nation. Phone him today between 4.30 and 5pm. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan* Talkback programme on Radio Metro on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

withdraw from negotiations, the movement says.

The ANC's demands include a call for the dis-

● To Page 2

FW in bid to rescue peace talks

From Page 1

missal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order by May 9.

It is significant that on every other occasion when the negotiation process was threatened, it has been from a maverick or so-called hawk in either party.

This time, however, the bombshell was dropped by the deputy president of the ANC himself.

Mandela said the ANC may reconsider the ultimatum "if the Government responds in a satisfactory way".

He said the ultimatum was the gravest threat yet to negotiations.

Previous disputes and runnings between the negotiators were between Malan and his ANC counterpart, Mr Chris Hani, head of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Another altercation reportedly erupted between Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and the ANC head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, when the two parties met at DF Malan Airport in Cape Town.

According to De Klerk's remarks, he is disappointed by Mandela's ultimatum.

De Klerk last night met members of the parliamentary political parties to discuss a "parliamentary forum". This grouping is expected to discuss the ANC ultimatum.

* See Page 7

Sowetan 9/4/91 11A



These two revellers forgot about the racial barriers in this country and got into the spirit of a different South Africa at Moretele Park in Mamelodi at the weekend. This was a special event - the reunion concert of Malombo Jazzmen Phillip Tabane, Julian Bahula and Abe Cindi - which also honoured political activist Solomon Mahlangu.

SAP chief can appeal - judge

Sowetan 9/4/91

SOUTH African Police forensic chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling's application for leave to appeal against a finding that he supplied poison for political assassinations partially succeeded yesterday.

Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice JC Kriegler ruled that Neethling could appeal against the finding of his failed defamation suit against the *Weekly Mail*, but not against the finding in a similar failed defamation suit against *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper.

Kriegler said there was no reasonable chance the higher Appeal Court would rule differently where *Vrye Weekblad* was concerned.

He said he had to accept rebel former police captain Dirk Coetzee's evidence that he had visited Neethling at his home and office to collect poison, as was reported by *Vrye Weekblad*.

In view of this, the fact that Neethling had denied knowledge of Coetzee's very

existence was damning.

Weekly Mail's report that Neethling had involved himself in spiking bottles of alcohol with poison and then sent them indiscriminately to ANC members in Maputo had, however, not been conclusively proved.

Defamation suit

It was in view of this that the Appeal Court might rule differently in the defamation suit aimed at *Weekly Mail*.

Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez, commenting on the judgment afterwards, expressed satisfaction that Neethling would be burdened with nine-tenths of the costs of the application in terms of Kriegler's ruling.

Effectively, this meant that Neethling would have to foot the bill for all of *Vrye Weekblad's* costs in the original defamation suit.

This amounted to more than R1 million, Du Preez said. - *Sapa*.

Snub for Azapo

Sowetan 9/4/91

11A

THE British Government has refused to grant funds to the Azanian Peoples Organisation this year, and Azapo officials yesterday accused it of "doling out funds to political organisations in a sectarian manner".

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley told a Press conference in Durban they had been turned down by the British Government because they were not prepared to "wheel and deal" with State President FW de Klerk and had not renounced the armed struggle.

"The British Government claims it supports Inkatha and the ANC because these organisations are speaking to De Klerk and they have renounced violence," he said.

"However, both these organisations are primarily responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent black people in townships countrywide.

"It seems to us the British Government is prepared to give money to organisations that are responsible for black people's deaths." - *Sapa*.

Click the right...

TALKS BUS HALTS

ANC ultimatum poses the real danger to the future talks

IN recent months it had become fashionable to visualise South Africa's negotiations process as a temperamental vehicle, requiring jump starts and occasional services, but generally sound and with fairly good roadholding.

In the wake of Friday's ANC ultimatum to the Government, the metaphor has to be extended: the peace bus has had its first major accident.

The bodywork is in a terrible mess, and the engine itself could be damaged. It is too early to pronounce it a write-off but, for the first time, that terrifying possibility exists.

Basic confidence in the process itself has been shaken as never before, and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society.

Rescue

It will take yet another high-profile, face-to-face meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela (complete with carefully-worded face-saving statement) to rescue it again, but this will not be as easy as before.

Belief, especially among whites, in the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and ability to deliver it, will be difficult to sustain. The Government cannot and will not meet all of the ANC's demands (ironically, the ANC has now made it politically impossible for De Klerk to get rid of General Magnus Malan), and international investors who have been sniffing around the South African market will run off yelping in horror. South Africa, they will say, is best left to its bickering fate.

Horrific

The horrific township violence, the point of the ultimatum, will continue as the leaders lock horns in politicking, instead of linking arms in peace-making. One could go on with the sorry list: in all, the effect of the accident is catastrophic.

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks - just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible - seem to be only one part of a much bigger

It's the ANC deadline, not its demands, that has brought negotiations to the precipice, writes *Sowetan* Correspondent SHAUN JOHNSON

and more complicated picture.

There is no doubt that the township carnage is a matter of the deepest concern to the organisation, and that fingers can be pointed at the performance of the security forces in this regard.

The ANC has a strong case when it charges that black lives are treated far more cheaply in this country.

Similarly, it is fair to put a case for the dismissal of ministers who are perceived to be bedevilling the peace process,

tional psyche. There has developed a vague but crucial belief that De Klerk and Mandela are, somehow, working things out between them. The ultimatum has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis.

Unless the ANC leadership (and this seems unthinkable) was unaware that the NEC announcement would have this effect, there are surely other powerful dynamics at play.

Certainly, the Government's negotiators believe that the ultimatum is a stalling and a diversionary tactic. It will not be implemented to the letter, they say, but will buy time for the ANC to get its organisational house in order as well as placating the increasingly restless



MR MANDELA



MR MALAN

Basic confidence in the peace process has been shaken as never before and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society

and it is perfectly justifiable to push for the suspension of security officers who have been linked to criminal activities.

Further, a call for a blanket ban on the carrying of weapons in public, and a proposal for a multi-party commission to oversee the dismantling of state "dirty tricks" departments are interventions which the ANC has every right to make.

The problem is the cumulative effect of these demands, and their association with a deadline which, unless met, threatens apocalypse.

The ultimatum shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the na-

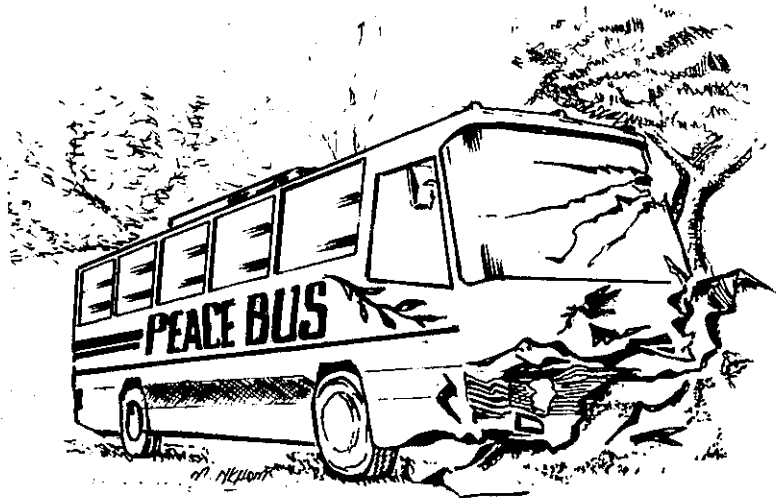
hardliners within the movement.

According to this scenario, militancy has been simmering ever since Mandela gave delegates a dressing-down at the ANC's Consultative Conference in December.

It was compounded by his moderate and accommodating statement of January 8, and again after the ANC made further concessions to the Government in the "DF Malan Accord" of February 12.

Militants were angry about the substance of these policy decisions, and also by the fact that they were not consulted on them.

In general - and not without some justification



The ANC has now made it politically impossible for De Klerk to get rid of General Magnus Malan and the international investors will run off yelping in horror

- it was believed that the Government, with its immense resources, was leading the ANC negotiating teams by the nose.

This mood has been heightened by the relentless violence, and the broader political implications thereof. In particular, there is panic in ANC circles at the attempted elevation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a status equal to that of Mandela and De Klerk.

Ruse

This is not justified by his support-levels, it is argued, and is a ruse to reduce ANC influence in negotiations.

Coupled with a woeful lack of ANC organisation around the country - it is even possible that the ANC's June Conference will have to be postponed - this has caused ANC militants to try to put on the brakes, and the pressure has become too much for Mandela to withstand.

Schedule

The ANC's priority now is to regroup internally (the planned expansion of the NEC forms part of this), whether or not this throws the negotiating schedule out of kilter.

It is therefore a comprehensible strategy for internal damage-limitation, but is implemented at the risk of the entire peace process. To return to the motoring metaphor: it is likely that the vehicle can be panel-beaten this time around, and that it will be on the road again.

But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again.

ANC threat to the lifting of sanctions

AK 603 9/4/91 114

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress threat to break negotiations with the government unless specific action is taken to halt the violence may delay the lifting of American sanctions.

The US administration, Congress and Washington think-tanks are concerned at the possible unravelling of the negotiation process.

Observers believe that unless the ANC and the government reconcile their differences it would be difficult for President George Bush to say the time had arrived for the suspension of some sanctions.

Specific conditions

In terms of US law, sanctions may be suspended or changed once political prisoners have been released and three out of four other conditions have been met.

The administration believes all the conditions have been met or are close to being met.

However, a vociferous group on Capitol Hill is opposed to lifting sanctions until either the ANC says it is all right or blacks have the vote and there is a majority government.

Hold hearings

The US House of Representatives foreign relations sub-committee on Africa is to hold hearings on the issue on April 30.

But if at that date the negotiation process between the government and the ANC appears to have broken down, it would be difficult for the administration to say it was a favourable time to start lifting sanctions, a source said.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has put himself in conflict with the leadership of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement by repeating his call for a rethink on sanctions.

Negotiating table

Sanctions had been imposed conditionally because of apartheid, he said. "We are moving in the general direction when they can be lifted."

He said: "What we want to see is the emergence of democratic institutions in South Africa and everything must be done to persuade all the parties to sit around the negotiating table and ensure that this takes place."

"My call is to the black community and its leadership to sit down and discuss and review sanctions."



President Bush

Archbishop Tutu

'Cultural' weapons won't be banned

Political Correspondent

THE government is not considering banning so-called cultural weapons and believes other factors are more important contributors to the wave of violence.

This emerged last night at a Press briefing by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

"I do not think that getting rid of cultural weapons will stop the killings."

"AK 47s are not cultural weapons, for instance, and of the 70 000 firearms lost and stolen in the past 10 years, only 30 000 have been recovered. The others are still in the hands of people who are using them."

He said: "It is not possible to clear the whole country of the lengths of steel that are being sharpened and used to kill people. Some killings have been the result of sharpened sticks being used as weapons. You cannot rid the country of sharpened sticks."

Mr Vlok said: "I am in favour of getting people not to use these weapons against others, but the point is that even a stone can be used as a dangerous weapon against someone else."

"The answer does not lie in disarming the people, but in other things, and the first is to change people's attitudes towards each other. I would prefer it not to be necessary for anybody to carry a weapon."

He said he hoped it would be possible to have further meetings with black groupings to "solve this serious and sensitive matter" as soon as possible.

Differences, but much in common

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

APARTHEID may be in retreat but it leaves telling traces — white and black South Africans are still leading lives which are materially unequal and light-years apart experientially. Racial polarisation of political loyalties and approaches to the economy is hardly surprising.

All of this is borne out by the Markinor World Social Value Study.

What the study also suggests is that if you look beyond the questions of power and wealth, to those lesser social issues (which are often the stuff of politics in more democratic and egalitarian societies than SA), South Africans of all colours have much in common.

The racially linked material differences remain striking. For the white sample, the average household income was R3 030 a month, 75 percent owned their homes, 35 percent had some post-matric education and only 2 percent had no more than primary schooling. Just one in a hundred was unemployed.

In the black urban sample the average household income was R850 a month, only 25 percent had bought their homes, 30 percent were unemployed and 42 percent had not been educated beyond prima

The World Social Value Study, initiated by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, spans some 42 countries. The South African component used a locally adapted questionnaire. The sample comprised 1 236

SA
social
value
study



whites (rural and urban), 200 coloured residents of Cape Town, 200 Asian

ry school. The coloured and Asian groups occupied an intermediate position. For instance, average monthly household incomes for these groups, respectively, were R1 718 and R1 965, and about 8 percent in both groups were jobless.

The extreme material differences translate into a contrasting sense of life, the survey suggests. While only 7 percent of white respondents said they felt unhappy with life, 48 percent of black people chose this answer. Nearly one in five black respondents felt strongly that they had no personal freedom but in the other groups the proportion did not exceed 4 percent.

Looking at life from such different objective and subjective vantage points, can South Africans of different races see anything in the same light? Yes, suggests the Markinor re-

port, and yes again.

Ask any South African about his or her family, religion, views on abortion, sexual freedom and air pollution and the odds are more than even that there will be broad agreement.

The odds are also that the answer will fall well to the conservative side of the spectrum of views. Here are some examples:

● The overwhelming majority of South Africans sampled describe their upbringing as religious (ranging from 84 percent of whites, at the bottom of the scale, to 95 percent of Asians) and about half attended a religious service at least once a week. In both the white and black samples, eight out of 10 people declared that they drew comfort and support from religion. The frequency rose to nine out of 10 in the coloured and Asian groups.

residents of Durban and 600 black people in major urban centres. The black, coloured and Asian sample was stratified by city and township.

● More details: contact Marketing and Media Research.

● In relation to sexual freedom, black respondents showed a relatively more liberal approach than others. But still the majority position was conservative. Asked whether they agreed with no restrictions whatever on sexual freedom, 33 percent of black people "tended" to agree and 38 percent tended to disagree. Among whites, only 11 percent felt amenable to the idea and 71 percent opposed it.

Unsurprisingly, single mothers would probably have an easier time in the black community, where a relatively low 46 percent expressed disapproval. In other communities, censure ranged from 62 percent among coloureds to 79 percent among Asians.

Across the board, there is a majority who will make absolutely no concession to homosexuality. This is how the proportion of respondents who de-

clared it unjustifiable in any circumstances lined up: coloureds 82 percent, whites 72 percent, Asians 63 percent and blacks 61 percent. There is a marked disparity of attitude between English and Afrikaans-speaking whites in relation to homosexuality.

On another issue, despite years of resistance to Bantu education, black people expressed more confidence in the education system than whites did.

Since all black respondents were interviewed by a field worker, the chances are that the "compliance" factor on moral issues — the desire to give the "right" answer — is greater in this sample than among whites who filled out the questionnaire themselves.

But a telling response was that 53 percent of black people saw change as a new beginning while only 15 percent of whites viewed it this way.

Throughout the survey, it was not always clear whether respondents were evaluating present circumstances or a new social system that they anticipated just around the corner. This may explain the fact that 66 percent of black respondents aged between 16 and 24 said they would be prepared to defend South Africa in a future war.

● Tomorrow: How near is the non-sexist South Africa? □

Confidence will plunge, ANC warned

By Michael Chester

SA 10/4/91

The SA Chamber of Business has warned the ANC that the current weak level of business confidence in South Africa is likely to plummet even further as a result of its controversial ultimatum to the Government to meet new demands by a May 9 deadline or face a breakdown in political negotiations.

Sacob also forecast that potential new investments from overseas would be affected if political talks collapsed.

Concern over business reaction was voiced by Sacob at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday at which it was disclosed that its business confidence index last month was at its lowest since apartheid caused the crisis in international isolation in 1986.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said: "The whole business mood is now fragile and vulnerable — appalled by the degree of violence in black townships and now by ANC

threats to post-apartheid political progress."

Business sentiment both inside and outside SA was bound to suffer still more damage if there were a breakdown in political talks — with a dramatic impact on the chances of new investments vital to the faster economic tempo that was a prerequisite for political stability.

Crucial

If the ANC genuinely wished to encourage foreign and local investment, said a Sacob statement, it would also have to modify its proposals about still heavier taxation burdens.

As successful overseas economies moved towards lower direct taxation, it was crucial that SA taxes stayed at competitive levels. A positive future tax scenario was essential if foreign and local investment was to be promoted.

The business world was deeply concerned about the combined effect that the ANC ultimatum and tax proposals could

have on business confidence.

Vital social goals — such as adequate education, housing, health services and social pensions — became feasible only if the economy grew fast enough to finance them.

Sacob urged the ANC to understand that an even larger State share in the economy would inevitably produce still worse inflation and thus reduce SA's ability to achieve even a fraction of the social expenditures envisaged by the ANC.

Sacob appealed to all the parties concerned to make every effort to keep political negotiations on track.

● The ANC's decision to involve itself in negotiations with the Government had so isolated the organisation that it had ended up using the death of people in the townships "as leverage to boost its bargaining power at the negotiating table", the Azanian Students Convention charged yesterday.

Azasco publicity secretary Siphso Maseko said in a state-

ment that "the present internal wrangling between the ANC and the Government" showed not only that negotiations between the two parties were a non-starter but also "the bankruptcy of the joint monitoring groups they have both established".

● The ANC Youth League yesterday issued a strongly worded counter-attack against Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and said it was not surprised by his "insults and accusations" as he was "echoing his master's voice, President de Klerk".

Bludgeoned

This week Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's latest demands to the Government would plunge SA into a major crisis.

"Having run his KwaZulu bantustan as his own political domain and on a one-party basis, the IFP leader had ruthlessly and ferociously bludgeoned any opposition," the Youth League said.

Falati ordered boys' removal

Cape Times 10/4/91

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~~118~~

~~119~~

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — One of Mrs Winnie Mandela's co-accused, Mrs Xoliswa Falati, yesterday said she had suggested the removal of three youths and a man from a Soweto church manse to Mrs Mandela's home, where they were later assaulted.

Mrs Falati, 37, told the Rand Supreme Court she had made the decision to remove the four for their own protection, after learning that the supervisor of the manse, the Reverend Paul Verryn, was sexually abusing them.

She denied being present during the assaults on the four, saying she had left the four in the custody of Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, who had earlier accompanied her and members of the Mandela Foot-

Political Correspondent

MEDIA coverage of the Winnie Mandela trial was in danger of eroding respect for the law, former Cape Times editor, Mr Tony Heard, said yesterday.

In an address to the Executive Women's Club in the city, Mr Heard said a wide cross-section of the media had been running commentaries on the case which showed scant respect for due process and violated the sub judice rule.

"Beyond the demonstrations and tussles outside the court lies something more subtle and important within: a danger that this cause celebre will go down as a classic example of trial by newspaper.

"That is, erosion of our standards of respect for the law," he said.

He acknowledged that competitive pressures might encourage publications to stray from the rules but he urged his media colleagues to "go easy".



CO-ACCUSED ...
Mrs Xoliswa Falati

ball Club to fetch the alleged victims from the manse.

An often emotional Mrs Falati said Mrs Mandela, 56 — who was aware of the alleged sexual misconducts at the manse — was not home on the night of the assault, December 29, 1988, and had only returned two days later.

Mrs Falati, who took the witness stand after another co-accused, Mr John Morgan, 61, decided not to testify, said she was shocked when she arrived at the Mandela home on December 30,

1988, and discovered that the four had been assaulted.

Mrs Falati denied that the four were abducted, saying they had "willingly" gone to the Mandela home.

Mrs Falati said she was eager to keep them at Mrs Mandela's home until the allegations of homosexuality had been solved, as Mr Verryn was a "psychologist and would twist their minds" if they returned to the manse.

The trial continues today.

Separate lives

But broad agreement on lesser social issues

ARGUS
10/4/91
11A

From JO-ANNE COLLINGE,
The Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

A PARTHEID may be in retreat but it leaves telling traces — white and black South Africans are still leading lives which are materially unequal and light years apart experientially. Racial polarisation of political loyalties and approaches to the economy is hardly surprising.

POLL

All of this is borne out by the Markinor World Social Value Study.

What the study also suggests is that if you look beyond the questions of power and wealth, to those lesser social issues (which are often the stuff of politics in more democratic and egalitarian societies than South Africa), South Africans of all hues have much in common.

The racially linked material differences remain striking. For the white sample the average household income was R3 930 a month, 75 percent owned their homes, 35 percent had some post-matric education and only 2 percent had no more than primary schooling. Just one in a hundred was unemployed.

In the black urban sample the average household income was R850 a month, only 25 percent had bought their homes, 30 percent were unemployed and 42 percent had not been educated beyond primary school.

The coloured and Asian groups occupied an intermediate position. For instance, average monthly household incomes for these groups, respectively, were R1 718 and R1 965, and about 8 percent in both groups were jobless.

The extreme material differences translate into a contrasting sense of life, the survey suggests. While only 7 percent of white respondents said they felt unhappy with life, 48 percent of black people chose this answer. Nearly one in five black respondents felt strongly that they had no personal freedom, while in the other

How the survey was carried out

THE World Social Value Study, initiated by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, spans 42 countries.

The South African component was conducted by Markinor, as an affiliate of Gallup International, using a questionnaire adapted for local conditions.

The sample comprised: 1 236 whites (rural and urban); 200 coloured residents of Cape Town; 200 Asian residents of Durban; and 600 black people in major urban centres. All respondents were aged 16 or over.

In black, coloured and Asian areas the sample was stratified by city and township, with plots and households selected randomly. The white sample was randomly drawn using the national panel of *Nasionale Tydskrif*.

A supplementary sample of young people was drawn. The field work was done in October and November 1990. Limited information, based on a rural sample of 500 drawn from various homelands, is also included.

groups the proportion did not exceed 4 percent.

About half the black sample felt they had been unfairly treated in life, while only 14 percent of whites made this charge.

Looking at life from such different objective and subjective vantage points, can South Africans of different races see ANYTHING in the same light? Yes, suggests the Markinor report, and yes again.

Ask any South African about his or her family, religion, views on abortion, sexual freedom and air pollution and the odds are more than even that there will be broad agreement.

The odds are also that the answer will fall well to the conservative side of the spectrum of views. Here are some examples:

- The overwhelming majority of South Africans sampled describe their upbringing as religious (ranging from 84 percent of whites, at the bottom of the scale, to 95 percent of Asians) and about half attended a religious service at least once a week.

In both the white and black samples, eight out of 10 people declared that they drew comfort and support from religion. The frequency rose to nine out of 10 in the coloured and Asian groups.

- Four out of 10 whites and five out of 10 blacks polled felt strongly that divorce

should be made more difficult to obtain. In fact, fully half of the black, coloured and Asian respondents declared that they believed that divorce was "never justified".

Among whites 25 percent were as emphatic about the permanence of the marriage bond.

- As for the woman's right to choose abortion, it might be a make-or-break issue for United States politicians, but South African vote seekers are unlikely to make much mileage out of it in any constituency.

The upper limit of approval for single women or couples seeking abortions simply because they do not want or cannot afford the child is 15 percent. This is the figure in the white group. It drops as low as 3 percent in the coloured community. A majority in all groups would sanction abortion where the mother's life was at risk.

- In relation to sexual freedom, black respondents showed a relatively more liberal approach than others. But still the majority position was conservative. Asked whether they agreed with no restrictions whatever on sexual freedom, 33 percent of black people "tended" to agree and 38 percent tended to disagree. Among whites, only 11 percent felt amenable to the idea, while 71 percent opposed it.

Unsurprisingly, single

mothers would probably have an easier time in the black community, where a relatively low 46 percent expressed disapproval. In other communities censure ranged from 62 percent among coloured people to 79 among Asians.

Across the board, there is a majority who will make absolutely no concession to homosexuality. This is how the proportion of respondents who declared it unjustifiable in any circumstances lined up: coloureds 82 percent; whites 72 percent; Asians 63 percent; blacks 61 percent. There is a marked disparity of attitude between English-speaking whites and Afrikaans-speaking whites in relation to homosexuality.

With the exception of the armed forces and the police — about which about one in two black people said they had little or no confidence — the cross-racial rating for various social institutions, such as the church, the press, the legal system, parliament and the civil service, shows remarkably small variation and tends to be positive.

In spite of years of resistance to Bantu education, black people expressed more confidence in the education system than whites did.

Since all black respondents were interviewed by a field worker, the chances are that the "compliance" factor on moral issues — the desire to give the "right" answer — is greater in this sample than among whites who filled out the questionnaire themselves.

But a telling response was that 53 percent of black people saw change as a new beginning, while only 15 percent of whites viewed it this way.

Throughout the survey, it was not always clear whether respondents were evaluating present circumstances or a new social system that they anticipated just round the corner. This may explain the fact that 66 percent of black respondents in the age range 16 to 24 said they would be prepared to defend South Africa in a future war.

TOMORROW: How near is the non-sexist South Africa?

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Talks will not free us - callers

By MOKGADI PELA

NEGOTIATIONS between the African National Congress and the Government were not worth saving, callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talk-back Show said yesterday.

The callers were responding to the ANC's open letter to State President FW de Klerk in which it gave the Government until May 9 to meet its demands. *Sowetan 10/4/91*

Mphikeleli of KwaThema told Metro's Tim Modise that blacks could not achieve at the negotiation table what they had lost in the battlefield.

"There can be no negotiations between a wolf and a lamb. Black people want one man, one vote. Negotiations should not have started in the first place," he said.

Mxolisi, also of KwaThema, said the ANC should have negotiated with black liberation movements before talking to the Government.

He said negotiations would not free blacks.

Stanley from Soweto said the ANC's national executive committee would end up negotiating for itself if blacks continued to die.

Titus Leroke of Mohlakeng said: "Who are we negotiating for when black people continue to die like flies?" *(NA) (R)*

He said the Government had to create the right climate for negotiations.

Wonga from Soweto said blacks could not be expected to negotiate on the one hand while dying on the other.

He said current events showed that black unity was a priority in the struggle.

Stanley Gumede from Maritzburg said negotiations were not worth saving as they did not address the fundamental issues affecting blacks.

WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH IT
Mandela says stance 'overblown'

ANC may do a deal over its ultimatum

11A 304/91
5/10 day 10/4/91

CAPE TOWN — Signs that the ANC and government might reach a compromise over the organisation's controversial seven-point ultimatum emerged yesterday after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela met foreign diplomats in Cape Town.

Sources at the meeting said Mandela indicated that the ANC's demands had been "overblown" by the media.

What the ANC was looking for, they said, was an act of good faith by government. This emerged from the growing perception in the ANC that government was dragging its heels on township violence.

One source indicated that the ANC was apparently prepared to meet government halfway, given a substantial move by government to indicate it was genuinely committed to moving on the issue.

Earlier, in Parliament, Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach said a "single golden thread" ran through all the violence in SA: the ANC.

TIM COHEN reports that Mandela earlier met 180 representatives of organisations in Johannesburg as part of a major drive to explain the ANC ultimatum.

Mandela addressed representatives from a wide variety of unions, church and political organisations, among them the PAC and Azapo, in Johannesburg.

Others present were SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and representatives of the Consultative Business Movement, Nactu, the Five Freedoms Forum, the National Union of SA Students and the UDF.

Political Staff

People at the meeting said Mandela did not back down on the ANC's demands, which include the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

He appeared to lay greater emphasis on the need to control violence than on the ANC's threat to suspend negotiations. UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said the UDF supported the demands.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander confirmed the PAC had attended the meeting and supported the demands.

The ANC's new position would assist in developing guidelines for unity between the two organisations at the PAC/ANC conference in Harare this month.

Azar Cachalia, representing the executive committee of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), said Mandela emphasised the ANC had had "the utmost patience" with government's approach to the township violence.

Cachalia was not sure about the tactical advantage of linking the dismissal demand to the negotiation process, but would recommend that Nadel support the ANC's demands.

Comment from diplomatic representatives was not available at the time of going to Press yesterday, but it is known that most are critical of the ANC's ultimatum.

One said yesterday that it was vitally important to press ahead with the negotiations process, which ought not to be "held hostage" by township unrest.

Action of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC met in Johannesburg on Thursday and Friday last week to address the grave crisis into which our country has been plunged because of the violence in the townships of the Reef and practically all of Natal.

The plenum received a comprehensive report on the scourge of silence that is once again raising its head, and came to the unanimous view that the waves of violence which consistently peak when the ANC and its allies embark on a mass campaign, are neither spontaneous nor of an ethnic character. It was the consensus view that the country is witnessing the unfolding of a well coordinated counter-revolutionary strategy, whose objective is to derail the transition from apartheid to democracy and postpone indefinitely the inauguration of a democratic constitution.

The NEC's attention was drawn to the well established facts that during the past two decades the SA government has been the principal organising centre and headquarters of counter-revolution in the region. To deal with opposition inside the country, an elaborate Security Management System, built up by the government, penetrated regional structures, town and city councils and involved the business community and farmers in the tasks of counter-insurgency.

The NEC concluded that wanton acts of terror, mass murder and mayhem that SA has witnessed over the past six years have one aim: to bludgeon the African communities into submission and prevent the growth and development of autonomous institutions of popular expression, such as civics, street committees and other organisations of a popular character that enjoy the confidence of the townships' or villages' inhabitants.

It has become clear from the responses our open letter has evoked that the ANC has either not been properly heard or its words are being completely misunderstood.

We find it quite remarkable that after a year which ended with something in the order of 2 900 African citizens killed, and with almost 600 deaths already reported since January 1991, that most of our fellow South Africans, who pen the editorials

ANC demands are designed to jolt SA out of complacency

ANC information secretary **PALLO JORDAN** explains the background to the organisation's open letter to President De Klerk.

als and features in our daily newspapers, do not seem to realise that what we face is a deep crisis.

Quite the contrary! To them what constitutes a crisis is the ANC placing perfectly reasonable demands before the government, reminding it that it has a solemn duty to protect all South Africans, whether it approves of their political views or not.

What the ANC has sought to do is to shake the government, and many of our compatriots, who appear to have become desensitised to this violence, out of their apparent complacency.

The ANC's open letter was quite explicitly addressed to Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet yet, with a few notable exceptions, every commentator has shifted the focus from the government to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party. I leave it to the reader to speculate on the reasons for this odd diversion.

The ANC shall, however, continue to explore every possible route of bringing about peace with the IFP and every party, group or movement that shares its commitment to peace; and shall seize each opportunity to enhance the search for peace.

There is nothing new about calls for the resignation of General Magnus Malan. Members of Parliament have done so, more than once. Newspapers have done so. Other public figures have done so. In point of fact

the ANC was merely adding its voice, belatedly one might add, to what had become a veritable chorus. But only ours merited the riposte, bloody cheek, from one newspaper. While that particular newspaper's response was perhaps the most extreme, there appeared to be a con-

sensus among the editors that this was an unreasonable demand. Yet others suggested that by making it we had in fact secured these two men in their posts.

Let us address the issue of reasonableness.

We have the case of two men, who have been charged with the duty of securing the defence of the country and law and order respectively. In the instance of General Malan, he has been caught either deliberately deceiving the public in his accounts about the CCB, or confessing to signing away public funds without bothering to ascertain the purpose they were being put to. Either way, a shocking dereliction of duty!

What is more, the general cannot explain how it came about that a body his ministry claimed to have dissolved was still consuming large amounts of money.

His colleague, Mr Adriaan Vlok, heads a ministry whose personnel have been guilty of a number of gross violations of their own standing orders. He is not in a position to explain why they are incapable of apprehending killers who have committed some of the most gruesome murders. He is at a loss to explain the wholly inadequate policing that has repeatedly resulted in loss of life and property on a massive scale.

Not a few editorials have also fondly speculated about factions in

the ANC. The "hawks", so we are told, have won the day. The ANC, so the oracles proclaim, is under stress because of internal dissension between hard- and soft-liners. What is amusing is that the scribblers who opine in this fashion cannot seem to decide which image of the ANC they prefer. At times it is a monolithic, dogma-ridden organisation when that will serve some perverse threat-perception. Today it is a cluster of competing factions.

The truth, of course, is that the ANC is neither. That there is no total unanimity among all on all subjects, is to be expected. But to imagine that this implies factions is to mistake the healthy debate, differences of opinion and emphasis one must find in any vibrant, living organisation, for internal conflict.

We are dismayed at the studied evasion of the serious issues our open letter has raised in the SA media, with few exceptions.

To recapitulate:

- The rate of death and destruction being experienced by the African communities of Natal and Transvaal is a national disaster, which requires vigorous and determined responses by all sectors of our society, not least by government. The carrying of arms, traditional or otherwise, does not contribute to public peace, and should be disallowed;
- The police force, maintained by the taxes of all and not a section of society, should serve all South Africans without fear or favour. When it fails to live up to its obligations, it should be called to account;
- The police have a duty not to place the lives of citizens in jeopardy when citizens exercise their inalienable rights to demonstrate, meet and assemble. Those police who violate the rights of citizens should be suspended from duty and put on trial;
- The government should not be permitted to create, train and maintain units of the security services that are above the law and have carte blanche to do as they please; and
- Ministers of the state can and must be called to account by the people when they are found wanting. And, like others who do not competently perform their duties, they should be subject to dismissal.

If SA is ever going to have a culture of democracy, these "unreasonable" notions we are propagating and attempting to put into practice had better be learnt by all, and soon.



□ JORDAN

Compromise hint by ANC

CMT 7/4/5
10/4/91

11A

Squatter war truce

JOHANNESBURG. The ANC has arranged truce in the East Rand squatter war which it claimed 15 lives.

Clashes between factions from the Holomi and Mandela Villiaj squatter camps at Kad hong broke out on Sunday.

The ANC spokesmen for the area, Mr Roun Mamepa, said the factions agreed to end the fighting following ANC intervention.

ANC military chief M Chris Hani will address peace rally in the area this morning.

• Strike-torn areas p: tolked — Page 5

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday began a partial back-down on its hard-hitting seven-point ultimatum to the government to curb violence or face a suspension of talks.

However, there were no immediate signs from the government that it planned to reciprocate by meeting the ANC halfway and taking specific steps to address some of its demands on ending the carnage in the townships.

Mr Nelson Mandela indicated yesterday that President F W de Klerk need not meet all seven of his conditions — including the sacking of two ministers — by the May 9 deadline for talks to remain on track.

However, the ANC was looking for a substantial gesture from the government to show that it was serious about urgently addressing the continuing violence in townships across the country.

● ANC's information chief Dr Palle Jordan motivates the reasons for last week's ultimatum to the government. Page 6

The first concrete pointers that the ANC might be willing to reach a compromise emerged yesterday when Mr Mandela held a series of closed briefings in Cape Town for diplomats, academics, human rights lawyers, party activists and selected journalists.

"We have laid our cards on the table and it is now up to the government to respond. If the government feels

the deadline is too short, we can address that," he told diplomats.

"We have done everything in our power to persuade the government to scale down violence — we have failed," he apparently frustrated, and at times bitter, ANC leader said.

He emphasised that the ANC's demands — which he had personally initiated in the national executive committee — were intended to bolster rather than halt the peace process.

The peace process, he said, was dependent on the creation of mutual trust. "There has been a steady erosion of confidence and trust."

Mr Mandela accused the press of overblowing the ANC's demands, saying they were not an ultimatum but "a cry from the people for peace."

However, the ANC's new flexibility on its conditions for keeping the talks process going was not met by an

From page 1

Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok were "silly" as they were two of the most honourable and dedicated ministers. *CMT 10/4/91 11A*

He said he was "sick and tired" of some of the accusations by the ANC and SACP on violence and accused the ANC of being the "single golden thread" which ran through all violence — direct and indirect — in South Africa.

During his briefing to explain the ANC's stand, Mr Mandela indicated that the organisation was looking for signs of good faith from the government that it was prepared to deal with the problem of violence seriously and urgently.

He said the impression that had been created that talks were off unless all the ANC's demands had been met were incorrect.

"A patch-up between the two sides and the resumption of talks seems realisable as long as the government makes a substantial move to help end the violence," one observer who attended the briefings said last night.

"The ANC's attitude appears reasonable, not intractable," said another.

● In Johannesburg Mr Mandela earlier addressed 180 representatives from a wide variety of unions, church and political organisations, among them the PAC and Azapo.

UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe said the organisation supported the demands.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the PAC also supported the demands.

Sapa reports from Umtata that the Congress of Traditional Leaders said the daily loss of lives on the Reef and in Natal demanded that leaders of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party set aside their differences for peace and reconciliation.

Contralesa charged that people have been held to ransom and used as pawns by leaders who appeared hell-bent on assuming positions of national leadership at any cost.

In Johannesburg, Azapo's student wing, the Azanian Students' Convention, accused the ANC of compounding misery in the townships by using the death of black people to boost its bargaining power at the negotiating table.

● The SA Chamber of Business said it was "deeply disturbed" about the negative effect of the ANC's ultimatum on business confidence.

immediate softening of attitudes on the government side.

Government sources said yesterday that no specific steps were planned at this stage to meet the ANC's ultimatum but acknowledged that serious — but as yet unspecified — efforts would have to be made to get talks back on track.

No date for a meeting between Mr Mandela and M De Klerk has been fixed to thrash out a compromise. In Parliament, government spokesmen showed an early signs of meeting the ANC half way as President De Klerk defended his controversial Defence Minister, saying he had confidence in General Magnus Malan.

And Deputy Defence Minister, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said the ANC's demands for the firing of General

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A SPECIAL plenary session of the National Executive Committee of the ANC met in Johannesburg from Thursday April 4 to Friday April 5 to address the crisis into which our country has been plunged because of township violence on the Reef and Natal.

The plenum received a comprehensive report on the scourge of violence that is once again raising its head and came to the unanimous view that these waves of violence, that consistently peak with the ANC and its allies, embark on a mass campaign and are neither spontaneous nor of an ethnic character. It was the consensus view that the country is witnessing the unfolding of a well-coordinated counter-revolutionary strategy, whose objective is to derail the transition from apartheid to democracy and postpone indefinitely the inauguration of a democratic constitution.

The National Executive Committee's attention was drawn to the well-established facts that during the past two decades the South African government has been the principle organising centre and headquarters of counter-revolution in the region. To deal with opposition inside the country, an elaborate Security Management System, built up by the government, penetrated regional structures, town and city councils and involved the business community and farmers in the tasks of counter-insurgency.

The NEC concluded that wanton acts of terror, mass murder and mayhem that South Africa has witnessed over the past six years have one aim: to bludgeon the African communities into submission and prevent the

ANC: We shall continue to seek peace with others

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ANC Viewpoint
by PALLO
JORDAN

growth and development of autonomous institutions of popular expression, such as civics, the streets committees and other organisations of a popular character that enjoy the confidence of the townships' of villages' inhabitants.

It has become clear from the responses which our open letter has evoked, that the ANC has either not been properly heard or its words are being completely misunderstood.

We find it quite remarkable that after a year which ended with something in the order of 2 900 African citizens killed and with almost 600 deaths already reported since January 1991, that most of our fellow South Africans, who pen the editorials and features in our daily newspapers, do not seem to realise that what we face is a deep crisis.

Nothing new

Quite the contrary! To them what constitutes a crisis is the ANC placing perfectly reasonable demands before the government, reminding it that it has a solemn duty to protect all South Africans, whether it approves of their political views or not.

What the ANC has sought to do is to shake the government and many of our compatriots, who appear to have become desensitised to this violence, out of their apparent complacency.

The ANC's open letter was quite explicitly addressed to Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet, yet, with a few notable exceptions, every commentator has shifted the focus from the government to Dr Buthelezi.

done so. Other public figures have done so.

In point of fact the ANC was merely adding its voice to what had become a veritable chorus.

Deception

While that particular newspaper's response was perhaps the most extreme, there appeared to be a consensus among the editors that this was an unreasonable demand. Yet others suggested that by making it we had in fact secured these two men in their posts.

Let us address the issue of reasonableness.

We have the case of two gentlemen, who have been charged with the duty of securing the defence of the country and law and order respectively. In the instance of General Malan, he has been caught either deliberately deceiving the public in his accounts about the CCB, or confessing to signing away public funds without bothering to ascertain the purposes they were being put to. Either way, a shocking dereliction of duty! What is more, the general cannot explain how it came about that a body his ministry claimed to have dissolved, was still consuming large amounts of money. His colleague, Mr Adriaan Vlok, heads a ministry whose personnel have been guilty of a number of gross violations of their own standing orders. He is not in a position to explain why they are incapable of apprehending killers who have committed some of the most gruesome murders. He is at a loss to explain the wholly inadequate policing that has



DR BUTHELEZI: Focus shifted from government to him.



MAGNUS MALAN: Unable to explain certain actions.



ADRIAAN VLOK: His personnel are guilty of violations.

threat-perception. Today it is a cluster of competing factions.

The truth of course is that the ANC is neither that there is no total unanimity among all an

and the IFP, I leave it to the reader to speculate on the reasons for this odd diversion.

The ANC shall, however, continue to explore every possible route of bringing about peace with the IFP and every party, group or movement that shares its commitment to peace, and shall seize each opportunity that arises to enhance the search for peace.

There is nothing new about calls for the resignation of General Malan. Members of Parliament have done so, more than once. Newspapers have

readily resulted in loss of life and property on a massive scale.

Not a few editorials have also fondly speculated about factions in the ANC. The "hawks", so we are told, have won the day. The ANC, so the oracles proclaim, is under stress, because of internal dissension between hard and soft-liners. What is amusing is that the scribblers who opine in this fashion can't seem to decide which image of the ANC they prefer. At times it is a monolithic, dogma-ridden organisation — when that will serve some perverse

are expected. But to imagine that this implies factions is to mistake the healthy debate, differences of opinion and emphasis once must find in any vibrant, living organisation, for internal conflict.

We are dismayed at the studied evasion of the serious issues our Open Letter has raised by the South African media, with few exceptions. To recapitulate:

Police on trial

● The rate of death and destruction being experienced by the African communities of Natal and Transvaal are a national disaster which requires vigorous and determined responses by all sectors of our society, not least by government. The carrying of arms, traditional or otherwise, does not contribute to the public peace, and should be disallowed.

● The police force, maintained by the taxes of all and not a section of the society, should serve all South Africans without fear or favour. When it fails to live up to these obligations, it should be called to account.

● The police have a duty not to place the lives of citizens in jeopardy when citizens exercise their inalienable rights to demonstrate, meet and assemble. Those police who violate the rights of the citizens should be suspended from duty and put on trial.

● The government should not be permitted to create, train and maintain units of the security services that are above the law and have carte blanche to do as they please.

● Ministers of the State can and must be called to account by the people of the country when they are found wanting. And like others who do not competently perform their duties, should be subject to dismissal.

If South Africa is ever going to have a culture of democracy, these "unreasonable" notions we are propagating and attempting to put into practice had better be learnt by all; and soon.

□ Dr Jordan is Secretary of Information of the African National Congress.

African National Congress.

ANC threat 'poses danger to market'

Sowetan 10/4/91

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A BREAKDOWN in the negotiations would pose a serious danger for business sentiment inside and outside the country.

The South African Chamber of Business said this at a Press conference yesterday and urged the ANC not to suspend talks with the Government.

Sacob also questioned the ANC's tax proposals and the ultimatum to State President FW de Klerk to respond to certain political demands by May 9.

The ANC's threat to withdraw from the negotiating process would not be conducive to the creation of a positive investment climate in South Africa.

Economy

Sacob appealed to all the parties concerned to make every effort to keep political negotiations on track as there was a great deal at stake for the economy.

The reaction follows the weekend pronouncements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that the organisation would suspend talks if the Government had not taken steps, including the dismissals of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, by May 9.

Mandela warned of an increase in "mass action" because of the Government's "failure to honour agreements with the ANC".

Sacob said while it did not wish to become involved in party politics, nor did it want to discourage debate on major economic issues, it was deeply concerned about the combined effect which these twin developments could have on busi-

ness confidence.

As pointed out, in the latest Business Confidence Index, although business confidence appeared to have stabilised in March it remained vulnerable to political uncertainty and continued violence.

THE African National Congress (ANC), in alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), last week publicly turned on SA government leaders, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the KwaZulu Police, sections of the SA Police and Defence Force, citizens of the Zulu nation who uphold their traditional rights and various others too numerous to mention here.

All had been singled out and stood accused and condemned by the ANC/SACP of various onerous charges.

The ANC/SACP see themselves as faultless champions of peace, of course, and therefore insist that their perceived adversaries be marginalised or eliminated in one way or another.

Their demands were made well known as were their threats — if they didn't get their own way — to suspend discussion with the government on the all-party congress and exchanges on a future constitution.

This week, in an amazing turnaround, ANC deputy president Dr Nelson Mandela is said to claim that their demands have been "overblown" (not by them, naturally). He chose an audience of diplomats, academics, human rights lawyers, party activists and selected journalists to leak this breathtaking news to a worried nation.

They are, they say "flexible" on their ultimatum "if the government reacts positively ...". What is the difference between what was said last week and this week?

Nevertheless, the uninitiated to these kinds of revolutionary power games are now sighing with relief. Compromise is in the air! Is it? I seem to remember the same kind of tactics being used when they first championed nationalisation, scared the wits out of everybody who is not a socialist, and then appeared to back off.

So do we take the ANC/SACP seriously, or not?

The facts are that one minute there were hopes of lasting ANC/IFP peace agreements, and of future multiparty negotiations. In political terms barely an hour has passed and the ANC/SACP has stopped the clock.

Many thought differences, to a certain extent, had been shelved insofar as we could extend hands of cooperation all round in working together to put SA and all its people first. It was felt there were enough of us committed to peace and negotiation. I thought so.

ANC clearly wants all the power ^(11A) on its own terms

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Things were not perfect (they were, indeed, fragile) but we had hopefully made a positive start. The ANC/SACP then launched, in its open letter to the president, what was literally a Scud missile into the whole extremely delicate peace/negotiation process.

They now say their actions were designed to "jolt South Africa out of complacency".

To me their agenda is quite obvious. They want power and they want it on their terms.

Sticking your head up and daring to face the ANC/SACP head-on, to question them, is seen by some as suicide, foolhardy or treacherous. Do not rock the boat, they say. How passé to even whisper fears of Marxist hardliners in the midst of the ANC calling the shots!

Do we wait and see? Wait and find out — when it is too late? Must we keep silent?

If the name of the ANC/SACP game is dissipating the energies that others need to work for the good of the nation, they win. They are streets ahead when it comes to the political posturing that I had thought would, quite naturally, come later when we squared up in real negotiations.

The trouble is, striking hard bargains for the political advantages you believe to be in the best interests of the country are one thing. Causing instability and anxiety and playing with people's lives, for naked party-political gain, is another matter.

So, instead of being able to get on with saving lives and jointly devising the kind of government, national identity and stability that we all can respect and enjoy, we must stop and respond to the blasts of the ANC/SACP alliance.

The alliance has, as the saying

goes, thrown all their toys out of their pram. They will not play until the targets of their angst give in. Do we indulge them, or do we not? The people of SA must think very seriously about this because it does not only involve their outrage now aimed at elements of the government, the IFP, the KwaZulu Police etc (to quote their document).

Let me first of all say the concern of the IFP is that they are wasting not only our time but the time of every South African, regardless of race, creed or colour, who wants to proceed with, among other things, dismantling apartheid and establishing a reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all.

Their attacks do not scare the IFP. We have long been accustomed to their tactics and strategies. Others are not. The ANC/SACP alliance is, pure and simply, engaged in a battle for political supremacy. That is the long and short of it.

The IFP's worry is for SA as a whole. The consequences of the ANC/SACP blundering could have far-reaching and disastrous results.

When I warn of civil war I do not do so because it sounds catchy and makes headlines. I spell out gut-wrenching realities.

On Tuesday an editorial in Business Day accused me of "raising the temperature of the national debate" because I warned that proposed negotiations might not recover from power-grabbing attempts by the ANC/SACP to thwart the whole process. To say that the black mamba has poisonous fangs does not imply that I am going to inject the poison into its fangs.

I did not say I or the IFP would pull out of negotiations. I said the actions of the ANC/SACP alliance had created a crisis because they had made impossible demands and set a ridiculous time-scale within which their demands had to be met. SA would suffer as a result.

Business Day, it appears, believes the "stakes" are too high for "any player to destroy the peace process wilfully". By implication does this mean Business Day recognises that the ANC/SACP are indeed just playing political games and that if everybody else keeps "cool heads" talks will go "their faltering way ..."?

In other words, for heaven's sake pander to the ANC/SACP and whatever you do, do not ruffle their feathers by talking back or really taking them seriously? Must we all play along?

The IFP has been working hard in trying to arrange joint peace rallies with the ANC. Within days of a meeting between myself and Dr Mandela, the ANC cancelled joint peace talks arranged for April 11. I express my deep concern and Business Day says I am being "petulant".

The ANC/SACP based much of their open letter on their concern about the horrendous violence which is causing such pain and misery throughout SA.

A pity they did not have this in mind when they launched their "armed struggle", decided to "deprive" Inkatha of its base and "eliminate" opponents, went ahead with mass mobilisation, supported the actions of civic associations in targeting councillors and started creating a network of "self-defence" units.

The IFP has had more than 150 of its branch leaders systematically assassinated and thousands of its members murdered and maimed in

recent years. It shares the ANC/SACP's recently expressed abhorrence of the senseless mayhem. It equally condemns the terror to which so many have been subjected, regardless of party-political affiliation, and is openly ashamed that some of its members have been caught up, along with others, in the perpetuation of this carnage.

We do not, however, care to use this horror to score political points and to shift blame. We want it to stop and it will not if the ANC/SACP postpones peace talks, as it has done.

Space does not permit a detailed rejoinder to the ANC/SACP's attack on the IFP and its attempt to place culpability at our feet and those of Zulu citizens who carry traditional weapons — among others.

We found it interesting that the ANC/SACP found it necessary to point out in their open letter that they are having difficulty in recruiting members, and that they resent the IFP's stature as a "major player on the political arena ...". This, perhaps more than anything else, gives their game away.

A view has been expressed that a senior source in the ANC's NEC told the Sowetan's political correspondent that the future of the country and of negotiations can no longer be driven only by the apparent friendship between President F W de Klerk and Dr Mandela.

This reminded me of the cordiality, warmth and friendship that has existed between me and the deputy president of the ANC, which spans four decades. We were closeted in a Durban hotel for nearly six hours on March 30. I cannot therefore associate the somersault implied in the open letter with Dr Mandela.

I can only recall that even last year in April, we agreed to go to Maritzburg to address a joint peace rally. A delegation from Maritzburg forced the deputy president to change his mind. In Umtata a few weeks later, Dr Mandela told chiefs there that those who persuaded him not to go almost "throttled" him.

Is this a repetition of that, I ask myself, because there was agreement between Dr Mandela, myself and President de Klerk that we should meet to discuss the violence once Dr Mandela had returned from West Africa. To me, the most natural thing after the deputy president cancelled the West African tour, would have been to ask for a date from President de Klerk for the three of us to meet to discuss the violence. Where is my "petulance" in all this?

□ Buthelezi is Inkatha Freedom Party president and chief minister

Mandela, Buthelezi discuss ANC ultimatum

● From Page 1
lives in the Union Buildings.

"Black life is cheap in this country ... My attempts (at rectifying this perception) have been fruitless ... We thought we could persuade the Government out of this, but we have failed."

It was not Mr de Klerk's supporters who were dying, Mr Mandela is reported to have said.

Believing that all avenues had been exhausted in trying to prompt the Government to react decisively, the ANC had de-

cidied "the time has come to say 'this far and no further'."

It was not an ultimatum which sought to buy time or threaten negotiations, he said. "We have been making all these demands ever since I left prison ... (We have been compelled) to take action to end the violence, to ensure peace, and that the process remains on course ..."

"If the Government addresses the demands seriously, the ANC will not be found wanting."

Mr Mandela reported-

ly dismissed out of hand suggestions that he had been pressured by ANC "hawks" into supporting the hard-line stand on the violence. He had considered this course of action as early as September last year, he said, and the national executive committee was now in full agreement on the issue.

"When we were convinced that all possibilities had been tried, we said, okay, our aim (still) remains to create conditions conducive to peace, and we agreed to you to

support us."

Mr Mandela conceded there was a "factional" element to the violence, and that ANC members were not blameless. But this had to be seen in the context of three other related factors: a "third force", "unacceptable methods of crowd control", and the "connivance of the Government" with other organisations.

"If there is still violence being committed by our supporters," he is reported to have said, "we are trying to stop it."

"But (Ministers

Adriaan and Magnus) Vlok and Malan must clean up their own departments.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said in Johannesburg the organisation was not adamant that its ultimatum had to be met in full by its May 9 deadline.

A "response" by the Government before the deadline would result in the ANC considering whether to go ahead with its threat.

● Getting down to grassroots — Page 16

Mandela, Buthelezi discuss ultimatum

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In an effort to patch up strained relations with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANC's open letter to the Government — in which Inkatha was labelled a "minor" political player and which demanded drastic State action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr Mandela had initiated the telephone conversation with Chief Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had been directed at Government "inaction" and not at the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The ANC's department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as lengthy and cordial.

"Both leaders agreed to lend their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments."

Chief Buthelezi last night issued a statement in which he said he told Mr Mandela that only the IFP central committee and the ANC national executive could take any step towards rectifying the "very difficult position into which the ANC's letter thrust IFP/ANC relationships."

"The IFP's central committee was scheduled to meet on Sunday and the matter would be laid before the central committee."

On Monday, Chief Buthelezi responded heatedly to the ANC's letter and the accusation that perpetrators of the protracted violence aimed to "inflate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena".

Chief Buthelezi warned that negotiations between the Government and the IFP would now proceed without the ANC.

From Cape Town, The Star special writer Shaun Johnson says the ANC is making a strong diplomatic comeback after the avalanche of criticism following Friday's "ultimatum".

Diplomats and political observers are revising their earlier assessment that the ANC was being disingenuous in threatening the negotiations process because of the Government's failure to halt township violence.

After extraordinary briefings to senior diplomats, community representatives and some journalists in Cape Town on Tuesday by Mr Mandela, a variety of sources said they had found the ANC's explanation of its reasons for issuing the ultimatum "convincing".

"I think they have a point

when they say no one realises the seriousness with which they regard the violence in which some 6 000 people have died," said one source. "I have no doubt there are internal tensions (within the ANC) but this ultimatum is primarily a genuine attempt to solve the problem of violence."

According to the sources, Mr Mandela railed against the media, in particular, for interpreting the letter as a stalling tactic and an ultimatum which sought to derail the negotiations process. He argued that the peace process would collapse if the Government was not prompted into dramatic action.

Mr Mandela is reported to have said in closed-door briefings: "We want to create an ideal climate conducive to negotiations. But the violence is a priority issue. I live in the townships, where people are dying. De Klerk

● To Page 3



Esmare van der Merwe suggests what motivated the ANC ultimatum

TRI
Helping you

Getting down to grassroots

ONCE bitten, twice shy. This is the philosophy behind the African National Congress's threat to pull out of constitutional talks unless the Government acts on the recurring violence in the townships.

At the organisation's consultative conference in December, the leadership was astounded by the militancy of grassroots supporters. Now, in preparing for its national conference in June — at which a new leadership will be elected — the national executive committee has given the Government an ultimatum which is, above all else, an attempt to solidify support among its rank and file.

Sceptics may question the tacti-

cal wisdom of demanding the resignation of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Critics may regard the ultimatum — the second since December, although on unrelated issues — as an unacceptable attempt to shift the goalposts. But in the townships, reeling under the bloody violence which has turned streets into war zones, supporters have welcomed the ANC's firm stand.

Blamed

For ANC supporters, the issue at stake is not whether the violence should be blamed on the security forces, factional in-fighting, gangsters or guerilla-type armed

groups hell-bent on destroying the present or future political order. They simply argue that they have the right to protection by the State. And the State has failed to fulfil that obligation.

Furthermore, township residents have become disillusioned with the ANC, arguing that they have not benefited from the Government/ANC peace talks, and criticising the ANC for giving up more than it has gained in pre-negotiations talks with the Government.

Township and regional ANC leaders, recognising the real threat of losing support from disgruntled supporters, have put immense pressure on the National

Executive Committee to throw down the gauntlet to the Government and demand drastic action to curb the violence. ANC insiders maintain that the NEC was unanimous in its decision to do just that.

While it is unrealistic for the ANC to blame the violence solely on the Government, the ultimatum may come close to an admission that the leadership has lost control over its supporters.

And despite media speculation that the "hawks" have won another round in the power contest with the "doves", for once the militants and the moderates seem to have agreed that they needed to flex some muscle. This is not a

case of the "hawks" winning another battle. For there simply no battle to be fought.

Agreeing

Nevertheless, while agreeing with the ultimatum in principle some moderates within the leadership obviously feel uncomfortable about the consequences of imposing impractical demands on the Government. If the Government fails to respond, ANC negotiators will face the difficult task of getting the process back on track.

But with grassroots opinion running against the moder-

Rational emotive therapy has been described as "the most effective therapy of our time". An American psychologist and sexologist will teach South Africans next week to use the therapy

Police arrest returning ANC exiles

PRETORIA. — Police yesterday confirmed the arrest and interrogation of two returning ANC exiles at Jan Smuts Airport.

The ANC claimed on Tuesday Mr Japie Maphalala and Mr George Khashu were "kidnapped" on March 28 when the second batch of ANC activists returned.

In a statement, police confirmed Mr Maphalala had appeared in court on a charge of murder. He had failed to appear in court in 1984 and a warrant for his arrest had been pending.

Mr Khashu was questioned at the Vryburg police station in connection with criminal offences committed in 1985. — Sapa

CAPE
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11A / 27A

Mandela in phone call to Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to open the way for discussions on recent sharp exchanges between them, the ANC said yesterday.

An ANC statement said the conversation, initiated by Mr Mandela, was "lengthy" and "cordial".

The conversation follows criticism of Inkatha by the ANC. In its ultimatum to the government the ANC called Inkatha a "minor" political player.

An appendix included examples of in-

stances in which the ANC alleged that Inkatha had used violence, helped by the security forces, to infiltrate areas where it previously had no support.

Chief Buthelezi was outraged, and warned that civil war could follow.

Both leaders agreed to lend their "immense personal authority" to ensuring that relations between the ANC and Inkatha were not disturbed, the ANC said.

Meanwhile Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday declared Thokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong unrest areas. He also imposed a 9pm to 4am curfew on the townships.

At a peace rally in Katlehong yesterday,

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said the basic position of the ANC was unity among the oppressed.

The violence was detrimental to the negotiating process, he said. Troops and police should remain in the area as it was the government's duty to keep peace, but security forces should change their tactics by discussing ways to end the violence with the local leaders.

"It would be very irresponsible for me to call for the removal of the security forces," Mr Hani said.

● Sapa reports that the ANC and PAC have postponed talks in Zimbabwe from this weekend until next week.

Mandela

Both leaders agreed to lend their "immense personal authority" to ensuring that relations between the ANC and Inkatha were not disturbed by these developments, the ANC statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said no agreement to meet was made but neither was there any agreement that the two leaders should not meet.

It is believed the two could address a joint peace rally.

□ From Page 1

A date had not been finalised but this was only a matter of finding a date suitable to both parties, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that diplomats who attended Mandela's briefing of diplomats on Tuesday agreed the ANC should be assisted to help break the deadlock.

Diplomats saw a role for themselves in encouraging a meeting between Mandela and President F W de Klerk, preferably once the dust had been allowed to settle.

Mandela in phone call to Buthelezi

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to open the way for discussions on the sharp exchanges which had taken place between them recently, the ANC said yesterday.

An ANC statement described the telephone conversation as "lengthy" and "cordial". It was initiated by Mandela, the statement said. *21 Dec 1991*

The conversation follows critical comments made by the ANC about the status of the Inkatha Freedom Party in its ultimatum to government in which it referred to Inkatha as a "minor" political player.

~~21~~ TIM COHEN

An appendix to the ultimatum included examples of instances in which the ANC alleged that Inkatha had used violence, helped by the security forces, to infiltrate areas where it previously had no support.

Buthelezi was outraged by the comments, and warned that civil war could follow the ANC's ultimatum.

The ANC's statement said Mandela explained the purpose of the ANC's open letter, pointing out that it was directed at government inaction and not at Inkatha.

□ To Page 2

Major parties to square up

Sevelan 1/14/91

~~SECRET~~

11A

SOME of the country's major political organisations and parties will be quizzed on political tolerance at a public meeting in Johannesburg tonight.

The meeting, to be addressed by representatives of both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties and organisations will be held at the University of the Witwatersrand's Senate House at 7.30pm.

Former newspaper editor and co-presenter of the programme *Agenda* on SABC-TV Harald

Pakendorf will chair the meeting, which has been arranged by the Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum.

Participating in the discussions will be National Party MP for Randburg Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon, ANC PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan and representatives from the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Conservative

Party, according to Cecily Singer of the FFF, was invited but refused to attend.

FFF publicity secretary Ms Hanlie van Dyk said her organisation decided on having the meeting because of its concern "about the implications of the prevailing political intolerance between people of different political convictions on the fragile peace process".

She said: "The public is offered the opportunity to take issue with spokespeople of the major political players in this country."

ANC, PAC aim to form united front

11A

Sowetan 11/4/91

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

A UNITED front - to be called a "patriotic front" - will be formed by two of the main extra-parliamentary parties, the ANC and PAC, by the end of the year.

The "principles and pillars" of such a front will be ironed out and tabled at a conference in Harare between the national executive committees of the two movements next Monday and Tuesday.

When a date is set for the actual launch - August has been suggested - the Government's wish to start its multi-party congress by mid-year will be blown away.

It is unlikely the ANC will enter into any negotiations with the Government before the creation of the PF.

According to both movements, a "patriotic front" would be discussed at next week's meeting as well as past, present and future negotiations with the Government.

Other issues to be covered will be a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC and PAC are



BENNY ALEXANDER

expected to be the patriarchs in the PF with "other liberation movements" also being offered representation.

Also on the preliminary list of participants are religious and sports groups, teacher organisations and the South African Musicians Alliance.

Inkatha

It has been suggested that the ANC and PAC will have 400 representatives each, the trade unions 50 and "other political parties" 10 each. A total representation of 3 500 has been mooted.

Mr Benny Alexander, PAC general-secretary, yes-

Do you support moves towards a united "Patriotic Front" between the ANC, the PAC and other liberation organisations? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise at the Rand Show today and air your opinion to the nation. Phone him between 430 and 5pm. The hotline numbers are 494-2892 and 494-2893. Listen to the Sowetan Talkback programme on Radio Metro on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

terday confirmed that a front was in incubation, but said "a lot of hard work has to be done before then".

Asked about the possible role of Inkatha, Alexander said no political organisations or formations would be excluded "by name", but affiliation will be granted on acceptance of the principles of the PF.

Alexander said the PF was the best democratic process whereby a democracy, as an objective, could be reached.

The PAC was not against a peaceful "and democratic" political settlement, but did

● To Page 2

Unity talks

11A

From Page 1

not believe negotiations on the Government's conditions were democratic. Sowetan 11/4/91

"The decision taken at the PAC's national congress last December was that the PAC has no policy, principle or tactic which bars it from seeking a democratic solution to this country's problems.

"If the objective is to establish a democracy, the principal position is that the route to that democracy must itself be democratic.

"Therefore, it must go through an election for a constituent assembly. The solution must not be democratic in its objectives only, it must be democratic in its process," he said.

He added that "one of the things which the ANC and PAC would have to come to terms with was that there cannot be any constitutional negotiations until the oppressed have met and debated among themselves the question of the role of transition".

Fresh bid to ^{11A} confront Govt with single voice ^{Stew 12/4/91}

FOR the first time since the unbanning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress on February 2 last year, the full national executive committees of the two liberation movements will come together in an important meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe.

In what is likely to be an epoch-making meeting, the ANC and the PAC will discuss the possible formation of a united front which would enable them to speak with one voice and adopt a common strategy on issues such as negotiations, a constituent assembly and violence, among other matters.

The question, however, is whether the two-day meeting can be more than a mere getting-to-know-you exercise during which PAC and ANC leaders are expected to rise above their differences and engage in serious detente and lend further weight to their oft-repeated quest for a patriotic front.

The sensitive issue of negotiations with the Government is not on the agenda, but is likely to be raised. The ANC is so far the only liberation movement which has held talks with Pretoria, in spite of calls to the contrary from organisations such as the PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation, the lesser-known New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

‘
One settler one bullet . . . One negotiator one bullet.
’

Various PAC leaders, including general secretary Benny Alexander and projects co-ordinator Mark Shinnars, have publicly accused the ANC of having “sold out” by talking to the Government.

The ANC's suspension of the armed struggle as a result of the August 6 1990 Pretoria Minute earned the organisation further criticism from the PAC and Azapo.

This triggered accusations and counter-accusations about the role and effectiveness of the three organisations' respective guerilla forces.

The leadership of the ANC and PAC are to hold an important meeting in Harare next week. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** of The Star's Political Staff reports.

The PAC's slogan, “One settler one bullet”, was subsequently modified to include the ANC. “One negotiator one bullet” was soon heard at PAC rallies and seen written on the walls in townships across the country.

However, tensions between the two organisations appear to have died down considerably since the PAC's national congress at Shareworld, Johannesburg, in December. At its national consultative conference a week later the ANC also adopted a resolution in favour of the formation of a united front of organisations of the oppressed.

The ANC and PAC leadership will meet at a time when they are estranged from is their members on the ground; this is especially the case with the ANC. Violence has continued on a large scale in the country since the signing of the Pretoria Minute, and a number of ANC supporters have become disillusioned with the organisation's leadership.

The PAC has also had problems. Some members of its youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), have alleged that the new PAC leadership is in favour of negotiations and wants to lead the organisation along the negotiations path. The Azanyu members objected to the PAC's support for a united front with the ANC as well as to its call for a constituent assembly.

While Azapo, which had long called for the formation of a united front, would welcome the success of the Harare meeting, there is reason to believe Pretoria and Ulundi would find such a development most disturbing.

It suits the Government well if bickering between the liberation movements continues. The IFP, on the other hand, would be opposed to the formation of such a front because, to many people in the townships, the IFP is not a liberation movement and therefore does not qualify to be included in a united front of the oppressed. □

ANC, SACP urged to spell out differences

Star 12/4/91

11A

The ANC and the South African Communist Party should spell out what their points of difference and agreement were, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Speaking during the first-reading debate on the Budget, he asked whose policy was the decisive one.

The Government took its decisions because it believed they were right and in the interests of South Africa.

If the SACP wanted to become part of the democratic process, it would have to shed its shield of secrecy and forego its ideological basis.

The relationship between the ANC and the SACP had also created a problem for the ANC. Were its policies worked out in its own offices, or were they thought out by the SACP?

The Government had never negotiated with the SACP.

Dr Viljoen said that to

negotiate with the ANC did not mean the Government had to embrace the organisation.

The NP's aim was indeed to fight the ANC's political standpoints through argument in debate as part of the negotiations process.

It sought to bring the ANC to acceptable standpoints through persuasion.

Points of difference between the Government and the ANC included:

- The ANC's support for domination by one party. The Government had in three elections committed itself to power-sharing, which should be balanced by the effective protection of human rights through checks and balances.

- The Government also believed in a bill of rights through which not only individual rights, but also groups, could be protected, subject to a testing right by the courts.

- The Government believed excessive centralisation had to be replaced by devolution of

powers on regional level — there had to be a more acceptable distribution of executive authority as part of the checks and balances to protect minority rights.

SA had to succeed in binding the different population groups together in the essential process of nation-building, Dr Viljoen said.

The ANC's "so-called ultimatum" last week had created dissatisfaction among many people.

More such clashes would be experienced, but there was only one way out: peaceful negotiations.

It was remarkable that in the year in which organisations had been unbanned, "so much stability had developed in the negotiation process."

Kamal Panday (NPP Reservoir Hills) said his party was opposed to the introduction of VAT on municipal rates. This would be felt most by the victims of the "tyranny of the old rule".

He also hoped pensions parity would be reached soon. — Sapa.

Govt 'prepared to discuss ultimatum'

Stev 12/4/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

11A
before the ANC's planned national congress in June.

The Government is prepared to discuss the ANC's demands for action to combat violence and is continuing with plans for negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday at a briefing in Cape Town that the Government was going ahead "with all activities on the negotiation terrain".

He disclosed that, since last week's ultimatum, there had been continuing contact between the Cabinet and the ANC national executive on matters other than violence.

The ultimatum had strained the "special chemistry" between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

But Dr Viljoen added he was convinced the relationship was strong enough to survive the strain.

Dr Viljoen dodged all questions about whether the Government considered any of the ANC's seven demands as reasonable and whether it would meet any of them.

"We would be prepared to discuss several of the items

Dr Viljoen said it was still possible, but unlikely, that the multiparty congress (MPC) could take place be-

He accepted that the ANC was genuinely concerned about the violence, but so were other parties such as the PAC and Azapo, which had been the subject of ANC "wrath" in the past.

The Government rejected the ANC's diagnosis of the causes of the violence, especially its continuous shifting of the blame on to others.

Dr Viljoen said the Government had not expected the "drastic" ultimatum, which had come just when Mr de Klerk had been trying to arrange a meeting with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

He asked whether Mr Mandela was a free agent or was the subject of pressure from radicals in the ANC leadership corps.

A confidential ANC document, "Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics", had shown that the ANC acknowledged it was losing the tactical initiative to the Government.

The ultimatum seemed to be an effort to "regain hold of the driver's seat, to improve the ANC's image and sort out internal tensions".

But it was a serious matter for the ANC to risk the entire peace process to strengthen its own position.

Black NP leader shuns cameras

Staff Reporter

11A
24/91
The National Party has formed a new branch in Tembisa, but the chairman is too afraid to be named or photographed.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, "Sam" said in a telephone interview that political intolerance among black political organisations had caused disillusionment among black people and had sent them "running into the arms" of the NP.

He said that the new branch, founded in Kempton Park last Thursday, had 35 members and was growing.

Asked why he had joined the NP, the branch chairman said: "I sat down and thought of all the changes that have

taken place in our country since February 1990.

"It suddenly dawned upon me that the changes were not brought about by the ANC, PAC, Azapo or Inkatha.

"I realised that only one man was responsible for all the marvellous things that were happening — President de Klerk — not as a white man but as human being," Sam said.

"I can now stay anywhere I want and have a business anywhere I want. My children can go to any school they like."

The NP, Sam (49) said, had "freed black people, those who could not free themselves. It is necessary for black people to support the NP".

Resignation calls are meaningless - Azapo

DURBAN — The ANC's call for the resignation of the Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok was meaningless as the violence in the townships would continue even if this occurred, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley contended that even if the two resigned "tomorrow", violence would continue because "that is a vital part of the strategy of the De Klerk regime".

"Azapo has always demanded that the entire regime resign," he added.

He claimed the State was using the apparent conflict within the liberation movements to further its own aims.

Mr Moodley said Azapo wanted the ANC and the PAC to join it in a consultative conference "so that we can meet behind closed doors to thrash out a strategy which will force the De Klerk regime out of power". — Sapa.

12/4/71

SAPA

w/ mail 12/4-18/4/91
'Bolt from the blue' rattles establishment media psyche (11A)

By MARK GEVISSER (40)

THE African National Congress has a cheek calling for the resignation of Vlok and Malan. It is guilty of either buffoonery or political madness. It has shifted the goalposts and scuttled the peace process. It has bungled so badly that even Chris Barnard is leaving the country.

These are the views of the mainstream South African media. Almost every paper in the country spoke, this week, of the irreparable harm the ANC ultimatum has done to the image of the movement and to peace.

Perhaps the *Sunday Star* got to the root of media-rage when it wrote that "whatever the reason for the ANC's apparent change of heart, the move is ill-advised — a skittish white community, unnerved by escalating political violence and general crime, can only lose faith in black leaders and rally to the Right".

The mainstream media tends to reflect the anxieties and neuroses of precisely that "skittish white community".

One press commentator wrote, for example, that the ANC ultimatum "shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the national psyche". He said the ANC ultimatum "has shattered that trusting psychology, offering in its place only psychosis".

But perhaps the only trust that has been shattered is that which protects white South Africa from the psychotic violence that has always ruled 80 percent of this country. While the ANC has unquestionably lost much white support in the past week, evidence points to the fact that the ANC's recent hard-line stance is very popular with its own most loyal constituency: urban black people who have borne the brunt of the current violence.

The ANC was caught in a Catch-22 situation: if it kept on playing the trusting collaborator to a regime that is regarded — rightly or wrongly — in the townships as being the root of anarchy, it would lose even more support in the black community; if it took a stand against the regime it could risk plunging the townships even further into this anarchy, and it almost definitely would alienate potential white supporters.

Faced with this choice, it is not surprising which option it followed. Perhaps the actual stand it took — the ultimatum — was foolish or politically unsavvy. But it was certainly not a "bolt from the blue", as a journalist labelled it on *Agenda*.
But if the media bears responsibility for an unbalanced "skittish white" response to the ANC ultimatum, then the ANC bears equal responsibility for not putting the media in touch — effectively — with the township sentiment that spawned its decision.
For if the ANC has betrayed one major flaw in this ruckus, it is not that it is a warmongering agent of destabilisation. It is, more simply, that it has not yet learnt how to handle the media.
The movement might have been following the directive of "the people" in issuing the ultimatum, but the fact remains, in this country, that the link between "the people" and its leaders is an often-conservative mainstream media, always sceptical when it comes to the ANC.
But even if the ultimatum did shatter the very fragile support that the ANC has garnered in the mainly white establishment, it did not shatter a fragile South African psyche. Rather, like a particularly lucid and terrifying moment in a long, convoluted session of psychotherapy, it exposed a psyche that has already been shattered by violence and that is groping for a solution.

BUSINESS

ANC may hit the wall of tax reality

The African National Congress' "People's Budget" has stirred up a storm bigger than the ANC expected with an overreaction by business and other groups. However, the ANC is swimming against the tax reform tide, reports **REG RUMNEY**

LIKE nationalisation before them, the proposals for greater tax revenue in the African National Congress' "People's Budget" have enraged business.

The South African Chamber of Business, for instance, reacted angrily this week to the idea of new taxes — a capital gains tax, progressive property taxes, a minimum business tax, and a capital transfer tax.

The difference is that the ANC's ideas move the debate into a much more fruitful area than nationalisation.

Tax, after all, is by its nature redistributive. Argument should be about how tax revenue should be raised, how much, and where it should be spent.

Tito Mboweni of the ANC's Department of Economic Policy stresses the article does not represent official ANC policy, nor DEP policy, and was written to raise the possibility of using the fiscus to engage in certain social development projects.

Nevertheless, emanating as it does from the DEP it is bound to be — and has been — taken seriously.

The suggestions in a nutshell are:

- That the government's share of the economy as measured by the gross domestic product gradually be raised to 35 percent from its present 25 percent over a period of five years — given a growth in the economy of 3 percent a year.

- The deficit before borrowing be raised to 5 percent, instead of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) benchmark of 3 percent. This and the measure above, it is suggested, will raise R40-billion extra over five years.

Some economists will also take exception to the idea of raising the deficit on the grounds that this is inflationary.

- Savings be made by cutting back on spending on apartheid structures to gain an amount of 5 percent of budgeted revenue, or R3 750-million a year. Over five years, it is suggested that this will raise another R18 750-million.

To take the last point first, the amount to be saved is more likely to be a percentage of budgeted expenditure, since it is apartheid spending rather than revenue that is being saved. Also, whatever savings are achieved may well be a one-off rather than recurring.

It is not the R40-billion that should exercise our minds, nor the savings on scrapping apartheid spending but the implications of an increase in the tax take to 35 percent of the economy and the increase in the deficit before

ANC'S PROPOSED NEW SPENDING OVER FIVE YEARS

● Housing — capital subsidy of R12 000 for 1,2-million houses	R14,4-billion
● Upgrading of 250 townships, R20-million a township	R5-billion
● Employment training scheme — R500 a trainee on 2-million trainees a year	R5-billion
● Land reform — establish 150 000 small farmers	R6,5-billion
● Rural infrastructure — short-term work for 1-million people	R300-million
● Primary health clinics	R300-million
● Adult literacy — training for 1-million community-based trainers	R550-million
● Education — school building and teacher training	R7,5-billion
● School feeding scheme — R100 for 5-million primary school pupils a year	R2,5-billion
● Feeding scheme for pregnant mothers	R2,5-billion
● Equalising pensions	R11-billion
● Industrial restructuring and export (Research and Development)	R3,2-billion
Total	R58,75-billion

borrowing.

Economist Lieb Loots of the University of the Western Cape has contributed to the economic debate from the leftwing perspective and has made suggestions to the ANC on the issue of the Budget.

Loots considers it an important condition for the tax take to be increased that the 3 percent growth be achieved. If the economy is stagnant we should exercise caution in building that stake, he believes. If such growth isn't possible, the government's arguments that sanctions are harming the economy have no validity.

But even if the 3 percent a year average growth is achieved, how does the eventual 35 percent figure compare with other countries? The answer, according to figures supplied by the South African Fiscal Association, is that it compares well with developed countries, but poorly with countries which could be considered in the same boat as South Africa. For example, according to Sefa, in 1987 the average tax take of general government as a percentage of GDP in OECD countries was 38,8 percent.

Turkey's tax take as a percentage of GDP was 24 percent; the figure for Portugal is 31,4 percent, and for Spain 33 percent.

In perhaps oversimple terms there has to be a tradeoff between economic development and social spending. As a country becomes wealthier, so conventional economic thinking goes, it can afford to spend more on social benefits. Not only is South Africa not as developed as Canada, where tax revenue comprised 34,5 percent

money to fund current spending, spending only 1,8 percent of the deficit on gross fixed investment. The deficit could be spent on fixed investment which will generate returns.

Loots believes the reaction to tax is overdue. Other countries have capital gains taxes, there are already forms of capital transfer tax in South Africa — eg the gift tax — and the minimum business tax on companies would only penalise inefficient companies or those avoiding tax.

Wealthier — if not wealthy — South Africans should not be too upset by the "soak the rich" rhetoric of the ANC budget article. It is likely that the ANC, like any other government, will run up against the wall of tax realities as other countries in similar positions have done. Simply, the trick of tax is to make people pay up and feel pleasant about it.

This, on the basis of the Sefa's figures is what has been happening in the Eighties. Overall tax revenue has increased, but the general impression is that individuals in Ronald Reagan and Maggie Thatcher's Western world have been paying less tax. Overall tax in the OECD countries rose from 24,9 percent in 1960 — the same as our present level — to 38,8 percent in 1987. This was achieved by lowering tax rates, while tightening up the collection.

Sefa fiscal thinktank chairman Marius van Blerck points out that tax reform is a careful strategy, and the overall tax burden does not necessarily drop with lower tax rates. On the other hand, countries which used high tax rates to achieve their objectives have had to backtrack sharply. Five years ago Tanzania's top marginal rate was 95 percent; Sweden's was 86 percent. A few months ago Tanzania's top rate slithered down to 40 percent, and Sweden's dropped to a still high, but much lower, 50 percent.

of GDP in 1987, but a significant portion of its tax revenue comes from social security taxes, which are a form of saving for a rainy day; 4,6 percent of Canada's total tax revenue is social security tax, as opposed to South Africa's 0,4 percent. The disparity is greater elsewhere: 20,5 percent of total tax revenue in the Netherlands is social security tax, for a total of 48 percent of the GDP as general government tax revenue.

(The ANC's proposals refer to the "widening of the income tax base" to 35 percent. That is clearly an error and should be the widening of the total tax base.)

In a developing phase a country must collectively *vashyi* and turn its attention to growth. So while housing, for instance, is socially beneficial, it doesn't generate growth in the sense of bringing money into the country, though it might create jobs while the houses are being built. In raising money through a deficit of 5 percent and pumping it into the economy, such moves could also be regarded as inflationary.

Here Mboweni and Loots point out some of the money will be spent on growth-producing investments — eg the R3 200-million on industrial restructuring and export.

On the subject of increasing the deficit before borrowing, Loots also believes that some of the deficit could be funded by outside money, eg World Bank loans. This would not crowd out the capital markets, which anyway are not overburdened at the moment. Moreover, he points out that the government is using borrowed

IN A WEEK WHEN VIOLENCE ESCALATES, THE ANC ARE ACCUSED OF WRECKING THE PEACE PROCESS ...

Five reasons why the ANC

W/ mail 12/4-18/4/91 11A

THE ANC's open letter to President FW de Klerk has caused a storm of angry reaction. Almost everyone has blamed the ANC for endangering negotiations, making unreasonable demands and covering up its own internal problems.

This conventional wisdom, however, is based on a series of assumptions about the ANC — most of which are open to challenge.

ASSUMPTION NUMBER ONE: that the ANC is responsible for the current crisis in the negotiating process.

The reality, however, is that although the crisis was neither felt nor perceived by much of the media, it predates the ANC open letter. The letter was a response — and a belated one — to the real problem: the ongoing violence and the government's lack of response to it.

If talks are endangered, foreign investors scared and whites emigrating, it is because of the violence and insta-

bility, not because the ANC has reacted to it.

It would have been suicidal for the ANC not to take this step. ANC branches in affected areas are reporting dismay from members that the ANC cannot protect them and horror that anyone should place faith in De Klerk's willingness or ability to stop it.

At ANC head-office there has also been a fundamental change in attitude towards De Klerk. Whereas previously a great deal of confidence was placed in the president's goodwill and his relationship with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, there is now a strong sense that De Klerk has been duplicitous in his dealings with the ANC.

Having watched De Klerk mouth a commitment to peace and the creation of a new culture of law and order, the

The ANC letter to President De Klerk has provoked an angry storm of protest. Here **ANTON HARBER** takes a very different line

ANC has had to face up to the fact that he has done little about this. At best, he finds himself unable to; at worst, he is enjoying watching the violence from a distance, knowing that it takes a terrible toll on his opponents.

A few months ago, De Klerk was seen as a potential ally. Now he is seen as a crafty and ruthless rival who is prepared to give rein to those elements of the state that have always specialised in covert destabilisation of the govern-

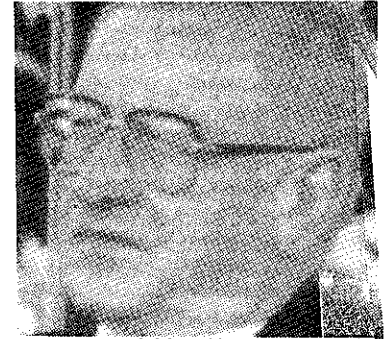
ment's opposition. No longer can the ANC flirt with De Klerk as a negotiating "partner" and potential ally.

The ANC open letter came like a bolt from the blue for most of the media, and certainly most political commentators. For most ordinary ANC members, branches and regions, however, the only surprise was that the ANC had not done it sooner.

ASSUMPTION NUMBER TWO: that responsibility for ending the violence lies with the ANC

As much as the minister of law and order has tried in recent weeks to pass on this responsibility, it is he who controls the forces of law and order and it is he who has just been given billions of extra taxpayers' money to end it.

Organisations such as the ANC, Inkatha and the Pan Africanist Congress can



Adriaan Vlok

certainly act to promote a new tolerance among their members — but this is long term and is not going to take effect quickly even with the best of intentions. More immediate measures lie in the hands of the authorities, such as arresting any armed person, charging

SA Communist Party to open W Cape office

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party officially opens its first Western Cape branch in Guguletu on Sunday.

Mr Tony Yengeni, SACP organiser in the Western Cape, said branches would be "small, disciplined and controllable" units.

He said building the SACP was not easy because the party was fighting a legacy of mistrust, particularly in white and coloured areas, created by years of anti-communist propaganda stirred by the National Party.

"There is some hardship involved in fighting this stigma. But the African working class has always equated communism with freedom. They see everything opposed to the regime as acceptable to them. That's why you find people such as SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani regarded as popular leaders."



Tony Yengeni

He claimed the party was popular in the black community and denied communism was an outdated ideology.

"I don't think it is. Its name has been blackened by distortions, mistakes and crimes committed in the name of communism. We see our mission as rehabilitating communism and giving it the human face it deserves."

He said the SACP was in a transitional phase in which it was cleansing itself of the baggage of the past.

He could not predict what the future held for the alliance between the SACP, ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions.

ON THE GROUND

But the alliance had to be strengthened by people on the ground. Structures had to be created to manage conflicts and decide which campaigns to tackle.

The debate on whether the SACP should exist as an independent organisation or be part of the ANC had to continue, he said.

"My personal view is that there is definitely an urgent need for the party to exist and be a strong mass-based organisation. Why? Because I continue to believe that capitalism does not represent the interests of our working class people."

By SHADLEY NASH: Port Elizabeth

A ROW has erupted between the African National Congress and a regional civic organisation over the ANC's involvement in last week's historic talks on a single non-racial municipality.

The East Cape Civic Organisation (Ecco) issued a statement in which it delivered a veiled attack on the ANC for seemingly not adhering to the resolutions adopted at the ANC's national consultative conference last year.

Sources within Ecco also criticised the agreement entered into between the ANC and the Democratic Party a day before last week's exploratory multi-party talks.

The agreement centred on a Goodwill and Protocol document which was acclaimed by all parties after the meeting.

In its statement, Ecco charged that the ANC had digressed from the resolutions adopted at its consultative conference last year in which certain pre-conditions for negotiations were spelt out.

Among these conditions was the scrapping of all discriminatory laws, but more importantly the "dissolution of all existing local authorities includ-

ANC reneged on local authorities, says civic

W/Mant 12/4-18/4/97

ing the white municipalities".

The statement said in order to avoid confusion in the region on local government negotiations, "Ecco has decided to remind all civics and ANC structures about the resolutions".

And speaking on civics in the future non-racial city at an Idasa seminar in the city this week, Ecco secretary general Dan Sandi also pointed out the pre-conditions to one city talks.

The Northern Areas Co-ordinating Committee (NACC), which had previously also adopted the resolutions, opted to boycott last week's meeting.

NACC representative Errol Haines said it was the position of the organisation that existing race-based local authorities should resign.

He said the NACC would approach the ANC's regional office to call a meeting between the ANC, NACC, Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation

(Pecco) and Ecco.

ANC regional publicity secretary Mike Xhego said the talks had been only exploratory and did not constitute negotiations.

"The ANC's position has always been to demand a single non-racial municipality and the resignation of the present local authorities.

"We have publicly called for the resignation of the management committees and the Ibhayi city council as well as the present white city council."

"The principal objective of local government talks is to map out the transference of political power from racist minority councillors to a non-racial body which shall be based on a free and fair election."

The ANC is set to meet Ecco, Pecco and possibly the NACC to discuss the matter.

The call for the resignation of race-

based local authorities may also have received a surprise boost following the arrest this week of the mayor of the Ibhayi city council, Mhlobo Jemšana, his town clerk Flip Alberts and four other men on charges of bribery and corruption.

This will give weight to the long standing charge that these people should resign their positions.

Meanwhile, the "tactical alliance" forged between the ANC and the DP was also criticised by various observers who charged the DP with wanting to bolster its own position through the alliance.

"The ANC got to its position through popular support and it seems the DP wants to use the alliance to popularise itself," one source said.

Although both the ANC and the DP maintain the alliance was only for the day of the meeting to get the process "on track", the DP's Rory Riordan said he would like to see the alliance continue over a longer term.

He conceded there were differences between the two organisations but he said the common ground on principles between the two organisations warranted the alliance. — Pen

11A

Letter scuttled talks with Inkatha, claims Buthelezi

By CARMEL RICKARD: Durban

A MEETING of the Inkatha central committee this weekend will determine Inkatha's conditions for continued peace talks with the African National Congress.

In the wake of the ANC's ultimatum to the government, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he believed critical references to Inkatha in the open letter effectively scuttled talks between his organisation and the ANC. His declaration prompted several top ANC officials to say Ulundi was reading more into the letter than was intended.

Inkatha's view is that the ANC's decision to call off the next round of discussions originally scheduled for yesterday backs its interpretation that the

open letter was intended to break the talks. ANC officials said the talks were "postponed" as the date was inconvenient, but that another date would be suggested. Inkatha officials felt calling off the talks at the same time as the letter was issued was more than a coincidence and was a further indication the ANC wanted to break relations.

On Wednesday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela phoned Buthelezi to reiterate the ANC position — that the "open letter" was directed at government inaction and not at Inkatha.

After the conversation the ANC issued a statement that the two leaders had agreed to use their "personal authority" to maintain relations between the two organisations. However, Bu-

thelezi subsequently challenged this as an incomplete record of what had been agreed.

In a separate statement issued shortly after the ANC comment, Buthelezi said during their conversation he had maintained that only the executives of the two parties could take the necessary steps towards "rectifying the very difficult position into which the 'open letter' thrust IFP/ANC relations".

Inkatha's central committee will consider the letter and decide on the party's response during its meeting on Sunday. In all likelihood it will demand a meeting between its members and the ANC's national executive committee as the minimum condition for continuing talks.

Buthelezi said it was his view that the two executives should meet and have an "examination of what the ANC's real intentions are".

This could pave the way for a large-scale meeting between the two executives along the line of the talks held in Durban on January 29.

Such a condition could put the ANC's executive in a difficult position — there is strong speculation the ANC letter was partly motivated by the NEC perception that members blamed Inkatha for much of the violence in Natal and the Transvaal.

If this is correct it could well be difficult for the ANC to agree at this stage to another full-scale, widely publicised meeting with Inkatha.

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11A

THE ANC ULTIMATUM NEED FOR LOOPHOLES

The ANC's startling ultimatum to government last week has made it impossible for either side to move towards conciliation without losing face. If President F W de Klerk ever considered getting rid of two senior ministers, Adriaan Vlok (Law & Order) and Magnus Malan (Defence), this option is now closed for the time being.

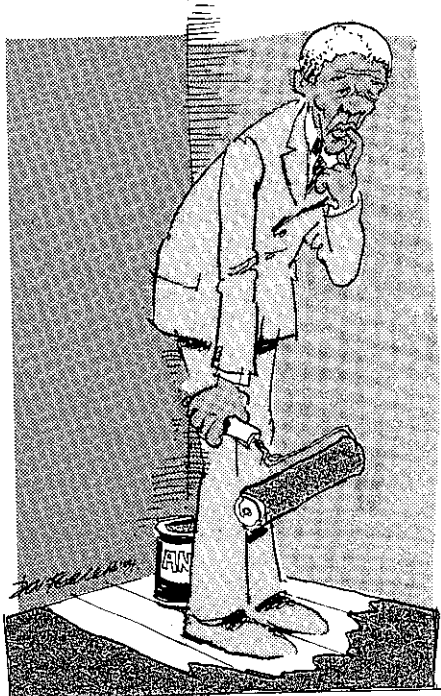
The ultimatum's demand for their dismissal ensures their survival.

One source of the ANC's frustration is not hard to find: a death toll in Reef townships of about 3 300 for the past eight months and more than 4 000 after five years of conflict in Natal.

It believes government's attitude to the violence is "equivocal" and reflects "either an attitude of cynical irresponsibility, or evidence of connivance at acts of organised terror, in the hope that they will succeed in destroying or seriously crippling the ANC."

Elements of the State security apparatus are involved in a sinister "third force," according to the ANC, and it believes Inkatha is trying to use the violence to gain a prominent place at the negotiating table.

But none of these perceptions and accusations is particularly new. What does seem to have provoked the ultimatum, and could go a long way to explaining the timing and its



extreme tone, are problems within the ANC.

A bitter power struggle in the organisation has almost paralysed it. Jockeying for position — with an eye on the National Executive Committee elections in June — has left much essential work undone.

The long-awaited elections could even be postponed because of acute disorganisation.

Deputy president Nelson Mandela, while a man of great ability, is sometimes imperious and few dare contradict him on any issue.

Statements and press conferences dealing with the violence have become a cacophony of contradictory voices; ANC spokesmen often seem to be badly informed about what is happening.

It has apparently become more important to be reported in the media as saying something about the violence than to work at stopping it on the ground.

No joint monitoring campaign between the ANC and Inkatha has got off the ground in the Transvaal, as it should have after the ANC-Inkatha Peace Accord of January 29. In the Transvaal, each side is deeply mistrustful of the other, and the neither has put black lives above political divisions.

The ANC has answered the charge that its stance "reflects internal problems within our ranks" with the argument that this "underscores precisely why we say the government has no regard for black life." However, the cry of racism, implicit here, is a transparent ploy to distract from ANC failures.

ANC recruitment is far short of expectations, with only about 300 000 signed-up members.

The movement's National Consultative Conference is due to take place on either June 16 or Freedom Charter Day, June 26. The leadership is desperate to show some results and to appear aggressive in its dealings with government.

It appears to be falling back into the old, easy ploy of blaming the apartheid monster. But the violence racking the townships is partly a legacy of its own earlier strategies. The townships are ungovernable — just as the ANC sought to make them from 1984 onwards — and now no authority is recognised, justice is an alien concept and violence comes from many quarters.

There is great frustration in the ANC that many of its earlier demands have been ignored by government.

These include: a ban on what are termed traditional weapons; that live ammunition should be banned for crowd control; "death squads" be disbanded; and police or army officers implicated in the Sebokeng massacre of March 22 1990 (as noted in the judicial commission of inquiry) should be suspended pending legal proceedings against them.

What happens next?

Mandela has followed up the ultimatum with some hardline comments, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is the ANC, not government, which will have to find a way out of the deadlock. Even to sympathisers, the demands seem unreasonable and politically naive.

However, the ANC has not demanded that violence be ended in a month, as has been reported, but has asked De Klerk to respond to its demands by May 9 — or negotiations go out the window.

This is the kind of loophole which could well be exploited by the ANC when the deadline passes. ■

THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE

BURNING THE VELDHA
FM 12/4/91

In the words of the old rock song: "It's my party and I'll cry if I want to!" Having failed to mould itself into a credible bargaining force, the ANC is retreating into the bedroom like a teenager to weep into a hanky. This means that where it has made suggestions which might have been taken seriously in another context — that Defence Minister Magnus Malan be dismissed, for example — the way the matter has been put, as a demand, the opposite will be achieved.

At this stage — given ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's vigorous defence of his stop-the-violence ultimatum on British and US TV — it looks as if the ANC will have no option but to break off negotiations with government after May 9. While it is unlikely to be able to return to insurrectionary violence as a protest against Pretoria's inability to halt violence (where will the funds come from?) the move will postpone the birth of the nonracist, nonsexist SA the ANC says it wants.

While key elements of reform will continue — the abolition of the ultimate apartheid laws, for example — a new constitution cannot be written without the ANC's participation, despite Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's argument that this should be considered. It may take as long as SA's readmission to the Olympic Games.

Simultaneously with Mandela's announcement three developments occurred which will in fact increase violence and decrease government's (or anyone's) ability to cope with it. They were:

□ The statement by the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) that "residents" should arm themselves — including with guns — against vigilantes and other "killers" inspired by the "third force created by government." Cast is the ANC-aligned body responsible for forcing black councillors out of office and so rendering the townships even less governable than they were before;

□ The announcement by Cast that it would probably not participate in the formation of a Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber designed to promote the upgrading of townships on a nonracial and financially sound basis. This was because of the mooted presence in the chamber of certain of the black councillors Cast has not succeeded in driving from office;

□ An attack on a squatter camp near Katlehong called Mandela Village, apparently by people from another camp called Holomisa Park, for which no political, ethnic or rational motive was immediately apparent. Without such a motive — and indeed in the absence of any sign of a third, fourth or fifth force — the violence must be assumed to have its roots in minutely local resentments and conflict over influence and turf.

These events, then, presage a further degeneration of hostilities — precisely what negotiations and liaison at national level are designed to avert. Prospective foreign investors will take note of this "climate," as they have of the ANC's proposed "budget" to increase massively taxation

and general penalties on wealth and productivity in order to pay for huge social hand-outs.

It would seem that the ANC was much happier as a clandestine and suppressed organisation, very well exemplified by the oddball fugitive Ronnie Kasrils who pops up from time to time, whisky glass in hand, to prate about the class struggle. This must be a great disappointment to President F W de Klerk as it must be to millions of blacks who want to live secure and civilised lives in a country with a growing economy.

The inconsistencies in the ANC's current position are everywhere. Now that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has suggested a reappraisal of sanctions, it suggests he has no constituency! How can it possibly know?

What is Pretoria to do? Firstly, go ahead on schedule with the repeal of the Population Registration, Group Areas and Land Acts. These steps are being taken because they are morally correct and to backtrack would be a terribly exciting event for the world anti-apartheid industry — giving it, perhaps, a new lease of life with its sports and cultural blacklists.

Morality should win the day fairly easily.

Next, as a consequence of the repeal of apartheid, there are structural reforms which should flow from a renewed sense of justice in government. These include greater access by blacks to the legal system — perhaps the appointment of black judges — and to social opportunities in general. There are obvious steps to be taken in education; and it might be appropriate to look at historic land claims, and means of settling them, before this issue also becomes an obstacle to a just political dispensation.

Additionally, the police must be made accountable for their actions as part of the difficult process of making them a professional and value-orientated vehicle of law enforcement. Mandela is quite right to feel that they are not doing enough at the moment — but their difficulties often arise because they neither trust nor are trusted by the communities they are meant to serve.

It also seems to us that far more troops and police should be deployed in places like Katlehong — essential, in fact, if the violence is to end. Is this what the ANC actually means? It should say so.

Finally — though this has now been agonisingly prolonged by the ANC — a new constitution must be arrived at through the participation of all relevant parties. There are some deadlines to be met — the expiry of the statutory term of the current parliament is one — and the ANC should be aware that many people, here and abroad, will grow impatient if it refuses to participate in all-party talks aimed at justice for all.

Of course, violence is in some ways the most important issue of all — but who in the months ahead, if constitutional talks fail, will be seen to foster it most? Government or the ANC? We are all waiting to see. ■

THE CULTURAL BOYCOTT

FLIRTING WITH DARKNESS

F M 12/4/91

THE BUREAUCRATIC MIND-SET LINGERS ON AND SETS CONDITIONS

The cultural boycott, like the many-headed Hydra of Greek mythology, has an endless capacity to renew itself every time it is apparently killed off. Those outraged by the sports boycott used to call this moving the goal posts.

According to a recent ANC Department of Arts & Culture discussion document, the boycott has the following objectives: "To bring pressure upon apartheid structures through isolation and engagement towards transformation," and in so doing "to build, foster and promote democratic South African culture."

A quick reading of that would suggest that the need for a boycott is almost gone. After all, how many "apartheid structures" could be left after the Population Registration Act is repealed? A few platteland town halls?

But it's more complicated than that. Having achieved such remarkable control of cultural relations (or the lack of them) between SA and just about anywhere else for two decades, the ANC and its allies seem reluctant to give up that control — even if apartheid is abolished.

Perhaps they were expecting a longer struggle. Absurdly, it is almost as if they are miffed that their powerful tactic has actually achieved its purpose (like a general who gets angry when his enemy surrenders before he can use his fancy new artillery). Inevitably, the ANC must be wondering if a weapon that has been so successful should not be kept in action. ("Hmmm. Now let's see what else this gun can do, General...")

This interpretation seems to be backed up by recent policy statements by ANC spokesmen. Though the UN entertainment blacklist is expected to go next month, after discussions between the ANC and the UN committee responsible for it, it could be replaced with a list of "apartheid institutions."

This is apparently a reference to the provincial performing arts councils — Pact, Capab, Napac and Pacofs. Even though the councils have been moving for some time towards integration, activists believe there are still major problems related to unequal pay and working conditions.

Presumably such problems can be sorted out with the various trade unions; and the arts councils have been eager to show that they will be doing their bit to redress the damage done by apartheid. And then what target will the cultural boycott be trained on?

The present head of culture at the ANC, poet and novelist Wally Serote, says the boycott will be more "managed" in future, with an "affirmative action aspect" to redress inequalities in "cultural access" in SA.

If you feel tired reading that, imagine what people whose business is entertainment must feel like. One major international promoter has said that major rock concert promoters will "not touch" SA until politicians loosen their hold on the arts. "The way the cultural boycott is managed makes it too time-consuming and irritating to deal with the various political bodies," says the promoter. "A major rock concert can cost millions of rands and we have to ensure we will not waste money."

The partial relaxation of the boycott has already made matters even more complicated. At least the application of the sports boycott was utterly consistent and everyone knew where they were.

Serote says artists who come to SA will be required to give workshops in their art form to culturally deprived communities, or make donations — musician Paul Simon has donated a music centre in KwaZulu.

The ANC denies that this kind of policy would give them the status of cultural commissars, and they say boycott decisions are left to "democratic" organisations in the various disciplines to make such decisions.

This is doublespeak: the democratic organisations referred to are all directly linked to the ANC or ideologically close to its position. The ANC discussion document suggests an interim cultural exchange body consisting of "ANC, PAC, Cosatu, Nactu, Azapo, Fosaco plus discipline-based bodies" to form what is mysteriously described as a



Poet Serote ... lessons
on the home front

"non-sectarian" approach. To be fair, Serote says they have also approached Inkatha to take part in discussions on arts and culture.

The discussion document asks for "very careful consideration" of issues. "For example, writers' organisations should be thinking of how we interact with, and what demands we should be making upon, large commercial publishers who are already inside, or preparing for entry, into SA. What do we do about those smaller or more progressive publishing houses that have abided by the boycott to ensure they are not sidelined?"

Perhaps someone should tell the ANC quietly that no amount of careful consideration will force a commercial publisher (even a leftwing one) to publish what he thinks will not sell. As for publishing houses that may have observed the boycott, it is difficult to think of how to reward them beyond sending them a nice letter of thanks.

Serote admits that the ANC doesn't have all the answers: "We have to realise we are part of the world, and learn from the experiences of others." But this is fake humility, to say that you do not have the solutions while at the same time having the arrogance to insist on retaining complete control.

This was very much the approach of the Nationalists for 40 years — they also knew what was best for us, and through censorship had a crushing effect on the arts.

There is, of course, another motivation for retaining control over cultural exchange: protectionism. Some local musicians and theatre people want a "managed" cultural boycott because they want to prevent a deluge of foreign musicians, artists and plays which will swamp the arts community that has sprung up under the umbrella of the cultural boycott.

It is a seductive argument. But in the arts, more than in anything else, you cannot legislate quality. Take Mango Groove, our sensational pop group. They are good enough to hold their own against the best in the world, and they will. Radical mumbling poets will not.

True, the boycott did force our theatre, in particular, back on its own resources, and much good work and local talent emerged. But there are limits, and real growth can only come from constant exposure to which-ever foreign artists want to come here.

As for affirmative action, that is not the job of visiting opera singers, painters, actors and writers. No doubt some of them would be sympathetic to conducting a workshop or two, or donating dollars to set up singing schools or whatever. But to make such things a condition for coming here will consign us forever to the cultural darkness that has already partly enveloped us. ■

ANC POWER STRUGGLE

THE EARLY BETTING

Fm 12/4/91

11A

The June ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) elections will be the most important in the organisation's history.

The men and women elected will lead the ANC into negotiations and a new form of government. The process will be keenly watched by the international community and the outcome will influence future investment in SA.

Proposals for a new and bigger organisational structure appear to be aimed mainly at protecting the positions of the old guard. (The NEC has 35 members at present and will probably be enlarged to 120.)

Present NEC members were elected to their posts in 1985; most are now regarded as ineffectual in coping with the ANC's changed role. But a larger NEC will enable most, if not all, to survive, while admitting new blood. New portfolios — such as Winnie Mandela's Social Welfare — will also find a place on the NEC.

But an expanded NEC will become even more unwieldy, which will inevitably lead to a smaller "super-executive" committee being drawn from its ranks.

The only certain bet is that Nelson Mandela will be elected president. Oliver Tambo will not resume his post as president because of the stroke he suffered in late 1989; he could be made an honorary life president.

The post of deputy president, specially created for Mandela, will remain — and here the most interesting battle will take place.

Thabo Mbeki is the obvious candidate. But though he has been the ANC crown prince and is a brilliant strategist, Mbeki is probably the least likely to succeed. While popular in business and diplomatic circles, he is rarely seen at grassroots level. His authorship of the documents proposing the suspension of armed action and the controlled removal of sanctions — while adopted by the leadership — have not been popular with the members. Mbeki will probably retain his international affairs portfolio, in which he excels.

His two main rivals for the post of deputy president are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani and ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma. They both work tirelessly at grassroots level.

Hani, more than any other ANC leader, believes in old-fashioned campaign blazng. Not a week goes by without his appearance at several rallies around the country. Frequently, he personally investigates violent incidents and consoles victims' families. Hani is one of the more astute and street-savvy members of a generally doddering leadership.

If Hani does not become deputy president,

there is little doubt he will replace the unpopular Joe Modise as MK commander.

The third contender for deputy president, Jacob Zuma, is intelligence chief and head of the southern Natal region. Zuma heads joint peace moves in Natal with Inkatha's Frank



The ANC's Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani

Mdlalose and is highly respected by Inkatha. He leads the ANC in negotiations with government.

Zuma's strong, positive working relationships with both government — including its prickly security establishment — and Inkatha makes him invaluable as a peacemaker and moderator.

What counts against both Zuma and Hani is the ruthless crushing of the 1984 MK mutiny in the ANC's infamous Quatro detention camp in Angola. However, most votes in June will come from internal members of the ANC who know little — and possibly care less — about Quatro.

If Zuma is not elected deputy president he will probably take his place at the head of the Political Committee.

The present NEC core consists of 17 men and women. Only three are certain to retain their places in June — Mandela, Walter Sisulu and information chief Pallo Jordan. While Sisulu's family want him to ease up, it is unlikely the ANC will let him retire yet. Sisulu has a calming and unifying influence and is one of the few whose counsel Mandela heeds.

Only six of the 18 members of the present National Working Committee (the balance of the NEC) seem certain to be re-elected: Jacob Zuma, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki,

Aziz Pahad (Mbeki's right-hand man), Jackie Molefe (a woman and number three in MK) and Communist Party boss Joe Slovo.

Those whose positions on the NEC are shakier, but not hopeless, include Mac Maharaj — one of only a handful of ANC people to have complete indemnity, following the State's dropping of the Operation Vula case. Maharaj is one of the ANC's finest strategists — but ill-health may affect his future role.

Peter Mokaba, the ANC Youth League's dynamic young president, will definitely find a place on the NEC. He may replace youth section head Jackie Selebi, who has not impressed with his handling of the repatriation of exiles.

Reg September, one of the old guard, may find his position as political education secretary usurped by a younger activist — such as Raymond Suttner, internal political education head.

Steve Tshwete now holds the portfolio of mass mobilisation, but former UDF leader Popo Molefe could take over this post. Tshwete has been far more successful in the sports world, where he is highly regarded, and a suitable post may be created for him.

Other long-serving NEC members, such as Ruth Mompati, Gertrude Shope, Mazwai Piliiso, James Stuart and Anthony Mongalo, will be lucky to keep their positions.

Veteran unionists have much to offer the ANC, particularly in negotiations and recruitment. However, Cosatu is now generally against its office-bearers also holding portfolios in political organisations. Unionists Jay Naidoo and Cyril Ramaphosa, whose expertise the ANC sorely needs, may face tough decisions.

In the proposed new structure, the president's office will become a section on its own and will include the treasurer-general, the secretary-general and deputy president. This could help present treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and secretary-general Alfred Nzo retain their positions — despite their unpopularity among exiles.

The 14 regional chairmen, also to be part of the new structure, should add freshness and accountability to the NEC. They include some bright exiles, including Matthew Phosa (eastern Transvaal) and UDF stalwarts like the Rev Arnold Stofile (Border) and Christmas Tinto (western Cape).

A face many would like to see on the NEC is Patrick (Terror) Lekota, former UDF publicity secretary. Two powerful women candidates could include Linda Zama, from southern Natal; and Brigette Mabandla, the only woman on the ANC's Constitutional Committee.

Charlene Smith

WAITING GAME ^{11A}

Is government playing along with what could be radical posturing by the ANC before its crucial national conference in June?

President F W de Klerk's uncharacteristic decision to let Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok join public battle with the organisation suggests that it is.

Significantly, De Klerk used Vlok —

— whose sacking along with that of Defence Minister Magnus Malan has been demanded by the ANC — to respond in person to the ANC's seven-point ultimatum. Malan, on the other hand, has kept an unusually low profile, more than likely on De Klerk's instructions.

Vlok's attack on the organisation at a press conference in Cape Town this week was the most vitriolic by a Cabinet Minister (apart from Malan's regular outbursts against ANC military chief Chris Hani) since the De Klerk reforms were initiated. Up to now government has kept its cool, preferring to settle differences through private talks.

Softer tone

Vlok's formal statement at the conference smacked of old-style Nat rhetoric. In essence he said the ANC was primarily responsible for starting the violence now sweeping the land while the State was doing all it could to end it.

It was significant that the tone and content of Vlok's replies to questions after his statement were far softer than his statement. He repeatedly stressed government's commitment to negotiations and to ending violence, and even declined to defend his place in Cabinet, saying it was De Klerk's prerogative to decide his fate as a minister.

Vlok gave the impression that government understands the problems ANC moderates face due to internal struggles, and is prepared to be reasonably patient and tolerant



Malan



Vlok

while they are resolved. There is apparently an overriding belief in Cabinet that the ANC accepts the inevitability of a negotiated settlement but needs more time to position itself for full-blown talks.

But, just as the ANC needed to posture for the benefit of its constituency, so government had to respond publicly with a hardline statement.

□ De Klerk has gone ahead with his plan to draw parliamentary party leaders into the broader negotiating strategy. With the exception of the CP's Andries Treurnicht, they all attended a meeting with De Klerk at Tuynhuys on Monday; it was agreed to use parliament's constitutional committee as a forum for further discussion.

It is clear that De Klerk considers preparation for negotiations as a key to success and is apparently hoping to draw-in as many like-minded parties as possible before sitting down with the ANC.

RACE AND ETHNICITY: Two views on the Indian congresses' decision not to disband

Separation or integration?

with mail 12/4-18/4/91 (11A)

THE African National Congress is the Indian congresses' movement. In the late 1940s Doctors Dadoo and Naicker led us into an alliance with the ANC and, after its unbanning, many of our members joined the organisation both within the country and in exile. The Indian congresses have campaigned vigorously for the ANC's unbanning. We continue to associate ourselves unconditionally with the ANC as the party of the people and liberation.

Why, then, do we continue to exist as separate organisations?

The decision was made at a meeting of the executives of the ANC and the Indian congresses on March 17 1990 at the University of Durban-Westville.

We agree firstly that our main political task is to help rebuild the organisational structures of the ANC within the country. The ANC is a non-racial, ethnically neutral organisation capable of representing all South Africans.

Secondly, we agree that there is no role for political organisations repre-

FIROZ CACHALIA of the Transvaal Indian Congress maintains that, for the moment, the congresses still have a vital role to play in the communities

senting specific ethnic communities in a future non-racial South Africa.

There is agreement that the congresses should disband. We differ from our critics only on timing and the manner in which this should occur. The congresses do not believe we should close shop immediately.

We believe the disbanding of the congresses should occur only after a period of intensive consultation with the community. We need to listen to our people's concerns about their future in a democracy based on the principles of majority rule, religious freedom, language rights, access to economic opportunities and social services, local control and the endemic violence that currently characterises



Firoz Cachalia ... for continued existence

South African politics.

The congresses are the historical organisations of the Indian people, a community that has shared history and culture. The congresses have led the Indian people for a hundred years. At different times, the organisation has united conservative merchants and

radicals, local workers, hawkers and plantation workers, Tamil and TALEGU speakers, Memon and Surti Muslims, Christians, Hindus and Musalmans, men and women, militants and passive resisters. We have our own heroes and heroines.

The congresses cannot simply be dissolved by the edicts of their temporary custodians. We need to assert our history, which is the history of the people, and to remind ourselves that any blow against oppression, whatever its weight, scale, time or ethnic origin, is a part of our national heritage.

The Indian community reached a pitch of unity and mobilisation in 1983. Since then, participation in the political process, on both sides of the political divide, has declined. This trend has continued unabated and is reflected in the low level of participation in the structures of the ANC and the campaigns it has initiated. The uncertainties of the transitional phase in South African politics reinforced this trend.

At the same time, pro-government

Indian political parties continue to exist, and President FW de Klerk and his allies are actively soliciting the support of the minorities. We are concerned that under these conditions anti-ANC forces will find an active breeding ground for reactionary ethnic sentiments.

These are conditions in which we should proceed with some caution and maximum unity. They are not conditions in which we should be thinking primarily about liquidating existing structures. The congress can play a useful role in reaching those who have not spontaneously gravitated to the ANC, assisting in the establishment of ANC branches, and in concentrating congress forces in the Indian community. The branches which have been established are not by themselves suitable for this task because they organise in particular localities. Our political task is to expand the participation of the community in the political process, in order to ensure their participation in a future non-racial democracy.

The ANC has necessarily been preoccupied with certain vital questions — the negotiation process, the return of exiles, the release of detainees, violence and so on. It has not yet evolved a specific strategy to mobilise the Indian community, and we have an important role to play in sensitising the ANC to the community's concerns.

The ANC has to be built as an inclusive organisation capable of uniting many constituencies. We agree that, in the future, participation will have to take place on the basis of individual membership. But a mechanical application of the democratic principle in the internal organisation of the ANC will not necessarily allow for the participation of small communities. This may require special measures.

Finally, it is not clear how the multi-party conference is to be structured. It appears De Klerk has promised the parties participating in the House of Delegates that they will be included. His strategy is to encourage a proliferation of political parties as possible opponents of the ANC.

For these reasons we advocate the continued existence of the congresses for an interim period.

ASHWIN DESAI, ADAM HABIB AND VISHNU PADAYACHEE ARGUE FOR INTEGRATION (11A)

IS it true that issues of race and ethnicity are irrelevant to South African politics at this point in our history? We believe they are not.

There are some who too glibly ignore these issues in the belief that they are irrational, an unnecessary deviation, and that the only struggle revolves around class and politics. On this issue, the blanket suppression of ethnic differences is, in our view, not the only option open to people on the left. with mail 12/4-18/4/91

We believe all political organisations, including those which openly espouse a policy of non-racialism, ignore race and ethnic issues at their peril. Decades of institutional racism in South Africa will not disappear miraculously overnight. We will have to consciously struggle for some time before the goal of non-racialism is realised.

Does it follow that the important issues of race and ethnicity are addressed by racially or ethnically separate political organisations? We do not believe that it does. We believe that (within the fold of congress politics) the task of mobilising all South Africans for a non-racial democratic future should be the task of the African National Congress — and especially of those ANC branches in Natal where the issue is most sensitive. This will, however, mean that issues of race

and ethnicity must be raised openly within the ANC (and other political organisations in the liberation movement) and strategies for the mobilisation and politicisation of Indians must be devised. This issue must not be ducked.

The continued existence of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) also raises problems for organisation at local level. How will Indians in an area such as Overport (Western Areas), for example, respond to being wooed by both the NIC and ANC to join the congress movement? Will this not seriously confuse potential members? Will activists be expected to wear two hats? How exactly would the interests of coloureds and Africans living in a non-racial suburb like Overport be articulated within the context of an avowedly ethnic organisation? Do the NIC and ANC plan to solicit the opinion of their Western Areas branch membership on the issue of the NIC's continued existence?

In relation to the NIC, it would be important to discover whether those in favour of its continued separate existence believe that its organisational principles need to be restructured or its policies and strategies reoriented in any way in the light of the ANC's parallel existence. Will the NIC have its own policy (or interpretations of policy) in ar-

reas such as economy or culture, which will be different from that of the ANC? How does the NIC plan to move Indians from their supposedly ethnic consciousness to a non-racial consciousness? Will it bring its new recruits into the ANC on a regular basis or retain them in separate structures? Does it have a view about participation in the negotiation process alongside the ANC, but as a separate organisation looking after Indian minority interests? Does the NIC plan to hold a conference/congress soon to explain its stand on these issues?

In our view these decisions about the existence of the NIC (and other racially/ethnically defined organisations) cannot be settled in boardrooms by the NIC and ANC.

Not only does this type of decision-making violate democratic decision-making, it can also set dangerous precedents. What happens if openly reactionary organisations like the Labour Party or Solidarity reach similar agreements in private with the liberation movement? Are we to just accept this?

● Ashwin Desai is a lecturer in sociology, Adam Habib lectures in politics and Dr Padayachee is senior research fellow at the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville.

ANC 'cowboys' won't beat Inkatha to the draw

w/ mail 12/4-18/4/91.



MUSA Myeni, Inkatha Freedom Party executive member and head of international relations, has a warning for the African National Congress following last week's ultimatum to the government: The cowboy approach will be met by cowboys.

What this means, he explains, is that if the ANC wants to start the armed struggle up again and make targets of white people and Inkatha "we will not sit by. So we are headed for a bloody situation.

"Make no mistake. Don't think the 25 000 AK-47s that were delivered in the Transkei in January and all the other weapons that the ANC has will make the world go round.

"You need people to operate them. The people that you have are not made of steel. They are made of blood and flesh. They will kill some of us, but some of them will be killed."

As he speaks, a white piano tinkles away in the corner of the Johannesburg Sun coffee shop. It's cocktail hour. The migrant workers' hostels of Alexandra and the civil war that Myeni, sunglasses dipping out of his top suit pocket, and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are warning about seem as distant as the Kurdish frontier.

A rising star in the organisation, Myeni — who has a Masters degree in international relations from the University of Geneva — has been holding court in the coffee shop all day.

He explains how his party has been on an organisational drive, particularly in the Transvaal, where it has come face to face with the ANC, resulting in the internecine conflict that threatens to sabotage peace in South Africa.

"Inkatha is growing at a phenomenal rate, not because we are trying to destroy the ANC, but because we are giving the country what it wants." He defines this, broadly, as multiparty democracy and a free market economy.

Such sweet sentiments do not accord with the ANC's depiction of the IFP in its open letter to President FW de Klerk.

Clearly pointing a finger of blame at the IFP, the ANC isolated a pattern in which "in almost every instance of violence ... a group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific political party have established control over a migrant work-

If the ANC carries out its ultimatum then the country is heading for a bloody situation, warns Musa Myeni.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK spoke to the Inkatha Freedom Party executive member



Musa Myeni ... civil war warning

er's hostel through acts of intimidation."

The ANC letter claimed that they use red headbands for common identification and "supported by others of like purpose, bussed in from other areas, they then stage a provocative armed demonstration through the township, escorted by police."

Myeni counters that the problem is that the ANC does not like the IFP to hold rallies on its turf. "Why is it that whenever Inkatha wants to have a rally, then the ANC jumps and wants to have its own rally? Have you heard of one case where the ANC has been attacked while having their own rally?"

"When our guys hit back, then the whole world says look at them. There is a big cry about cultural weapons. But these are ordinary workers who are being attacked just

because they are Zulus by Xhosas hiding behind the ANC flag."

In Alexandra, he claims, the ANC took a decision on the Wednesday before the Inkatha launch to disrupt it because the ANC leadership felt it was not in their interests to have the IFP launched publicly on the home base of Moses Mayekiso and Alfred Nzo.

"The comrades called people out of their homes, warning that Inkatha is coming. On the night of March 8 Mr Ndzuza of 18th Avenue was hacked to death and necklaced for being a member of Inkatha.

"The comrades moved on to 10th Avenue, attacking a certain Mr Dube who escaped, alerting other members of the IFP that they were being attacked. The hostel only got involved the following day.

"The message that reached the hostel was that Zulus were being attacked in the township, so Zulus inside the hostel started attacking Xhosas inside the hostel and those Zulus known to be ANC members also escaped the hostel and ran away.

"Then a lot of Zulus came in from the township into the hostel. We had more than 15 000 men inside the hostel and 8 000 outside the hostel. We were trying to calm them down the whole weekend."

But what of the use of rooidoeke, the badge of identification of IFP supporters in the hostels?

"It is normal for every regiment to be identified by the colour of its shield," he explains. "Last year Zulus were identified as Zulus for attack so they wanted to identify themselves — so that they don't kill their own people. They have at times killed their own people — one guy in Alex was killed because he wasn't wearing his red band.

"They have identified ANC members wearing red bands and pretending to be IFP like that and they've ended up terribly."

Changing gear, Myeni estimates that more than 40 000 whites have joined Inkatha in the Transvaal alone, emphasising the point by waving at a besuited executive on his way in to the coffee shop. "Ja, ja. Hoe gaan dit?" Myeni smiles to the suit who signals back.

"That's another member."

Inkatha's Sandton branch is to be launched in a few weeks with a big rally. Myeni assures that Inkatha won't be bussing people in from the rural areas for the launch.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

ANC 'BUDGET' *w/mail 12/4-18/4/91* (11A)

ON a hypothetical budget of R58,75-billion in a future South Africa, the African National Congress would provide a capital subsidy of R12 000 for 1,2-m houses, spending R20-m on each of 250 townships; R5-bn for an employment training scheme; R6,5-bn to establish 150 000 small farmers; and R7,5-bn for school buildings and teacher training, it said in the latest issue of its official mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*.

The organisation would also spend R550-m on training one million adult literacy teachers; R11-bn to equalise pensions; R2,5-bn on a feeding scheme for pregnant mothers; R2,5-bn on a school feeding scheme and R3,2-bn on industrial restructuring. About R300-m would be set aside to provide work for one million people developing a rural infrastructure and R300-m for primary health clinics. *12/4 - 18/4/91*

POLITICAL VIOLENCE *w/mail 12/4-18/4/91*

BETWEEN 550 and 600 people have already died through political violence in South Africa since the beginning of this year — the second worst period on record — according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Fatalities due to "unrest" have increased dramatically since 1985, according to SAIRR figures. The number of deaths is as follows: 1985 — 879; 1986 — 1298; 1987 — 661; 1989 — 1 403; and 1990 — 3 699.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) says 314 people were killed and 611 injured in various incidents of political violence during March this year.

Two hundred and six of those killed were in the PWV area, 96 in Natal, five in the Orange Free State, two each in the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Bophuthatswana and one in the Western Transvaal. The HRC attributes 247 of the deaths to vigilante-related actions, 30 to security force actions and one each to hit squad and rightwing actions. The cause of death is uncertain in 35 cases.

DETENTIONS

ANC and Inkatha youth plan to meet

By GLENDA DANIELS *w/mail 12/4 - 28/4/91*

THE African National Congress Youth League is for the first time considering meeting the Inkatha Youth Brigade in an anxious bid to bring peace to the townships.

The youth league has not extended a formal invitation yet but sees the meeting as an urgent matter, the organisation said this week.

The initial reaction of Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Themba Khoza was: "We don't know anything about this, it must be a dream. How can I comment on something I have not heard of? Will I see it for the first time in the newspapers?"

Later, Khoza said: "This is a positive move by the ANC Youth League, and where we can talk we will but where we can't then we can't."

He elaborated: "There are ways of stopping violence; some of their strategies will be different, like the formation of defence units which we believe will create an more explosive situation in the townships. We oppose this and when we meet them we will tell them this."

Khoza said he had problems with "agendas", saying that while this was the first time the youth would meet there had been meetings between the ANC and Inkatha where this "problem" arose.

"The whole matter needs a method about who will work out agendas and where meetings will be staged," said Khoza.

The ANC Youth League said this week that because recent meetings between the ANC and Inkatha have led to an escalation of violence rather than peace they would rather have meetings "on the ground". Khoza said this "was a fine idea".

Media officer Parks Mankahlana said the ANC hoped to do this by encouraging their branches to meet the Inkatha Youth Brigade branches in the different townships and discuss ways of making peace together.

"It is our belief that discussions on the ground, provided there is genuine commitment on all sides to eliminate violence, will result in peace among our people."

While the Youth League will be encouraging both sides to meet in a peace bid, it will also continue to support ANC campaigns like the demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government. It will also have it's own focuses, one of which will be an Aids campaign.

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GERRIT VILJOEN

Still on track - Viljoen

THE Government is prepared to discuss the ANC's seven demands for action to combat violence in its ultimatum last week and is continuing with plans for negotiations. *Sowetan 12/4/91*

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday the Government was going ahead "with all activities on the negotiation terrain".

"We do not plan to bedevil or jeopardise them. Negotiations are inevitable

and are the only way to find lasting solutions." *(SOWETA) (11A)*

He said there had been continuing contact between the Cabinet and the ANC national executive committee since the Friday ultimatum, on matters other than violence.

Viljoen evaded questions on whether the Government considered any of the ANC's seven demands as reasonable and whether it would meet any of them. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

FW stays cool in face of setbacks

11A
Somethen
12/4/91

FOCUS

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has shown that he is patient and even long-suffering. Events in the past week have again shown that these are qualities he will in future often have to draw on.

While he was trying to take a short break at Plettenberg Bay during Parliament's Easter recess the ANC issued an ultimatum in which it made a number of demands and threatened to suspend all contact on constitutional reform with the Government unless they were met by May 9.

Holiday

Although he was on holiday, he moved quickly to get his answer to his Tuynhuys officials.

De Klerk made it clear that he especially resented the insinuation that the Government was insensitive or lax about violence.

He pointed out that special and at times expensive steps had been taken to get the violence under control and that he had repeatedly given the undertaking that, if substantive facts about certain allegations were provided, there would be swift action.

The Government has been willing to appoint judicial committees of inquiries in the case of some of the violent incidences and some security force actions have been criticised in this way.

He also disclosed that he had been trying to organise joint talks between Government, ANC and Inkatha leaders to discuss violence.



FW DE KLERK

According to one Government source, efforts to have such meetings are continuing.

De Klerk has also accused the ANC of trying to shift the goalposts in an attempt to hide serious problems in its own ranks.

Other Government spokesmen such as Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok also hit back. It was in its demand for the sacking of Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that the ANC over-reached itself.

However justified some of the criticism of the two Ministers may be, De Klerk could hardly be expected to fire them at the behest of the ANC.

In spite of sharp reaction from the Government side, there is more understanding for the problems of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and what De Klerk and some of his advisers regard as the moderate ANC leaders than any Government leader would say in public at present.

There is in fact considerable concern in Government circles at the way in which the ANC has not

been able to get its act together.

One of their interpretations is Mandela is having problems with radicals who have misgivings about the ANC's earlier acceptance of an all-party conference.

Good relations have developed between Ministers and ANC leaders.

This relationship has now soured considerably.

There has also been a remarkably good relationship between De Klerk and Mandela and meetings between them have on several occasions in the past managed to iron out problems.

There has in fact been the impression in the past that many of the things that have been said in public were meant to appeal to particular ANC and Government constituencies while the reasonable approach prevails when the leaders meet.

There has in fact been some resentment among ANC elements about the meetings between Mandela and De Klerk.

There has also been the tendency to have less high-profile meetings as was the case when the two sides secretly met at DF Malan airport on February 16.

Ultimatum

In spite of the latest clash, it is significant that an additional liaison committee of the two sides created then is still operating.

The ANC also appears to be backing down somewhat on its original tough seven-point ultimatum.

Mandela has now been saying that the Government need not meet all the conditions but that there must be some substantial gesture from the Government.

While De Klerk has indicated that he is keen to have an all-party conference soon to start exploring arrangements for negotiations, the Government is increasingly resigned to the fact that

this will now not happen as early as had been hoped for.

One of the reasons for this is that the ANC is clearly not ready yet for negotiations although it expressed interest in the conference.

The movement's planned June conference will have a say in this.

Meanwhile De Klerk is continuing efforts to explore the possibility of constitutional consultations in other areas.

This week he met leaders of the parliamentary parties for informal discussions. The Conservative Party declined to attend.

De Klerk hopes the CP will change its mind because he believes the potentially dangerous frustrations of the rightwing could be contained if they agreed to state their case at negotiations.

A parliamentary joint committee on constitutional affairs has been activated to serve as a discussion forum.

Setbacks

At the same time, this parliamentary forum will not prevent any of the parties from going ahead with contacts or negotiations with other parties. It is not meant to be an alliance.

Such alliance arrangements are likely to be made nearer to a referendum or election.

As De Klerk's chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, put it this week: the Government is determined to "stay cool" about negotiations in spite of setbacks.

Eventual negotiations are regarded as inevitable as "mass action" or violent alternatives such as a return to the armed struggle - which never amounted to all that much - could not work.

Viljoen said now was not the time to be emotional. It was a time to be as rational as possible and to consider what was in the interests of the country.

This was confirmation of De Klerk's style.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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open letter was right

w/male 12/4 - 18/4/91 (119)
anyone who makes bellicose statements and vigorous disciplining of policemen.

ASSUMPTION NUMBER THREE: it was outrageous to call for the dismissal of the ministers of defence and law and order.

The ANC are at the back of a long queue. There have been dozens of calls for action against Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok

Vlok recently rescued a little credibility for himself by announcing some changes to the police force, such as the disbanding of the security police and an end to segregated training. However, he still runs what is known as the Department of Denials, as his large corps of liaison officers spend all their time attempting to refute evidence of police partiality or complicity in violence.

Vlok remains an ineffectual minister, slow to wake up to the realities of the 1990s and supported only by the far-rightwing.

Malan's credibility is at an all-time low because of ongoing revelations about the Civil Co-operation Bureau and its finances. He is kept on largely because he backs De Klerk in the caucus and the president, who came to the job without a security force power base, does not have an obvious replacement who could be confident of commanding the respect of the armed forces.

However, dissatisfaction that De Klerk is unable to rein in his security forces has given way to suspicion that he is happy to give them the scope to undermine his opponents.

ASSUMPTION NUMBER FOUR: that it

is outrageous to call for the suspension of policemen involved in recent shooting incidents.

That this has not happened yet is likely to cause more outrage. It would be the first step towards the government signalling that it will not tolerate policemen who do not accept the political change that is taking place and the first step towards regaining public respect for the police.

ASSUMPTION NUMBER FIVE: that the open letter is a reflection of crisis, disorganisation and conflict within the ANC.

The ANC's rivals, notably Inkatha and the National Party, have been quick to accuse the ANC of disrupting the negotiating process for selfish and malicious reasons. Both have put forward the argument that the ANC is doing it

only to disguise their own internal problems. The conventional suggestion is that the ANC is wracked by internal disputes between moderates in favour of negotiations, such as Nelson Mandela, and hard-liners who aren't, such as Chris Hani.

The ANC undoubtedly has many serious internal problems and conflicts as the organisation moves from an externally based underground organisation to a conventional political party. However, last week's open letter goes beyond these issues: any group in control of ANC policies would probably have had to take this stand — unless they were to ride roughshod over the opinions of members.

That the ANC did so last week was a sign that the gap between members, branches and regions of the ANC and the head-office which is often seen to be aloof and not accountable — a gap which was so apparent at the organisation's conference last December — is probably closing.

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



TALKBACK

Go for it, callers tell ANC and PAC

CALLERS to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show were yesterday unanimous in their support for a patriotic front to be formed by the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress. (114)

However, some told host Tim Modise that they were worried about a power struggle that could emerge from the move.

The principles of such a front would be discussed at a two-day conference in Harare next week.

Nkosana of Sebokeng said he was overjoyed that the two organisations might at least speak with one voice.

Asked what his view was that Azapo was not part of the front, Nkosana said the idea did not conflict with what Azapo stood for.

He advised the leaders of the two organisations to swallow their pride and put the liberation of black people first.

Mpho of KwaThema said the idea was "beautiful for the oppressed". He said, however, that excluding other political organisations would be a recipe for disaster.

Vusi of Orlando East said he was looking forward to the unification.

Percy of Kagiso said the alliance gave blacks hope about "the much talked-about new South Africa".

Vlok, Viljoen optimistic of solution to deadlock

By ARTHUR MAIMANE: Cape Town
Two senior cabinet ministers have at separate media briefings this week blasted the African National Congress for its ultimatum but also expressed optimism that there will be an accommodation before May 9 when the ultimatum expires.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerit Viljoen and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said at their briefings there will be "a considered response" to the ultimatum from President FW de Klerk; but neither would say when that would be issued; before or after De Klerk's trip to Europe and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's to Japan and London.

The two leaders will have separate talks in London with Prime Minister John Major — who observers believe may help to resolve the deadlock.

Viljoen told the media on Thursday that the government was "shocked" by the ultimatum because the demands were a complete turn around by the ANC. Apart from its demand that Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan be sacked, the other issues — such as random township violence — were already being discussed by their joint working groups.

The ultimatum, he said, did not sound like "the real Mandela" who was a "sophisticated and well-informed leader". Confusion within the ANC had led Mandela to deny that the demands were an ultimatum — and then have to explain it all to 14 ambassadors.

De Klerk was doing all he could to resolve difficulties, but there has not been "the positive response we expected" to his attempt to arrange a meeting with Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He wanted the three of them to discuss the "troika" proposed by the kwaZulu chief minister after his meeting with Mandela in Durban a fortnight ago. Viljoen would not say which of them had failed to respond, but it's known that when Mandela briefed the ambassadors he indicated that he was not interested in a "troika".

The ultimatum, he said, had strained the personal relationship between De Klerk and Mandela, but Viljoen was confident it would survive the present crisis.

After a lengthy attack on the ANC and Communist Party — accusing them of being a "common denominator" in the violence — Vlok claimed there was "a problem" about meeting the ANC demand to make "cultural weapons" illegal. He quoted a su-



Not saved ... More than 100 squatter shacks were razed in Mandela-Park
Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

preme court judgment that declared it was "not an offence to possess a dangerous weapon if the possessor has no intention to use it for an illegal purpose". Police could not disarm people of "cultural weapons" without proof they intended to use them illegally.

But they were not as dangerous as the AK-47 rifles ANC cadres brought into South Africa that are "responsible for at least many of the killings".

Both ministers say there will eventu-

ally have to be negotiations despite what Vlok termed "sabre-rattling" by the ANC which was only "stalling" to lengthen the process. Viljoen says that meanwhile the government will "retain the moral highground" and also continue all possible communications with the ANC. He claimed the ultimatum was an attempt "to dictate the negotiations process and its schedule" but the ANC was "risking the peace process to improve its own" position.

Vlok claims there is a power struggle within the ANC with "the hawks and doves" positioning themselves for the leadership elections at its first national congress within South Africa.

Viljoen says there's no alternative to negotiations and if the ANC withdraws after May 9, what would it do? Depend on "mass action" or return to the "armed struggle"? Vlok claims the government is "prepared for all eventualities" after the ultimatum expires.

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'Patriotic front' to be discussed in historic talks

HARARE — Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe will deliver the opening address at the meeting between the ANC and PAC due to start here on Monday morning.

The two-day meeting, to discuss common ground between the ANC and PAC, promises a working unity between the two movements.

Front

It has been suggested that a patriotic front, not dissimilar to the pre-independence Zimbabwean effort under the leadership of Mr Mugabe, be established in the foreseeable future.

During the Rhodesian era, the Patriotic Front galvanised the last phase of dismantling Ian Smith's government.

The meeting between the ANC and PAC will also deal extensively with the demand for a Constituent Assembly.

According to Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, his movement had for a while been encouraged by both the Government and the ANC to attend a multiparty conference (MPC), planned for later this year.

But, he said, an MPC was just a clever ploy by the Government to circumvent the principles contained in the United Nations Declaration of December 1989 and the Harare Declaration.

However, with the ANC increasing its demand for a Constituent

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Assembly — albeit through an MPC — there had emerged more reason for a united front, or a patriotic front, he added.

● A full PAC (internal) delegation left for Harare from Johannesburg yesterday "very hopeful" of finding common ground with the ANC, reports **Thabo Le-shilo**.

For the first time since Robert Sobukwe and others broke away from the ANC to form the PAC in 1959, the full national executive committees of the two liberation movements are to come together.

Speaking before departing from Jan Smuts Airport, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said exploratory talks between the two organisations had "a long history".

Strategy

The meeting was to be attended by the full external leadership of the PAC, led by first deputy-president Johnson Mlambo.

A patriotic front would enable the two groups to speak with one voice and adopt a common strategy on issues.

Mr Makwetu said Azapo, the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and the NUM would also be consulted about the PF.

Mr Makwetu said the chances of forming a patriotic front of all of SA's liberation movements were very high.

ANC moves closer

to Govt

THE ANC and the Government have moved closer together with new, more moderate constitutional principles unveiled by the ANC yesterday.

The ANC makes several proposals — including a constitutional court, a bicameral parliament, a voting system based on proportional representation and equal recognition of all languages — which the Government has also suggested.

However ANC constitutional spokesman Professor Kader Asmal last night warned at a press conference in Cape Town, that some of the similarities could be superficial and stressed "fundamental points of difference" still remaining.

These are the ANC's continued insistence on a strong centralised state and its heavy stress on affirmative action to overcome inequalities.

Federal system

By contrast, the Government favours a strong federal system with major powers devolved to regions and local governments, and wishes to entrench the free enterprise system in the constitution.

Nevertheless, the new constitutional principles were described last night by top political scientist Professor Hermann Gilliomee as "more sophisticated" than any previously published ANC constitutional thinking.

"It is much more in the direction of a pluralistic state where the stress is on tolerance of differences rather than dictation from above," he said.

Democratic Party constitutional spokesman Colin Eglin said the ANC proposals indicated a "growing convergence in South Africa around the concept of a strong constitution designed to ensure multiparty democracy, the protection of fundamental human rights and the creation of a just society".

'Moderate' plan for a new SA unveiled

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

The new constitutional principles seem to have been released yesterday to demonstrate that the ANC is still committed to negotiations, despite its threat last week to pull out of them unless the Government takes decisive action to end township violence.

The proposals have been published for discussion and are likely to be finalised at the ANC's national congress scheduled for June — and to form the basis of the organisation's negotiating position at the multi-party conference which could take place later this year.

In an important symbolic concession to minorities, the ANC proposes that all languages should have equal official status.

Afrikaans should be first on the schedule of suggested officially recognised languages.

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC plan

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FROM PAGE 1.

which will be listed alphabetically.

However the Government would have the right to "give primacy to one or more languages in any region or throughout the state as the language of administrative communication or judicial record".

But any language could be used for communication with the State or speaking in Parliament.

Another concession to minorities is the suggested adoption of a system of voting by proportional representation.

This would "encourage participation" in the political process by minority groups which would be "more satisfactory than forcing political or subversive activity outside Parliament".

A Constitutional Court would have ultimate power to set aside unconstitutional legislation and actions.

Although the constitutional document stresses the need to avoid over-centralisation of power and proposes

elected regional and local governments. ANC constitutional spokesman Dullah Omar stressed that these would be purely delegated or derivative powers.

The central government would firmly retain ultimate power — largely to ensure that it had enough power to re-allocate resources to overcome historic inequalities.

The proposals strongly stress affirmative action. However, Professor Asmal said the Government would not guarantee economic rights such as jobs and shelter for all.

The document's suggestion of a bicameral parliament echoes Government thinking — but with important differences.

The ANC stresses that there will be no representation in the upper house on the basis of racial, ethnic or community criteria.

This contrasts with government thinking — not yet published — that groups will be represented, probably indirectly by giving preference to race-based political parties.

The ANC also makes clear that the lower house or National Assembly will have the ultimate power, including the sole power to change the constitution.

The media gave ANC

a raw deal

Star 13/4/91

11A 202

A VERY strange reversal of tradition occurred in South Africa this week. The ANC, taking a large leaf out of the book of the National Party, devoted much of its energy in the debate over the political issue of the day to attacking the media, rather than its actual opponent.

The Government, by contrast, seemed quite happy with the performance of the Fourth Estate in its coverage of the "threat to pull out of negotiations" saga.

The somersault is sufficiently dramatic and curious to warrant careful consideration. I believe it has a bearing on the future of press freedom in the "new South Africa", and calls for some self-reflection.

Now that the dust is settling, we can begin to ask whether the media — newspapers, radio and television — did indeed give the ANC a raw deal.

I now think we did, in some very important respects.

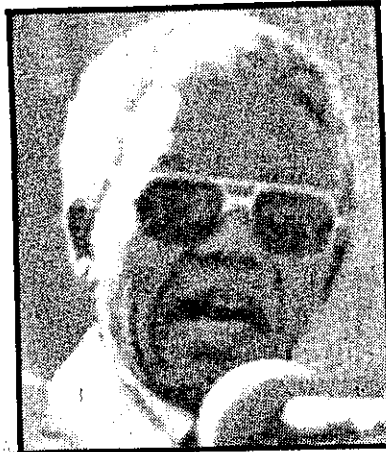
It has emerged in the course of this week that the overwhelming interpretation which greeted the ANC's "ultimatum" bombshell was at best superficial, and at worst misleading.

Most commentators — this one included — made much of the ANC's internal politicking as an explanatory factor underlying the ultimatum. The common wisdom was that Nelson Mandela had been dragged, unwillingly, into a confrontation with the Government.

At its most crude, this analysis

Undercurrent
Affairs

SHAUN
JOHNSON



FLEXIBLE: Nelson Mandela's point was missed by most.

wholly dismissed as disingenuous the ANC's stated reason for its action — that an incredible 5 000 lives have been lost since negotiations began. In one case, only one possible explanation for the ANC's

decision was offered to readers: It was, they were told, that the ANC leaders were either lunatics or idiots.

Further, it was implied that the ANC demands were rigid, offering no room for manoeuvre.

In sharp contrast to this perception, diplomats and many other sceptical observers emerged from briefings by Mr Mandela on Tuesday convinced that he, and the entire NEC, were united behind this intervention. It was primarily the horror of the township violence (not directly felt in the white suburbs), that had driven them to drastic action.

Disagreement over negotiation strategy is a factor within the ANC leadership, but was not central to this issue. Certainly there might be tactical advantage for the ANC in putting the brakes on the peace process to gain time to put its own house in order, but this was at base a genuine attempt to jolt the Government — and indeed the white community — into realising that unless decisive action was taken to stop the violence, negotiations would in any event fail.

In addition, hindsight shows that Mr Mandela expressed a flexibility about the demands right at the outset, the media's failure to reflect

this adequately has subsequently been presented as an ANC "back-down" rather than consistency in the organisation's approach.

Thus in my view, we in the media got important parts of the story wrong this time around. And as we journalists demand (and indeed are prepared tenaciously to defend), our right to criticise freely, we must surely embrace the obligation freely to accept criticism ourselves.

Having said all that, there is a profoundly worrying aspect to the ANC's press-bashing of this week. There is a tendency to conflate anger at what the organisation believes to be incorrect interpretation, with an underlying assumption that the media has no right to attempt such interpretation for our readers in the first place.

I believe the press has every right to contend that the intervention was ill-timed, ill-conceived, or badly executed, as long as it does not question the right of the organisation to make that intervention — and as long as it reflects the organisation's own explanation to the best of its ability. The right to dissent is vital for the "new South Africa", and all parties to negotiations must be prepared to endorse it at this early stage in the process.

Ours is an imperfect world, and that's what makes it vibrant and interesting. Press freedom, if it is to be real freedom, includes the right to be wrong. It also includes the duty to concede such fallibility.

If ballot fails, we'll turn to the bullet ^{11A} Mokaba

13/4/91
89aw
ABBAY MAKOE

"If not the ballot, then we will use the bullet," ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba warned this week.

The Government had no right to rule, he said, threatening to return to the armed struggle if it did not comply with the ANC's May 9 ultimatum on violence.

Mokaba also lashed out at the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for hampering the liberation of blacks.

'Crossroads'

He was, however, hopeful that the Government would not "take the country to the crossroads".

"That would be a ghastly situation," he said. "But if the time comes to submit or fight, we have resolved that we shall always fight. The Government is not indispensable to the attainment of our freedom."

Asked what the Youth League would do if the Government did not comply with the ultimatum, Mr Mokaba said: "No possibility should be excluded. If it means going back to the bush, going back to guns, we will not hesitate."

Mr Mokaba said the Government was wrong to think the only way forward was through negotiations. "Democracy and peace can come without negotiations."

Mr Mokaba said that not only members of the Youth League, but all the youth were no longer prepared to be governed by "the regime, neither in the

old way nor the new way".

He said that "our young people are ready and raring to go, and are waiting for whatever directive the movement is going to issue".

"Every individual, patriot and democrat will be urged to act in whatever way possible to see to it that we reach a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa."

Mr Mokaba claimed the league had more than 460 000 signed-up members.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet, however, dismissed the threat. The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been a dismal failure, he said.

"To adopt armed action now will be both foolish and futile," added Brigadier Mellet. "The democratic future of the country will never be decided by a barrel of a gun."

Autonomous

Gill Marcus, the ANC's information officer, said the league was an autonomous body. Nevertheless, she said it could not take unilateral decisions about the armed struggle.

Inkatha's media liaison officer, Suzanne Vos, said Mr Mokaba's threats were inflammatory.

"I find this kind of AK-47 rattling a contradiction of the ANC's much-vaunted deep concern about the violence in the country."

ANC w/ANCUS 13/4/91 policy paper to spur debate

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

TOUGH battles loom between the ANC and the government over how much political clout local and regional authorities will have in future and how effectively a new parliament will be able to reverse the effects of apartheid.

This signal emerged clearly as the ANC stepped up its negotiation readiness with the launch yesterday of its most detailed constitutional proposals so far in the form of draft principles intended to spur debate both inside and outside the movement.

An immediate difference of opinion is on the function of a multi-party conference.

ANC national executive committee member Dr Pallo Jordan said: "There's a difference between the way we and the government conceive of the multi-party conference. The words may seem the same and the parameters may look the same, but the animal is quite different."

Will withdraw

It appeared the government saw the conference as a constitution-making body but the ANC believed it should be used only to reach agreement on principles for a constitution.

Dr Jordan added: "We have made it clear that we will withdraw from all discussions for a all-party conference if the government does not come through on the questions (raised in the ANC's ultimatum to President De Klerk a week ago)."

ANC sources said the government's plans for the future would entrench inequalities.

Leading ANC figure in the Western Cape Mr Dullah Omar said: "Government spokesmen say devolution of powers should be entrenched.

We say this would mean a future national government would be unable to implement policies — on housing, education and health for instance — to reduce historical inequalities."

Two-chamber

The document outlines suggestions for a two-chamber parliament elected on the basis of proportional representation.

This will comprise a national assembly primarily invested with the power of enacting legislation. The second house will be the Senate to have provision for regional but not ethnic representation which will be the guardian of the constitution. It could have the power to delay, but not veto, legislation.

The document suggests there should be a Prime Minister at the head of the Cabinet. The President should be allowed only two terms of five years each and will be subject to removal for "good cause" on the basis of a two thirds national assembly majority.

Language equality

Other key points in the policy document are:

- An electoral commission to oversee elections.
- An independent constitutional court to guard the constitution and a Human Rights Commission to guarantee the Bill of Rights.
- An ombudsman to monitor corruption and abuse of bureaucratic power.
- Training programmes to make the public service more representative.
- New machinery to supervise and control the security forces.
- Language equality — the ANC is against an official language and suggests all languages be permissible in parliament, with instantaneous translation.
- Using the flag, names, public holidays and symbols to encourage a sense of shared South Africanness.

THE ANC'S SUDDEN THREAT TO WITHDRAW FROM NEGOTIATIONS SHOOK THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SCENE AND HAD VARIOUS REPERCUSSIONS THIS WEEK. WEEKEND ARGUS POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT FRANS ESTERHUYSE EXAMINES THE EFFECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS EPISODE.

11A 13/4/91 W/E Argus

Gloom over ANC's ultimatum

FOR a few days this week it seemed South Africa had come to the end of the road. Everything was going wrong and hopes for peace were fading rapidly.

The whole negotiation process suddenly seemed to be in jeopardy. With wave upon wave of horrific township violence continuing unabated, a new threat of confrontation loomed ahead. The ANC threatened to withdraw from talks with the government unless certain demands were met by May 9. KwaZulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned of "civil war". Amid all this, former heart surgeon Professor Chris Barnard made it known he had decided to quit South Africa. His reason: he does not want to live in a Lebanon-type situation of violence and destruction.

As if this was not enough to shake up any fledgling politicians, Reserve Bank governor Dr Chris Stals added his grim warning that continued poor economic growth would make South Africa ungovernable by 1995 — and he blamed the political situation for our economic stagnation. This warning underlined fears expressed earlier by economists that the ANC's hardline ultimatum would derail a new hopeful trend towards foreign investment and capital inflow.

MEANWHILE the voice of Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa brought further bad tidings saying the ANC's threat was serious and should be heeded by the government. He also proposed a summit of South African government representatives and anti-apartheid leaders to hammer out a plan to curb political violence and backed the ANC's stand against the carrying of "cultural" weapons.

The worst of the gloom descended after the ANC's threat to withdraw from the peace process unless its demands were met by its May 9 deadline — a threat widely interpreted as an ultimatum to the government. From all sides came reactions of shock and dismay. The bad news quickly reached the world's capitals and there followed a flurry of diplomatic activity.

Within days, however, there was a noticeable change in the ANC's hardline stance. In moves seen by analysts as an about-face or at least a kind of egg-dance, the ANC's leadership and officials clearly began to backtrack on their threat to withdraw. They disputed the interpretation that the withdrawal threat and accompanying May 9 deadline were an "ultimatum". They softened their initial stance by suggesting that the deadline could be extended. They called for a "gesture" from the government, indicating they were prepared to consider a com-



Zulu 'impis' brandish traditional weapons recently at the razor wire barricade which divides their workers' hostel from squatter areas of Alexandra township outside Johannesburg. The continuing violence has claimed many lives.

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What is behind all this? Why did the ANC start backtracking after issuing its ultimatum? Does the threat reflect internal strife in the movement or was it a major blunder by its leadership?

Professor John Barratt, director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, is hopeful that the whole episode may just be the latest bump on the road to negotiations.

"Personally I'm not as depressed as I was a few days ago. It seems there has been a reduction in the level of confrontation, and part of this must be ascribed to the influence of international imperatives," he said.

Two major factors which Professor Barratt sees behind the seemingly rapid defusing of a potentially explosive situation are the

THE key instruments behind moves to defuse a potentially serious confrontation were economics and political diplomacy.

"This shows that the future depends very much on our ability to remain in tune with international requirements. We cannot develop in a vacuum," says Professor Barratt.

Dr Oekie Stuart, director of Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research, sees the economic factor as a crucial one in the present political situation. He fully agrees with Dr Stals's warning about the political danger of continued economic stagnation.

Dr Stuart said there could be no doubt the low level of economic growth in the last few years was a result of the unfavourable political environment.

come more serious if the political environment remains unchanged."

DR Stuart sees sanctions as a problem not quite as big as some of the other immediate problems facing the country, but says it will help if sanctions are lifted.

The most important issue at the moment, he says, is economic growth — "if we don't have growth we will really have a problem that becomes unmanageable".

He backs up his warning with estimates of the Bureau for Economic Research that 38 per cent of South Africa's labour force is at present not employed in the formal sector of the country's economy. The implication is that they are either unemployed or active in the informal sector.

Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa is also deeply concerned about the threat which a declining economy holds for constitutional negotiations and future peace.

"We must expect constitutional negotiations to have certain ups and downs. Everything can't be smooth sailing. However, at the same time there is an urgency stemming from the worsening economic situation. This ought to make all the political parties realise that excessive posturing and delays in the constitutional process are not called for."

MOST analysts agree that the present level of violence is unacceptably high. They say the most urgent task facing politicians is to take effective steps to curb the violence and killings — and nothing should be done that could in any way hamper negotiations.

In 1990 about 2 900 African citizens were killed and another 400 deaths were reported since January 1 this year, according to the ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan. Police have put last year's figure at 2 330 deaths in 17 088 unrest-related incidents and warned that at the present rate of "unrest" incidents the death toll for 1991 could exceed last year's figure, making 1991 the worst year of political violence in the country's history.

The SA Institute of Race Relations, in its latest survey, described 1990 as "the worst year of political violence in modern South African history."

The institute noted that the total number of fatalities in political violence since 1984 was in the region of 8 000, half of which had occurred in Natal.

Dr Jordan says one of the main aims of the ultimatum was "to shake the government and many of our compatriots, who have become desensitised to this violence, out of their apparent complacency."

HOWEVER, African political commentators have put their fingers on at least two other possible reasons for the ANC's ultimatum:

- To placate the anger of township residents over the democratic movement's failure to control violence among its followers; and

- To counteract fears among many black people that the ANC is in danger of losing the political initiative.

One commentator, in *New Nation*, writes: "The seeming paralysis of the broad democratic movement, the ANC in particular, in responding to the violence has now engendered a spirit of impatience among the people — a mood that could very easily lead to a further slide into murder and mayhem."

Calling for action to defend victims of violence, the journal suggested the people could no longer be content with theories on the causes of violence. "Simply apportioning blame to the police and the SADF has hardly won us any moral high ground and, even more important, it has not stopped the killings."

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Within days, however, there was a noticeable change in the ANC's hardline stance. In moves seen by analysts as an about-face or at least a kind of egg-dance, the ANC's leadership and officials clearly began to backtrack on their threat to withdraw. They disputed the interpretation that the withdrawal threat and accompanying May 9 deadline were an "ultimatum". They softened their initial stance by suggesting that the deadline could be extended. They called for a "gesture" from the government, indicating they were prepared to consider a compromise. They blamed the media for the outcry and the largely negative reaction to the initial ultimatum, claiming the media had misinterpreted the ANC's "open letter" to President F W de Klerk.

SIGNIFICANTLY, the first signs of the ANC's about-face came after meetings behind the scenes between ANC deputy president Mr Nel-



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"Personally I'm not as depressed as I was a few days ago. It seems there has been a reduction in the level of confrontation, and part of this must be ascribed to the influence of international imperatives," he said.

Two major factors which Professor Barratt sees behind the seemingly rapid defusing of a potentially serious threat to constitutional negotiations are fears about a further decline in the economy, and the direct influence of some Western governments.

"It seems this influence has been very constructive." Rather than criticising, the foreign governments had sought to make it easier for both the ANC and the South African government to come to terms in a difficult situation.

THE key instruments behind moves to defuse a potentially serious confrontation were economics and political diplomacy.

"This shows that the future depends very much on our ability to remain in tune with international requirements. We cannot develop in a vacuum," says Professor Barratt.

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Dr Stuart said there could be no doubt the low level of economic growth in the last few years was a result of the unfavourable political environment.

Businessmen did not want to invest while the political uncertainty continued. "There is too low a level of confidence. As a result, big business has decided not to invest in capital goods. This, in turn, leads to more unemployment and social unrest. The whole situation gets into a vicious spiral.

"In the longer term this will obviously be-

come more serious if the political environment remains unchanged."

DR Stuart sees sanctions as a part of the quite as big as some of the other problems facing the country, but help if sanctions are lifted.

The most important issue at the moment, says, is economic growth — "If we have growth we will really have a problem comes unmanageable".

He backs up his warning with the fact that the Bureau for Economic Research estimates that 10 per cent of South Africa's labour force is not employed in the formal sector of the country's economy. The implication is that the rest of the labour force is either unemployed or active in the informal sector.



CHRIS STALS ... blames political situation for economic stagnation.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI ... warned of "civil war".



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PALLO JORDAN ... ultimatum was "to shake government and many of our compatriots".

ANC Youth spurn Inkatha meeting

S/Time 14/4/91. G.I.R. 2788

By EDYTH BULBRING

LEADERS of the ANC Youth League have refused to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade's leadership until "peace on the ground" has been achieved.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said his provisional national committee had declined the invitation in a letter.

He did not think a meeting would serve any purpose.

The two meetings between ANC deputy president Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in January and March had failed to end the violence, he said.

Mr Mokaba said it was not the correct approach to hold meetings to discuss the violence for propaganda purposes.

The ANC Youth League had suggested that both organisations should order their members not to attack each other.

The refusal to meet on a national level would not apply to meetings between local Inkatha and ANC structures, which would be encouraged.

This would then lay the basis for a top-level youth leadership meeting, which would approve the peace achieved, Mr Mokaba said.

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Musa Zondi said he was sorry the ANC Youth League had refused the invitation.

He said the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade had issued the invitation as a follow-on to the historic accord between Mandela and Buthelezi on January 29, which had agreed to end hostilities.

Mr Zondi said the purpose of a meeting was not to stage a publicity stunt or to negotiate peace.

Instead, the meeting would aim at looking at practical ways of achieving the spirit of the January accord.

The ANC Youth League's response to the invitation revealed a gross misunderstanding of the aims of the meeting, Mr Zondi said.

Ultimatum not unreasonable, says Macozoma

by SEKOLA SELLO

11A ~~2/11~~

CONTRARY to claims by Pretoria, Inkatha Freedom Party and many political commentators, the ANC had no intention of wrecking negotiations following its ultimatum to the government.

Their action was not prompted by petulance or an attempt to placate members, as critics have widely alleged, says spokesman Saki Macozoma.

The ANC has come under fire from several quarters since it sent an open letter to State President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet. Demands include the dismissal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, implementing measures to stop the countrywide violence and the banning of traditional weapons.

Responding to the call for his dismissal, Vlok accused the ANC of being responsible for the violence. Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was also criticised in the letter, defended the carrying of traditional weapons and said the violence was part of an ANC plan to make the townships ungovernable.

But the ANC's Macozoma said it was the "government's failure to stop the violence, act against Vlok and Malan and its unwillingness to implement the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes" which forced the ANC to give the ultimatum.

Dismissing claims that the ANC was unreasonable to expect the government to react to its ultimatum by May 9, Macozoma said the demands did not contain anything new.

"Giving the government a month to respond to these demands is more than reasonable. We have given them ample time."

Macozoma said the violence issue had been discussed regularly with the government and the ANC could not "simply fold their arms while people continued dying".

He repeated the ANC's argument that the violence was aimed at weakening the movement.

According to Macozoma the "qualitative nature of the current violence shows that it is dissimilar to what occurred in Natal in the past".

"Since the violence was exported to the Reef, it has taken on a new character. Today sophisticated weaponry is being used and people are being killed at random, like in the trains."

He denied claims by the government and Inkatha that the ANC was responsible for the proliferation of weapons in the townships.

It was "common knowledge" that the government had stockpiles of these weapons and had also supplied Unita and Renamo rebels in Angola and Mozambique respectively.

Macozoma admitted their members were not happy that while the organisation honoured its obligations, their negotiation partners continued to fail to fulfill their part of the agreement.

"It is only reasonable for our members to feel unhappy," he said.



Saki Macozoma ... demands are not new.

ANC denies jeopardising talks
C/PRES 14/4/91

talks

THE first condition for victory over apartheid, wrote ANC leader Nelson Mandela in his book *The Struggle is My Life*, is black unity.

But shortly after his release from prison last year he confided to a group of close friends that his greatest fear is that South Africa will face a Renamo-type struggle on the way to a democratic society.

When the late Samora Machel's Frelimo movement took over Mozambique from the Portuguese it did not anticipate the emergence of and support for Renamo forces, which went on to devastate the country.

In Angola, Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement has made sure a similar situation has prevailed.

This fear of Mandela's is no longer so remote – indeed it has become a reality.

When violence first hit our townships it was described as a black-on-black issue, caused mainly by political intolerance.

The blame initially fell on Azapo, then the PAC and Inkatha.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Let's close ranks now!

C/P res 14/4/91



It has however become clear lately that the hand of a "third force" – no one can actually say who they are – is behind most of the violence that has gripped the country.

What has allowed this "third force" to succeed is the political divisions prevailing among black organisations. It is easy for the "third force" to penetrate these organisations and sow seeds of confusion.

Now though, after almost 32 years of enmity between the ANC and the PAC, the two organisations will meet in Harare tomorrow in an

effort to form a "patriotic front".

This historic meeting could produce similar results to that achieved by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo when they buried their political differences for the sake of the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe.

What makes this meeting even more significant is that it may be chaired by Mugabe himself, well-schooled as he is on the formation of such a front.

This meeting also comes at a time when the ANC has adopted a hardline attitude towards the ruling National Party.

The ANC was seen recently as losing the backing of its "grassroots" supporters, allegedly by "giving away" too much to the government without consulting its supporters or other liberation movements.

"This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity," Mandela said recently. "At all levels and in every walk of life we must close ranks. Within the ranks of the people differences must be submerged to the achievement of a single goal – the complete overthrow of apartheid and racist

domination."

It will be in this spirit that a South African patriotic front could emerge tomorrow.

It is a plus that PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who has worked relentlessly behind the scenes to broker the meeting, is optimistic about the chances of success.

We applaud this first meeting between the PAC and the ANC, but it is a pity the Black Consciousness Movement was not also invited to participate.

Besides keeping the home fires burning for all the years the PAC and ANC were outlawed, BC cannot be ignored or wished away.

The movement may not have the political resources of the PAC and the ANC, but its philosophy is fast gaining ground among ordinary people.

The same applies to Inkatha. If a Renamo-type situation is to be avoided in the future South Africa, Inkatha has to be consulted about the patriotic front, should this be the result of tomorrow's meeting.

First steps being taken towards that SA patriotic front

By SEKOLA SELLO

11A

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai says the two organisations already have points of agreement to ease the path towards the formation of a front. He mentions the demand for a constituent assembly as one of the major areas of common ground between the two.

equal status with those with "proven-constituent-stance".

the Workers' Organisation for a Socialist Alliance.

THE first steps towards creating a patriotic front made up of the ANC and the PAC will be taken during a two-day conference between the two movements in the Zimbabwean capital, Harare, starting tomorrow.

Although the organisations disagree on the issue of an all-party congress and an interim government - the PAC opposes these while the ANC is in favour - Desai says such disagreements are not likely to stand in the way of establishing a common front.

Both organisations have been under pressure from the Organisation of African Unity to bury their differences in opposing Pretoria.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma says: "We agreed to meeting in Harare to make it possible for the PAC to be as fully representative as possible. If we did not consider this meeting important we would not have agreed to go to Harare."

While the PAC is optimistic about the outcome of the talks, the ANC says it would be unwise to expect "something dramatic".

The Harare meeting is the culmination of several weeks of hard work by a six-man liaison committee, appointed after a meeting at the Carlton Hotel on February 4 to prepare the agenda and logistics of the conference.

The PAC says it is opposed to the all-party congress because such a forum would give organisations with "unproven constituencies"

The envisaged front, although spearheaded by both the ANC and the PAC, would cut across sports, cultural and religious affiliations. Other political organisations expected to become part of the front are Azapo, the Unity Movement and



publicity secretary Barney Desai.

PROFESSIONAL politicians understand that a decent measure of humbug is essential to politics, and they will let the ANC get away with the pretence that its threat to break off negotiations was "misunderstood" or misrepresented by the media.

However, the episode has exposed the faulty analysis, and some of the fallacies, on which the ANC has been operating. Unless it faces up to the underlying problem it will continue to shoot itself in the foot.

The ultimatum was unambiguous: "If by May 9 1991, these demands have not been met the ANC ... shall suspend any further discussions with the government on the all-party congress; and suspend all exchanges with the government on the future constitution of our country." That's as plain as can be.

Within days, however, senior spokesmen for the ANC were backing down, blaming the media, and generally behaving the way politicians do when they have stuck a foot in their mouths. The "ultimatum", it turned out, was nothing but a theatrical bluff, an exercise in mere propaganda.

That the ANC has an excessive, and indeed rather engaging, belief in the power of propaganda is not surprising. It has, thanks to world-wide post-

Nazi revulsion against racism, been uniquely successful among liberation movements in internationalising its cause, and in mounting foreign pressure on its enemies.

ANC leaders have lived abroad for a generation, earning support and applause by making shows of terrible ferocity and prattling about "the coming bloodbath". They created a mythology of "armed struggle", and a companion mythology about the effects of sanctions, and they have fallen victim to their own propaganda.

The result is that, in trying to make the difficult transition from liberation movement to political party, they tend to misperceive their strengths.

The problem is made worse by what former CIA deputy director Ray Cline has recently called the "devastating ideological backwardness" of the SACP members who dominate ANC strategic analysis.

Let's start at the beginning: South Africa has reached a point of demographic "tip-over" where the whites no longer have the capacity to govern. A glance at, say, the matric results will show that the administration of the country must be transferred within a matter of a decade to the majority.

This is the main source of the

IKEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

11A

ST Times 14/4/91

ANC's strength. It was demographic change, combined with industrialisation and urbanisation, that created the immense turbulence of the 80s. That turbulence was the symptom of system failure. In fact, change has become irreversible.

Unhappily, the ANC is still caught in the coils of failed Marxist analysis, itself rooted in a perverted version of our history.

IF you don't believe me, read the first pages of *Beyond Apartheid* (Ravan), a new book by Bob Fine of Warwick University and Dennis Davis of Wits, which gives a vivid account of the comical exaggerations by which Marxists like Martin Leggassick, Dan O'Meara and Stephen Gelb fashioned the myth of incipient class warfare: "The proletariat feels its

strength, rising class struggle, profound crisis of the state ... blah, blah, blah".

Francis Fukuyama, author of the controversial essay that postulated the world-wide triumph of liberalism, observed in my office this week that he was astonished to find that South African communists still believe all that Marxist claptrap.

The religious intensity with which South African communists cling to their beliefs is extraordinary. Jeremy Cronin, a Paris-trained Marxist intellectual, warns gloomily in *Mayibuye* that Eastern European countries are destined to suffer terrible hardship under market capitalism; he breathes no criticism of the collapsed socialist fantasies that have forced them back to capitalism.



To be fair, the leading communists are engaged in a new exegesis, but the debates among them tend to be bizarre. Pallo Jordan accuses Joe Slovo of being an unreconstructed Stalinist; Dave Kitson, on the other hand, denounces Slovo for retreating from the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" and calls him a mere "Luxemburgist", after Stalin's critic, Rosa Luxemburg.

KITSON insists that "dictatorship of the proletariat" is central to socialism — in other words, Cosatu's attempt to secure democratic rights like freedom of speech is not socialist? — and that Slovo's attempts to conceal that truth are "like wearing a transparent fig-leaf — one can still see the beastly thing."

This disputation, of course, goes over the heads of the ANC rank and file, especially of the youth wing which has been brought up on the mythology of armed struggle and ultimate revolution.

Armed struggle at its worst didn't amount to much more than armed propaganda, aimed at influencing local and international opinion. Without the arms and money provided from the East Bloc in terms of the Brezhnev doctrine, armed struggle has ceased even to be a propaganda option.

That is why the ANC clings so desperately, and so foolishly, to the notion of sanctions. Faulty Marxist analysis has overlooked its main strength, which is the population, and persuaded its supporters that they have no weapons except sanctions, armed struggle, and foreign pressure.

This thinking has been wholly discredited by the Institute of Race Relations, which has shown that quiet, generally peaceful defiance of unjust laws did much more to destroy apartheid — job reservation, pass laws, and now the group areas — than armed struggle or sanctions ever did.

Among ANC supporters and even leaders, however, confusion reigns. Nelson Mandela calls in one breath for sanctions, and in the next for white businessmen to remain in the

country. Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, calls simultaneously for overseas help for his university and for a continued academic boycott.

The result of confusion is ambivalence. One moment the ANC is committed heart and soul to negotiation, the next it is threatening to break off all contact, and a few days later it backtracks desperately, invoking all its own propaganda resources to explain why everybody else was wrong.

THE situation calls for patience. We need the ANC. To replace it, or even to rebuild it, would be the task of a generation, and we would lose the opportunity for peaceful change so miraculously created by Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

But it is necessary to woo the ANC from a view of society as an arena of endless class warfare — a view fashioned more than a century ago on a distant continent, which has led to tyranny and failure wherever it has prevailed.

True friends of the ANC will dispute with it, not try to provide sycophantic justifications for errors that spring from "ideological backwardness". Sometimes, there can be just too much humbug.



PRAISE ... Chris Hani defends the security forces to Katlehong residents Picture: JOE SEFALE

ANC's man of war on mission of peace

SITimes 14/4/91

CHRIS HANI, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, twice came to the defence of the police and security forces in the past week.

Last Saturday he surprised everyone by saying: "We are looking forward to the time where we can respect the police as our people. The time has come for the police to be re-orientated."

"The policemen are not guilty; they did what the government ordered them to do."

Then on Tuesday he defended the security forces to Katlehong residents during a peace mission.

Warring Mandela and Holomisa squatter camp residents complained about the presence of the police and the army in the township, saying they were part of the problem and should be removed.

But Mr Hani responded

By SYDNEY MOSES

by praising the security presence, saying they were there to maintain peace in the area.

He said: "The police are being paid by the government to maintain law and order and must keep patrolling the area until the situation is calm. The troops have to be here in the area because the government has a duty to stop violence."

"Security police and troops should conduct a dialogue with leaders in the community so there can be communication."

Mr Hani said residents should be aware of outsiders who exploited violence in a bid to cause chaos.

He warned them to watch out for people who wore ANC and SACP T-shirts and shouted slogans by day, but were involved in violent activities by

night. And Mr Hani pleaded: "Bury the dead, do not avenge."

"There should be a dialogue, reconciliation, peace, love and unity."

But pleas for peace and the strong security force presence in Katlehong were not enough to save the life of one resident.

The man was attending a Freedom Party rally at the Huntersfield stadium on Sunday and wore a red headband to identify himself as a Zulu.

He was accused of being an ANC spy and was stabbed through the chest with a spear and left to bleed to death.

Security police were keeping a low profile outside the stadium, unaware of the killing inside.

Major Dave Bruce said the body of the unidentified man was in the government mortuary. No arrests have been made.

Winnie in newspaper threat row

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN
and JEREMY BROOKS

WINNIE MANDELA is embroiled in a row with a British newspaper which claims she branded one of its employees a police special branch agent.

The incident occurred in the corridors of the Rand Supreme Court where Mrs Mandela is being tried on four counts of kidnapping and four of assault to do grievous bodily harm.

The man who bore the brunt of Mrs Mandela's attack, Mandla Themba of the Independent, said he felt her action was "somewhat irresponsible in the current political climate".

The editor of the Independent, Andreas Whittam Smith, has written to the

ANC's National Executive Committee to express his concern about the incident and seek some response.

The ANC's Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation was not in a position to comment without evidence of the incident.

The Independent's story, headlined "Winnie threatens Independent man", appeared on the front page yesterday.

According to Mr Themba, Mrs Mandela approached him as she was returning to court 4E after lunch on Thursday.

It appeared she was unhappy about a full-page investigation carried by the Independent last year, damning her "football team" and accusing its members of taking part in 16 murders since 1986.

Criminal

Mr Themba said Mrs Mandela motioned him over and, within earshot of her half-dozen bodyguards, asked him: "You're here as what?"

"I said I was there as a journalist and she said to the others: 'You remember that famous story in the Independent where a group of people were gathered together to say I was a criminal? Well, this is the man who did it. He's an SB (member of the special branch).'"

The Independent's correspondent in South Africa, John Carlin, said Mrs Mandela last year accused both him and Mr Themba of being members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

ANC women want

THE ANC's Women's League is considering a proposal that abortion on demand be written into a new constitution for South Africa.

The highly controversial issue will come before the league's first national conference since its unbanning in Kimberley on April 25.

Among other issues on the agenda will be a women's rights charter and a body to enforce ANC policy against sexual harassment and discrimination.

A conference in Harare last April passed a resolution that abortion should be made freely available.

Barabara Masekela, the administrative secretary for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's office and former head of the ANC's cultural department in exile, said last week that existing abortion legislation — which allows legal abortion under special conditions — favoured the wealthy and whites.

It was rare that a black woman would have access

abortion on demand

STimes 14/4/91

11A

AAZ

By EDYTH BULBRING

to private doctors to steer her through the laborious and expensive process of obtaining a legal abortion, Mrs Masekela said.

Wrong

Feroza Adam, an executive member of the Women's League in the PWV region, said back-street abortions were a form of violence against women, which endangered women's health and affected their fertility.

The choice of whether or

not to have a child should be made by the individual, not the state. Facilities for safe abortions should be made available to all women, Miss Adam said.

National Health Minister Rina Venter said in reply to questions in Parliament last week that, of 48 846 representations on abortion made to her since March last year, 98,62 percent were against change.

But a Medical and Dental Association spokesman said Mrs Venter's invitation for comment on abortion legislation had not been publicly advertised.

"Where was the representation from the over 200 000 women who have back-street abortions every year?" she asked.

The spokesman said the fact that so many women were having illegal abortions, was an indictment of the law.

Criminal

She said SA's inadequate family planning and sex education created a situation where unwanted pregnancies arose, then the state criminalised women who attempted to do something about it.

ANC

want all

to have

say on

draft

CIPres 14/4/91 (11A)
A UNIFIED South Africa needed a strong and effective Parliament capable of dealing with reconstruction, nation-building and overcoming the legacy of apartheid.

So said the ANC in its draft constitutional principles issued as a discussion document in Cape Town this week.

All apartheid structures had to be dismantled and replaced by government institutions which were truly non-racial and democratic.

South Africa would encompass the whole territory recognised by the international community, including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan said when he introduced the 32-page draft document.

The ANC has not yet formulated a firm view as to when it had to be included in the constitutional negotiations.

The document proposes a unitary, non-racial and democratic State where a Bill of Rights guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms on an equal basis.

The proposals include:
■ A unitary parliament consisting of two Houses of Parliament. The first, the National Assembly, would be elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. The power of enacting legislation would be primarily vested in the National Assembly.

The second House, the Senate, also elected according to proportional representation and universal suffrage, would guard the constitution.

■ A voting system based on proportional representation.

■ A constitutional court for referring disputes concerning the constitution for its decision. The court will have the

power to review.

■ Equal recognition of all languages.

A n elected State President

Friend and foe must discuss draft - ANC

■ From Page 1

CIPres 14/4/91 (11A)
The ANC saw its APC as the forum within which this had to be done while the NP government saw its proposed multi-party conference as a constitution-making body.

"The words might sound the same and the parameters may look alike but the animal we are talking about is quite different," said Jordan.

The document's launch was supervised by a number of the ANC's national executive committee members who serve on the constitutional committee.

One of them, Dullah Omar, said the constitutional system proposed also differed radically from that of the government which wanted to "entrench" discrimination and the imbalances created by apartheid through a devolution of power in a federal system.

This would deny the central government the power to implement national policies in those areas where imbalances were the most pronounced, such as housing, education and health. - Sapa



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power to review.

■ Equal recognition of all languages.

An elected State President would serve as head of State, with a maximum term of office of five years.

The Cabinet would be



Pallo Jordan ... this is not a final blueprint

headed by a prime minister appointed by the president.

The dispensation will be based on the executive, legislative and judicial arms of the two-tier government.

Elections for the presidency, National Assembly and Senate would be held by democratic secret ballot, at intervals of not more than five years.

"All (governmental) structures and institutions shall be based on democratic principles, popular participation, accountability and accessibility," the document said.

"It is imperative that (ANC) branches, regions, trade unions, democratic formations generally, as well as a broad spectrum of our people - sympathetic or unsympathetic - discuss the issues raised and submit comments, criticisms and suggestions," said the preface to the document.

The document was not a final blueprint and did not pre-empt a constituent assembly, the ANC said. The organisation believed discussion on all constitutional issues had to take place now to ensure fully-informed representation on a constituent assembly.

Jordan added that the government and the ANC differed fundamentally on the structure and function of an all-party conference.

The ANC coined the term All-Party Congress (APC) to give effect to the Harare Declaration which stated certain fundamental constitutional principles needed to be agreed to.

■ To Page 2

'Protect yourselves' Mandela tells crowd

By DAN DHLAMINI

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged people to form defence units to protect themselves against the "enemy".

He was speaking at the mass funeral of Anne Ramokgola, 38; Solomon Ramokgola, 21; Timothy Ramokgola, 17; Paul Ramokgola, 15; Eric Yawa, 18; Michael Ndlovu, 18; Sello Phiri, 21; Siphso Radebe, 21; and Lydia Maphanga, 28. *APR 14 1989*

They were killed in an ambush on a night vigil in Alexandra township last month.

Mandela said the ANC had agreed with the government to suspend the armed struggle, but never agreed that people should not defend themselves.

Mandela accused the government of working hand-in-glove with criminals and of being reluctant to stop the violence.

He said the main purpose of the set of demands the ANC had made was to force the government to stop the violence.

Addressing more than 20 000 mourners, South African Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane blamed the government for the violence which has claimed many lives.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolov-

hodwe said the time had come for blacks to unite and stand up against the "third force", which he said was taking advantage of the faction fight between blacks.

■ State President FW de Klerk, the AWB, and the Inkatha Freedom Party were responsible for the current violence in black townships, Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, told mourners in Soweto yesterday.

She was addressing thousands who attended the funeral of Ezekiel Jongi Ndzanga, an ANC cadre who collapsed and died in Tanzania last month. The service was also addressed by Winnie Mandela and Mankekolo Mahlangu, a former Azapo member who joined the ANC in exile.

In a scathing attack on De Klerk, Sisulu accused him of insincerity in the negotiations to bring about a new democratic government.

"De Klerk, the AWB and the IFP are directly responsible for the current violence. We are aware of the thousands of murderers who are brought in loads of trucks and buses at night to kill our people," she told the ululating crowd.

Mahlangu, who went into exile 10 years ago, appealed to the mourners to pick up Ndzanga's "spear" and march forward to freedom.

No place for racism

IF affirmative action had no effect on the masses we might dismiss it as just another false hope, but affirmative action actually does positive harm – and to those who can least afford it.

As apartheid begins to wind down there are increasingly louder calls for a race-based policy of affirmative action.

Much of this has a ring of reasonableness about it. After decades of State-imposed disadvantages blacks feel they need something extra to speed up their socio-economic progress.

What is meant by “something extra” has been made painfully obvious to me during several visits to South Africa, most recently in October.

One example is the debate about whether firms such as Pick 'n Pay and Checkers supermarkets should be allowed to do business in black townships.

If those firms began operations in black townships there would be several significant benefits for many blacks.

Blacks would have more convenient shopping opportunities, and a larger selection of goods at lower prices than what is available through

CP News 14/4/91.
American economist WALTER WILLIAMS argues against ‘affirmative action’ as a policy for the ‘new’ South Africa. He claims it benefits only the blacks who least need it – the business people.

existing sources.

The benefit of lower prices is significant when we recognise that a higher standard of living is possible through higher wages or lower prices for goods and services.

The argument against large white-owned firms having operations in the townships is that as black entrepreneurs have been discriminated against they cannot compete effectively with white-owned firms, which have had all the advantages.

I have been told that whites should be kept out of the townships to encourage the development of black entrepreneurs.

I countered the argument by offering two alternatives.

First, allow white firms to enter the market in black townships. If black people feel strongly about the development of black firms they simply should not shop at places such as Pick 'n Pay and shop instead with the ex-

isting small black merchants.

Thus Pick 'n Pay, for example, would go out of business in the townships.

Secondly, I suggested black people be allowed to hold a referendum on whether white firms should be allowed to enter townships.

Neither of these suggestions was warmly received. The significance of this attitude is that it reflects an unwillingness on the part of some blacks to eliminate apartheid entirely.

The position is identical to that when South Africa's racists laid the groundwork for apartheid.

The question for South Africa is whether current apartheid laws will be replaced with ‘enlightened’ apartheid – in which, for example, businesses in black townships are reserved for blacks only.

If such a practice comes to fruition in the ‘new’ South Africa blacks will have dem-

onstrated that their struggle was not for freedom but merely to change the colour of the tyrant.

Only a tiny fraction of the black population – black businessmen – would benefit from keeping white businesses out of townships, and this will demonstrate that blacks too are as willing as apartheid's architects to impose high costs on the masses for the benefit of a few.

No doubt employment will also become a target of affirmative action programmes.

Again, there is an air of reasonableness in such a call. Blacks have indeed been held back from the acquisition of skills and education to compete adequately with whites, who have had all the advantages.

There is however nothing one can do to change history except to acknowledge it and ensure no repetition of the past.

Wherever it has been tried affirmative action has failed to produce the desired results.

The task that lies before all South Africans is rather to eliminate once and for all every vestige of racial/ethnic privilege from their society.

One settler, one song

By SANDILE MEMELA *11/11/82*

THE PAC Cultural Desk is about to release an album of songs urging people to continue with the liberation struggle.

The album will hit the streets in the next two weeks and is called *Isinyikanyika Sendaba* – meaning a serious problem needs urgent attention. *City Press 14/4/91*.

The music has been composed by cadres of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla), who call on the organisation's leadership to find solutions to the country's problems.

The album is dedicated to "all

Azanian patriots who have shown light to the struggling masses".

The lead vocalist is Fitzroy Ngcukana with backing vocals done by Fourth Street. The gist of the eight-track album is to tell of the ordeal cadres go through.

Ngcukana, also the Cultural Desk general secretary, told *City Press* the album was composed by PAC cadres who are "still at war with the regime".

"Their identities cannot be revealed," he said.

The record was produced by Kolo Lebone and will be released on the Sounds of Soweto (SOS) label.

Stepping down with dignity

Star 15/4/91

11A

KaNgwane's Enos Mabuza reviews his political career and ponders the future in an interview with Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE.

ON A CONTINENT where most retiring statesmen leave behind a legacy of corruption, chaos and self-glorifying monuments, the resignation of Enos Mabuza will pass virtually unnoticed.

The reasons for his quiet exit are a tribute to the KaNgwane Chief Minister, who leaves office today after 13 years.

First, the relatively stable and well-run administration he leaves behind has drawn little media coverage at a time when homeland corruption, political oppression and protracted violence in South Africa have gripped public attention.

Second, while most homeland leaders are applying every trick in the book to ensure a place at the negotiating table, Mr Mabuza is stepping down gracefully.

At the relatively young age of 51, the popular leader's statesmanship, wisdom and political

insight will hopefully not be lost. Like Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Enos Mabuza has stepped out of mainstream politics. Like them, he might become one of the facilitators in the constitutional process ahead.

Interviewed at his Rosebank, Johannesburg, office, the humble, dignified former teacher said he had no political ambition but might continue to take an "interest" in current political developments.

An ANC member — according to the ANC mouthpiece *Mayibuye* — and a close friend of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, he nevertheless wants to pursue a non-aligned path.

"We need people who can appeal to the citizenry of the country, people without a party-political agenda.

"I have always been an ANC sympathiser. I subscribe to the ANC's goals and ideals, al-

though I have to add that I have always believed in non-violence and peaceful change."

A devoted pacifist, he is proud of his administration's achievements, particularly its success in politicising his people without the often inescapable spin-off of political violence.

"We have steadfastly exercised the principle of political tolerance. In fact, my own political party (Inyandza National Movement) derived its strength from non-violence.

"Nevertheless, there have been times when my supporters have said 'We can't tolerate this, we have to retaliate, we must take sticks and sjamboks'. I said 'No, you will not do that'. And they listened.

"In the end, they realised that our strength has been our ability to withstand insult."

Mr Mabuza is saddened by the violence which has engulfed South Africa.

"Part of the violence is because the State has propped up racism and polarisation. Black life in South Africa has always been cheap under a government which regarded only whites as human beings. The security forces are undoubtedly to blame," he said.

"But the violence is a serious indictment of black leadership. We all have to bear responsibility. Some black politicians practise dominance and intolerance, indirectly advocating one person, one vote, but wanting no opponents left in the long run.

"I suspect that some black leaders haven't done enough to preach and practise peace. We hear a lot of sabre-rattling which is not conducive to peace.

"Really, it is the power of the ballot and not the bullet or the assegai that should be at work."

He dreams of a stable, democratic, black-led government which functions "like any modern country", a solid economy, fruitful foreign relations and competitiveness on international markets.

This was not impossible, he said, provided the violence was stopped immediately and a culture of hard work was cultivated among black and white.

"We must avoid the hand-out mentality. Apartheid has led to this culture of patronage. Blacks think their white compatriots and the Government owe us everything — which it does because we have been dis-

sessed — but that does not mean have to sit on our backsides and wait for help. At a certain stage, we have to get up and work hard."

To work hard is something he does well. He has tirelessly served his people, using the little means at his disposal to uplift them socio-economically with little help from Pretoria.

Announcing his resignation to a hushed KaNgwane Legislative Assembly last month, he reflected on the strained relationships with the South African Government.

"Having been a civil servant, an inspector of education, when I entered politics in 1977, there were those who expected me to toe Pretoria's line . . . This was a misconception, an illusion."

As a result, financial help remained minimal compared with other self-governing states. And in 1982 the Government tried to incorporate KaNgwane and the



Enos Mabuza

Ingwavuma area of KwaZulu into Swaziland. The Legislative Assembly was disbanded and Inyandza led the struggle to prevent incorporation. It suc-

ceeded. In 1984 KaNgwane was formally granted "self-governing" status, and the incorporation plans were quashed.

Security police harassment was stepped up against him and his family after that. It was no the last of Mr Mabuza's skirmishes with Pretoria.

"As recently as this year a senior South African Cabinet Minister bluntly threatened budget cuts, and refused to make land available for development settlement. I could not countenance that," he said.

Mr Mabuza leaves office with a sense of guilt towards his supporters who have asked him to lead them along the last mile to final unification.

"But I have played my part, think I should be man enough to leave and not be pushed out."

He believes leadership is no a life-time occupation. The role he still has to play will hopefully prove him wrong. □

ANC, PAC meet to map out joint strategy

Star
15/4/91

Star Africa Service,
Political Staff and Sapa

HARARE — The South African Government could face a formidable new negotiating team by the middle of this week.

This is the message from Harare, where executives of the ANC and the PAC meet today and tomorrow in an attempt to form a "patriotic front" against the Government.

The meeting will be opened by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who is also funding the conference.

Mr Mugabe is expected to call on the two organisations to emulate the example of the rival factions that fought to end white rule in Rhodesia. The two factions eventually came together to form a "patriotic front" to hasten the advent of majority rule.

There is, however, no suggestion at this stage that the ANC and PAC will merge.

The meeting, to take place behind closed doors, is being held in an attempt to map out joint strategies on South Africa's transition to a democracy.

Action

Negotiations on a future South Africa would never be the same again, PAC secretary for information Barney Desai said yesterday. "A patriotic front will change the complexion of the present phase of negotiations," he said.

"We hope that during the course of these two days we will be looking at a range of issues, the current situation in South Africa and the mapping out of joint strategies for the transition to democracy," said ANC spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan.

"We hope to come up with a programme of action, a campaign to be undertaken by the PAC and ANC towards building a joint patriotic front of democratic anti-apartheid forces."

However, arriving at Harare International Airport last night, Nelson Mandela told a news conference it was premature to think the PAC and ANC would form a patriotic front during the talks.

"We've come here with the hope that it is possible for us to reach a breakthrough in our efforts to unite," he said.



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CAM Units 15/4/91 (11A) 2/1/91

Row looms over 'defence units'

Political Staff

THE ANC and the government could be heading for another clash — this time over the organisation's renewed calls for township "defence units".

On Saturday ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela called on township residents to form the units irrespective of government protests.

Yesterday Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's office, responded by warning that the police were "totally opposed to all private political armies" from any organisation.

Their presence could only lead to "faster polarisation and even greater bloodshed" and were a recipe for civil conflict, he said.

Captain Kotze added that the SAP would not allow its function to be taken over by any organisation or let anyone take the law into his own hands.

Mr Mandela, speaking to mourners at an Alexandra Stadium funeral, said: "If the government takes exception to the decision to form defence units it would be like a voice in the wilderness — we are not going to listen. If it is okay for whites to have

neighbourhood watches and civilian guards it should be equally acceptable for blacks to have their own defence units."

The function of the units would not be to mount attacks, but to defend the people, he said.

At the weekend ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba called for weapons to be seized from right-wingers and criminals to arm the defence units.

He declined to be drawn on the methods to be used to achieve this but said that the community would "find ways". There was a gun in virtually every white home, he said.

The police have stressed in the past that such armed units are not acceptable and nobody will be allowed to carry unregistered firearms.

Mr Mandela said the decision to form the units did not contravene the agreement struck with the government not to train MK members inside the country.

"We are going to honour that agreement," he said. "But there was no agreement that we will not form defence units to defend our people."

Mugabe urges ANC, PAC to form a patriotic front

1965 15/4/91 (119)

From ROBIN DREW, Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — President Mugabe will today call on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to emulate the example of rival factions in Rhodesia which joined to form a "patriotic front" to hasten the advent of majority rule.

Zimbabwe is attaching great importance to the ANC-PAC discussions which will seek to identify common areas where the two organisations will be able to engage in joint action.

There is no suggestion at this stage of a merger.

Mandela, Makwetu

The national executive committees led by the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, will spend two days discussing methods of achieving a common policy.

PAC chief spokesman, Mr Gora Ebrahim, said the meeting would not discuss specific methods adopted by the two parties because in a patriotic front the parties could maintain their particular programmes.

What they would try to do would be to identify common areas where they could agree on joint action.

A leading Zimbabwe newspaper, The Sunday Mail, said yesterday that it regarded the talks this week as an historic event on which it placed great hopes.

A united front of all the South African forces of liberation would deprive President De Klerk and his international sympathisers of the tactic of divide and rule.

The paper said the way ahead was riddled with booby traps. It described Mr De Klerk's agenda as "suspicious and uninspiring".

Sapa reports that Mr Mandela arrived in Zimbabwe last night for the talks today.

He told a news conference on arrival at Harare International Airport that it was premature to think the PAC and the ANC would form a "patriotic front" during their two-day talks.

'Realisation of dream'

"We've come here with the hope that it is possible for us to reach a breakthrough in our efforts to unite our two organisations," Mr Mandela said.

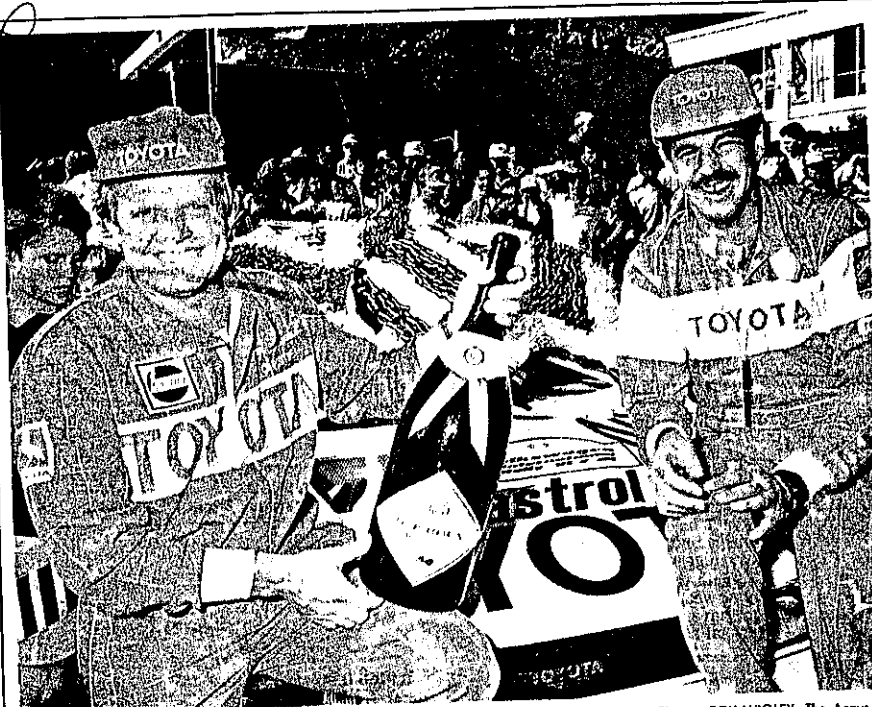
"What will happen precisely will depend on the discussions. It will be presumptuous for anybody to make a definitive opinion," he added.

"The meeting between the PAC and the ANC is a realisation of a dream which we in the ANC have been working for for a number of years, especially after February 2 last year," said Mr Mandela.

The ANC deputy president was welcomed on arrival by Zimbabwean Minister of Agriculture Dr Witness Mangwende and other senior Zimbabwean officials.

Also at the airport were ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the international affairs department.

Mr Makwetu arrived last week. It is the first time the national executive committees of the two organisations are meeting on the questions of a common front. — Sapa.



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

BACK ON TOP: Serge Damseaux and navigator Vito Bonafede, amid fans outside the Killarney clubhouse, celebrate their victory in the VW International Rally, the second in the SA championship series. Their 4WD Toyota Conquest RSi never lost the lead although the Sarel van der Merwe/Franz Boshoff Ford Laser came close in the first few stages after the start in George on Friday. Cape ace Damseaux is experiencing a resurgence in his fortunes after a best forgotten 1990 season. Saturday's win comes after a brilliant drive in the season's opener in which he battled his way from the middle of the field to second.

Malan silent over latest CCB claims

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan remained silent today over the latest claims about the CCB, amid renewed calls for a fresh inquiry into hit squads.

Over the weekend, former CCB chief Mr Joe Verster's claimed nine agents were still being held in foreign jails and secret projects were still "on the go" overseas.

His remarks were branded by the SADF as an attempt to discredit the army and cast suspicion on it. In a statement last night, the SADF said it had nothing to hide and would "put its case in court".

NEW COMMISSION

A spokesman for General Malan's office said the ministry did not intend making any statements.

However, the northern suburbs-based Campaign for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Hit Squads said today it would step up pressure on the government for a fresh probe into the sinister unit.

Spokesman Mr Hannes Senekal said the claims by Mr Verster "confirm our view that the hit squad issue has not been cut open to the bone and a new a

commission must be appointed to investigate internal and external hit squad operations".

He said: "We would particularly like to know who the nine agents (claimed to be in foreign jails) are and of what crimes they were found guilty. We also want to know whether they still receive salaries from the CCB, since taxpayers are footing the bill."

The SADF said it was not prepared to publicly debate claims made at the weekend by former head of the sinister unit, Mr Joe Verster.

Mr Verster claimed that nine CCB agents still being held in foreign jails were all receiving salaries from the government. He said until they were released, the activities of the CCB could not be regarded as "wrapped up".

He said projects still "on the go" overseas could result in court proceedings potentially harmful to South Africa's image.

He also claimed that the CCB and a body called "The Organisation" were two different things and that the Harms Commission had been misled into believing it was dealing with the CCB, rather than the latter.

He said everything the CCB had done had been authorised.

Stories of split in CP a 'panic smokescreen'

By ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

THERE was not the remotest chance of a split in the Conservative Party, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the MP at the centre of a new rightist storm, said today.

"There's no split, no imminent split, nothing at all," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe was responding to newspaper reports, gleefully read by National Party MPs, of a rift looming among Conservatives following publication of a strategy document he wrote which differed sharply from CP policies and statements.

On reports on tensions increasing in the CP as a result of the document surfacing he said: "I don't think so. I don't detect them."

But it is well-known that there have in the last year or so been simmering differences between a group of younger MPs, Mr Van der Merwe prominent among them, and those still wanting a return to Verwoerdian apartheid, led by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

NEGOTIATIONS

"The issue is about the size of the white state," said one source. "Some want it to be 87 percent. Others say 'let's see what's attainable in 1991'."

The two camps are also divided on negotiations: Mr Van der Merwe's more modern group is eager to display a dynamism by participating, to take the initiative, and to avoid irrelevance as negotiations on a new South Africa begin.

Talks: Moves to bring government and PAC closer

Political Staff

HARARE. — Quickening efforts are under way between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress to engage the movement in talks.

This emerged here at the weekend where PAC leaders — gathered for their first national conference — forged a response to a formal government invitation last week for talks on the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly in South Africa.

A letter from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, inviting them for talks on the assembly, stirred excitement in the PAC leadership. Leaders felt the invitation represented progress in their dealings with government.

While the government firmly rejects a constituent assembly to draw up South Africa's future con-

hopes.
A united front of all the South African forces of liberation would deprive President De Klerk and his international sympathisers of the tactic of divide and rule.

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'Realisation of dream'

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"What will happen precisely will depend on the discussions. It will be presumptuous for anybody to make a definitive opinion," he added.

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While the government firmly rejects a constituent assembly to draw up South Africa's future constitution, PAC leaders clearly felt Dr Viljoen's readiness to talk about it was a positive "step in the right direction".

'WORTH THE WAIT'

"It was worth the wait," said Mr Barney Desai, PAC secretary for information.

The PAC stipulated in a response yesterday that the government should first meet the requirement of the United Nations Consensus Declaration of December 1989.

The declaration calls for the unbanning of political parties, lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional release of political prisoners, and the unhindered repatriation of all exiles — conditions already largely met by the government reforms.

PAC members insisted at the weekend they were not prepared to meet the government separately. They start talks with the ANC today on the formation of a "Patriotic Front".

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Lines drawn for ANC, govt bargaining

CAPE TOWN — The major issues government and the ANC will wrestle over at negotiations are the political autonomy of local and regional authorities and how effectively a new parliament can redress apartheid inequities.

Big differences in their positions on the division of power among component parts of a new government emerged at the weekend when the ANC unveiled its constitutional proposals.

Underlying the proposals is adherence to a long-standing belief in strong centralised government delegating power to lower authorities — as opposed to government's position that devolved power to

BILLY PADDOCK

regional and local levels be entrenched. Government sources yesterday said this was the major point of contention that had to be ironed out between it and the ANC.

They said government was in agreement with the principle of addressing apartheid backlogs but the ANC's proposed method of achieving this could raise problems.

However, one senior source said he was encouraged by the ANC's discussion document and said numerous points of convergence gave hope that negotiations would bring about compromises from all sides.

Leading ANC advocate Dullah Omar

said entrenched devolution of power would mean a future national government would be unable to implement policies to reduce historical inequalities in housing, education and health.

He said this, and combined with government's proposals for minority or group protectionism, would nullify or frustrate majority rule.

ANC leaders at the launch of the constitution plan said it contained draft principles to stimulate debate within and outside the organisation and was not written in stone. It is expected that a formal package will

□ To Page 2

ANC

be formulated at the organisation's June conference.

Diplomats from Europe, the US, Norway and Scandinavia all said they were encouraged by the "thoroughly democratic" document but were disturbed by areas of vagueness, particularly the ANC's apparent movement on the concept of an all-party conference.

They said there appeared to be many points of convergence between the document and the NP position, although ANC spokesmen at the launch emphasised the differences.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said: "There's a difference between the way we and government conceive the multi-party conference. The words may seem the same but the animal is quite different."

Government saw it as a constitution-making mechanism but the ANC believed it should be used only to set principles for the new constitution.

The striking similarities between the ANC and NP proposals are that:

- The new SA be a multi-party democracy with regular five-yearly elections;
- There should be an independent judiciary with power to review and set aside legislation;

□ From Page 1

- Elections should be held on a proportional basis;
- There should be two houses of parliament, a national assembly and a senate;
- Homelands should be reincorporated; and
- A justiciable bill of rights should be established.

The ANC proposals differ in that the senate will be regarded as a guardian of the constitution with power to delay but not veto legislation proposed by a national assembly. The NP envisage a senate with powers to veto legislation.

The ANC wants the senate elected by universal suffrage and making provision for regional representation but not on an ethnic or cultural basis.

The ANC proposes an executive president with reduced powers, directly or indirectly elected, who would appoint the cabinet and a prime minister to head the cabinet. The president's term of office will be a maximum of two five-year terms and he can be voted out by a two-thirds majority of the national assembly.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen refused to comment on the ANC's proposals, saying it was an internal discussion document still to be debated by the ANC.

● Comment: Page 8

Govt again invites PAC to constituent assembly talks

*Journal 11A
B/day 15/4/91.*

HARARE — The South African Government has sent another invitation to the PAC to discuss the group's views on a constituent assembly.

This was disclosed in Harare at the weekend when the PAC held a news conference on the eve of crucial two-day talks with the ANC. The talks will centre on the formation of a Patriotic Front.

The latest overture was the first indication that Pretoria was prepared to compromise on the issue.

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe will open the meeting today after which talks will be held behind closed doors.

At the news briefing, PAC officials made public a letter from the SA government sent to it on April 10.

In the letter, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said government would like to hear the PAC's views on a constituent assembly, and would like to express its own position on that and other issues.

Government was reacting to a resolution taken at the PAC's second national congress in December last year to discuss, among other issues, government's invitation to the organisation to join exploratory talks which it has been holding with the ANC in the past months.

In the resolution, the PAC said it could not negotiate with government

unless such negotiations were preceded by constituent assembly elections.

It conveyed its reaction on the issue to government in a letter in December.

PAC information secretary Barney Desai said Mugabe would open today's meeting.

Desai said there would be 40 delegates from his side, including the full national executive committee.

Eradication

Included in the ANC delegation are deputy president Nelson Mandela and head of international affairs Thabo Mbeki.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said emphasis in this week's talks would be on the total eradication of apartheid while the two groups searched for common principles.

"The ANC and PAC need to present a solid united front in dismantling the apartheid regime. They can't afford to do that separately," political analyst Gary van Staden said.

Van Staden, senior researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs, added: "It (the front) will remove from the government its mechanism of divide and rule."

Mark Shinnars, a leading PAC official, said: "It will give the struggle a

clear direction and momentum."

Major issues to be tackled in the Zimbabwean capital will be joint strategies on major issues such as demands for a constituent assembly to oversee drawing up of a democratic constitution.

The two organisations broadly agree on this issue, but have differed on the need for an interim government as proposed by the ANC. The PAC proposes an independent external monitoring group.

Van Staden said differences over interim government could pose problems at the meeting, but he pointed out the two movements could make sure the issue did not stand in the way of the formation of the coalition.

The PAC, which has refused to participate in tentative talks with government, has come under pressure to change its stance. The latest pressure has come from the British Government in talks between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

The trade union movement, Azapo and other organisations would also be given representation on the front. PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said affiliation would be granted on acceptance of the principles of the Patriotic Front.

The front is expected to be formally launched some time later this year. — Sapa.

★ 11A

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — The leadership of the ANC and the PAC meet here today for the most significant act of rapprochement since their 1958 breach.

Their common desire to see the election of a constituent assembly has brought to fruition years of promptings by the Organisation of African Unity and the front-line states.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived here last night for a meeting at Harare's Sheraton Hotel of the ANC central committee.

PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu and his Tanzanian-based first deputy president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, occupied the top table at a full meeting on Saturday of the 45-member PAC national executive council, embracing internally-based officials and those who have refused to seek South African government indemnity.

Mr Mandela's weekend references to the possibility of township residents organising their

ANC, PAC in key meeting today

own peacekeeping apparatus to replace police who have allegedly "colluded with violent criminal elements", have led to speculation here that the ANC and PAC might co-operate in what would be, in effect, an anti-in-katha alliance.

The meeting — held under the aegis of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu-PF party — will be opened this morning at Harare's International Conference Centre by President Robert Mugabe. Foreign ministers of the seven frontline states applauded the planned

meeting at their conference last week in Gaborone.

Since his release from prison, Mr Mandela has succeeded in winning Mr Mugabe's unqualified backing for his negotiations with President F W de Klerk, despite Zimbabwe's previous bias towards the PAC and the position enunciated in Harare by the late PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng. Only weeks before his death, Mr Mothopeng said the PAC would refuse any part in negotiations until continuing armed struggle and sanctions had weakened Pretoria's power.

Following Saturday's meeting, Mr Makwetu appeared to hint at a relaxation of the PAC's hard line stand. He acknowledged that the PAC had received a letter from "Mr De Klerk's government" stressing its commitment to democratic solutions. Mr Makwetu said the PAC would not negotiate unless talks were preceded by the election of a one-person-one-vote constituent assembly.

Constituent assembly invitation

11A
Sowetan 15/4/91

THE South African Government has made an about-turn on the question of the constituent assembly and has invited the Pan Africanist Congress to talk about the issue.

In a letter to the PAC this week, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the Government would like to talk to the PAC about a constituent assembly.

The Government has always summarily dismissed the question of a constituent assembly, describing it as undemocratic. In its place, the Government offered a multi-party conference instead.

A response to the Government's letter

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

would be formulated within the next 24 hours, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in Zimbabwe at the weekend.

Commenting on the invitation from the Government, Makwetu reiterated PAC's resolution regarding the constituent assembly taken at the movement's national congress in December last year.

"There is principle, tactic or policy barring us from making a democratic solution to the country's problems," he said.

"The PAC will not negotiate with (President)

De Klerk unless negotiations are preceded by an election for a constituent assembly.

"The PAC has the mandate from the oppressed and dispossessed to demand that the constitution for a free Azania only be drawn up as a democratically elected constituent assembly on neutral ground."

This week's letter from Viljoen said when the PAC was ready to talk about a constituent assembly, "we can establish contact in order to decide on the time and venue for our discussions".

There was mild euphoria among the PAC's national executive council yesterday. The general feeling was "it was worth waiting all this time".

The PAC will close its meeting later today. Tomorrow it is scheduled to enter discussions with the ANC about the formation of a patriotic front.

Should a patriotic front become a reality, the Government's proposed multi-party conference scheduled for the middle of this year will disappear from the political agenda.

A patriotic front does not augur well for a multi-party conference or continued talks between the ANC and the Government.

1208 get indemnity from prosecution

A FURTHER 1 208 people had applied for and been granted indemnity bringing the total number to 3 692, the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said on Friday.

The director-general (justice) announced in the Government Gazette on Friday that 1 208

people who had applied for indemnity for undergoing military training contrary to the provisions of the Terrorism Act had received it.

The total of 3 692 people who had received indemnity represented 73 percent of the total applications received. - Sapa



Coffins of the nine victims are carried shoulder-high during a funeral procession to Alexandra cemetery on Saturday. Picture by MBUZENI ZULU.

Mandela hits out at Government, Press

11A
Sowetan 15/4/91

THE Government and the Press came under heavy criticism from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at a mass funeral of eight unrest victims in Alexandra on Saturday.

The eight were killed during a night vigil on the eve of the burial of their relative, Mrs Jane Ramokgola, about three weeks ago.

The victims were her sons Solomon (21), Timothy (17) and Paul (15), Liya Maphanga (28) a relative, Eric Yawa

(18), Michael Ndhlovu (18), Sello Phiri (21), Sipho Radebe (21). All were buried with Ramakgola.

Mandela said the attitude of some sections of the Press to the ANC's set of demands had been very disappointing.

"They have criticised the ANC for submitting the set of demands and issuing an ultimatum to the Government."

Reef corpses sent to Transkei

ABOUT 1 000 mourners attended a memorial service on Friday of 10 of the 18 people who were killed on March 24 in clashes between the police and residents in Daveyton, writes NKOPANE MAKOBANE.

After the service at the Sinaba Stadium the bodies of the victims were transported to Transkei where they were

buried at the weekend.

Police kept a close watch over proceedings from a distance.

Speakers at the service included, ANC representatives John Nkadameng, Mahommed Valli Moosa and Xolani Nduna, Transkei Consul General, Mr V N Mditshwa, Mr Amos Masondo of Cosatu and the local Methodist priest, the Rev M A Madibo.

PAC and ANC in unity bid

By ISMAEL LARGARDIEN

HARARE - The South African Government will have a "formidable negotiating partner by the middle of this week".

This is the message from Harare, Zimbabwe, where the executives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress meet today in an attempt to form a "patriotic front" against the Government.

The two-day meeting will be opened by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who is also funding the convention.

Negotiations on a future South Africa will never be the same again, PAC secretary for information Mr Barney Desai said yesterday.

"A patriotic front will change the complexion of the present phase of negotiations," he said.

The PAC national executive council met for the first time at the weekend since it was elected last December.

Statement

While there was no statement forthcoming from the PAC yesterday, the organisation's executive was, however, positive that a "patriotic front" would become a reality.

"Things are 90 percent ready" on the PAC side but the next two days would see some hard talking between the two organisations, PAC sources said.

Commenting in the local media the ANC's chief representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Max Mlonyeni, said the organisation had passed a resolution at its national consultative conference in Johannesburg last December "that a patriotic front should be established".

"It is important for all those forces who want to benefit from a liberated South Africa to come together and plan this process towards liberation," Mlonyeni told the *Sunday Mail* in Harare.

Commenting on today's meeting, the PAC's secre-

● To Page 2

Groups in unity talks

From Page 1

tary for foreign affairs, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, said: "We think it is a very important initial step towards the establishment of a patriotic conference of the oppressed whereby we can have a common policy to confront the common enemy in our country."

The PAC has since its unbanning on February 2 last year refused to hold talks with the Government about a future constitution for South Africa while the ANC has continuously held such talks.

When the "patriotic front" becomes a reality, both parties will be forced to rethink their positions.

ANC apology to Kaunda (11A)

THE internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, has apologised to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia for not consulting him and other Frontline States leaders before the organisation wrote an open letter to President FW De Klerk.

Among other demands linked to the ending of township violence, the ANC letter called for the sacking of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Sisulu said the escalating violence in the country had necessitated quick action. Because of the urgent nature of the matter, the ANC had found it difficult to consult with Dr Kaunda, the chairman of the Frontline States.

Nothing seems to have changed ...

11A (circled) and a scribble in a circle

Sowelen 15/4/91.
I AM reminded of the stories my father used to regale us with about Professor Tengo Jabavu when I read the first of a politico-historical trilogy edited by Thomas Karis and Gwendolen M Carter called *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*.

Jabavu was the embodiment of the missionary schooled intellectual of the past who played a major role in shaping the politics of South Africa.

According to Karis and Carter, African political journalism began in 1884 when John Tengo Jabavu founded *Imvo Zabantsundu* in King William's Town.

His editorials are for me rather arresting. One short example should suffice to give a feeling of grandiloquent tone, the grand flavour of English as expressed by some of our forebears. Thus:

"Muzzling the Natives. Editorial in *Imvo Zabantsundu*, March 23, 1887.

The Bill which the Sprigg Government has given notice of introducing next Parliamentary Session, with the ostensible object of making 'better provision for the Registration of Persons entitled to the Electoral Franchise' is about the severest blow that has ever been aimed at Native rights since representative institutions were introduced into this country. The *Cape Times*, a journal which cannot be suspected of negrophilistic tendencies whatever, characterises it as an attempt 'to cloak injustice under the specious pretext of reform'.

I am delighted by the gravitas, the serious intellectual tone coming from that editorial chair. I am tempted to call it a podium, in the spirit of the roll of that particular essence of the English language.

More extraordinary about this historical volume is that nothing seems to change.



Jabavu was a staid, Christian, almost reactionary type of black intellectual.

Like his peers, including the man who fathered me, they stood in awe of "western civilisation". They sincerely believed that the white man, being civilised, would change if the black became his intellectual equal.

From the same book comes the view about black education or education generally in South Africa that has been repeated for years. It claimed "the parlous condition of education in South Africa may be judged by the anomalous attitude of former Ministeries under Responsible Government towards Native Education".

It continues: "At the present time, under the improved management of the Supt Gen of Education, the disparity between the grants allowed per pupil to white and black, as shown by the Education Report, will be seen from the following table:

First Class Public Schools (White) ... three pounds, seventeen shillings and four and a half pence.

First Class Public Schools (Black) ... twelve shillings, two and a half pence.

Third Class Public Schools (White) ... two pounds, one shilling, three and a half pence; and

Third Class Public Schools (Black) ... thirteen shillings, three and a half pence.

This document was delivered to the British Government by the South African Native Congress in 1903.

Talks about tolerance

ON a big billboard, near Braamfontein on Johannesburg's M1 South, are the words "We should be talking to each other", an advertisement sponsored by a big computer company.

On Friday night at Wits University, not far from the billboard, leaders of some of South Africa's main political groups did indeed try to talk to each other.

The the topic was "Political tolerance in a changing South Africa".

At the same time, in Alexandra Township a funeral vigil was under way for eight victims of the recent violence.

The Wits University event was hosted by the Five Freedoms Forum. Journalist Mr Harald Pakendorf was chairman.

Taking part were Mr C Lategan of the National Party's Transvaal Provincial Administration; Miss Barbara Hogan, the ANC's PWV regional secretary; Mr Tony Leon Democratic Party MP for Houghton; Azapo head of education secretariat Dr Gomolemo Mokae and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Musa Myeni.

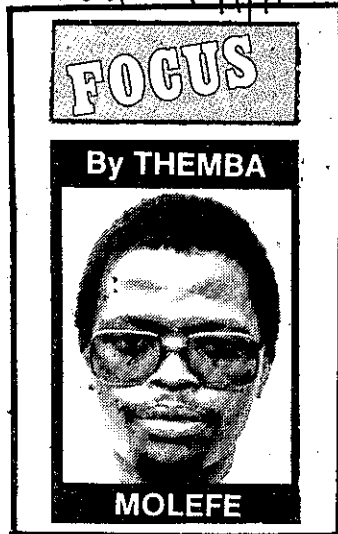
Pakendorf told the equally diverse audience that the Conservative Party and ultra-right Boerestaat Party declined the invitation to participate while the PAC had "agreed in principle" to attend but did not send a delegate.

The panel was called on to discuss whether elections could take place under the present political climate; whether freedom of association was possible and whether factional tolerance existed only at a political level.

All agreed no elections could take place in the present political climate. But once discussion got underway, the debate got heated.

The ANC and Azapo began by taking the fight to the Government's corner. Inkatha immediately went for the ANC. Azapo attacked Inkatha, accusing the organisation of being opportunist.

Inkatha pointed out, in an apparent reference to the ANC, that



it was not "politically bankrupt" and therefore "lucky".

Azapo's Mokae criticised IFP by saying: "Inkatha graduated from a Zuluist cultural movement to a political party through violence and intimidation and it still does."

He said this after IFP's Myeni called on the ANC, Inkatha and Azapo to jointly address the question of intolerance. He criticised the ANC's threat to suspend constitutional talks if the Government did not stop the violence.

Myeni said the ANC should address issues relevant to the Inkatha/ANC agreement of January 29 to create joint violence monitoring structures.

"The ANC should not walk into its own trap by hinting at suspending such talks. They might find themselves asking where do they go next," he said.

"After 30 rallies since January 29 our people are still being attacked - from Pietermaritzburg to Kattlehong - while going or returning from meetings. Landmines and handgrenades have been used and black people have been killed. We have information which we might release if it is for the sake of public interest."

ANC's Hogan responded: "We can talk about peace but the violence will not stop. We sign a peace accord in Tokoza but as we do so Kattlehong blows up.

"Who supplies the weapons, who's doing the planning? Unless stern measures are taken to stop the killings talks are just firefighting."

Talking about the ANC's recent ultimatum to the Government calling for a solution to the violence and the dismissal of ministers Mr Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan, amongst other demands, DP's Leon said five of the seven demands were reasonable.

But he asked: "Why should all the blame be attributed to the State?"

Lategan of the NP said: "What exactly does the ANC want the Government to do? Whatever steps taken are being rejected. The ANC must come out in the open."

Hogan tried to swerve the debate away from what she called finger-pointing and raised the issue of a *third force* being possibly involved in perpetrating the violence.

"This is not simply Inkatha perpetrating the violence but we are not saying it is not responsible."

She said the ANC admitted discipline could be lacking on the ground and was working on it.

"We admit to fingers being pointed at us," she said.

"The Government is extremely intolerant, actually fascist, and this has resulted in the mobilisation process which today sees apartheid on the brink of collapse.

"But we are in a dilemma. Who started this violence? The scale of violence at this stage actually points to a sinister force which is destabilising the country with a force similar to that seen in Angola and Mozambique.

"If the State is not responsible then we should find out who is," she said.

A speaker from the floor accused the panelists of belabouring obvious issues and suggested they propose solutions to curb intolerance.

Hogan responded by saying the attitudes of the police and security forces in dealing with violence should be checked. There was a

need for attitude training in this regard, she said.

"We need a total overhaul of how security forces deal with the violence on the ground. Also, the police must work out who is working behind their backs."

She said police did not act swiftly to stop impending attacks in the township even when the ANC repeatedly supplied information or evidence.

To illustrate her argument, Hogan referred to the recent dramatic deployment of two helicopters and flying squads to arrest a fleeing man who allegedly threatened the life of radio talk-show host John Berks in Johannesburg.

"Why can't the same happen to hunt the killers in Soweto?" she asked.

Mokae agreed with her. "Black life is very cheap," he said.

He suggested blacks should close ranks and that a neutral peace force replace the present police force who could not be trusted.

Myeni responded by saying: "Blacks must take the responsibility of not blaming others."

Lategan said: "We admit that police have enforced apartheid laws in the past. But all political parties should find solutions to the problems together. Let us bury the mistakes of history."

He said poverty also exacerbated the situation and called on political groups to resist calling for sanctions.

Leon said all agreed on the same principles, such as one person-one vote and a Bill of Rights. He suggested a multi-party violence monitoring structure be initiated and a special unit within the Department of Justice be formed to follow up multi-party monitoring.

He said a conference should be called to discuss the source of violence.

And tomorrow statistics of the victims of violence will again leap from the country's front pages and television screens.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Mathaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Mandela rules out any group

11A
16/4/91

privileges

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service
Star 16/4/91

11A
16/4/91

16/4/91

HARARE — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela spoke yesterday of reaching a compromise in drawing up a new constitution for South Africa, but said he would never agree to accepting entrenched privileges for any group.

"We are not prepared to make a compromise on our basic demand for democracy," he told the opening session of the joint ANC-PAC national executive meeting which is examining the prospects for a united front.

Mr Mandela said a key area of unity was the call for a new constitution.

Outlining the demand for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution, Mr Mandela added: "The people themselves will indicate their preferences and vote for those organisations whose constitutional visions most closely approximate their own."

Influence

"This will mean that the party whose proposals for a new constitution find most support will expect to have most influence in the making of the constitution."

Mr Mandela said he spoke for both the PAC and the ANC when he said there were no illusions about the difficulties in the way of securing a constituent assembly and adequate mechanisms for managing the process of transition.

"We know the regime will do everything it can to forestall the inevitable victory of our cause."

"That is why we intend deploying our forces in all manner of means to ensure the regime understands that we will accept nothing less than our right to be a sovereign people with equal rights in the land of our birth," the ANC leader declared to applause.

Forging a new front

Patrick Laurence examines the ANC's commitment to peaceful negotiations

Logic behind seeming paradox-

Star 16/4/91.

11A

OX

THE African National Congress — the most powerful of South Africa's anti-apartheid opposition forces — took two major but seemingly paradoxical steps in the space of a week and, in the process, provoked controversy over its actions.

The first step, taken on April 5 in response to continuing violence in South Africa's black townships, was the release of a four-page open letter to President F W de Klerk, threatening to suspend discussions with the Government on a future constitution if he failed to comply with a seven-point list of demands by May 9.

The second step was taken exactly a week later on April 12 with the release for discussion of a set of proposals for a new constitution.

At one level the two actions appear incongruent. The first imperilled the infant negotiation process, on which a peaceful settlement of the South African conflict depends. The second was a con-

structive proposal, containing clear guidelines for the establishment of a new constitution as the basis on which to build a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

One interpretation is that the ANC's open letter or ultimatum was an attempt by the ANC to secure a dominant position for itself at the negotiating table by forcing its chief adversary, Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party, to submit to its demands.

Its constitutional discussion document — a remarkably liberal set of propositions for a supposedly radical organisation — was a corollary in the sense that it made it easier for Mr de Klerk to comply without losing face.

Having waved an iron fist in Mr de Klerk's face, the ANC, according to this exegesis of its actions, beguilingly donned a velvet glove to beckon him down its chosen path.

A variant of the above explanation is that the ANC realised that it had gone too far with its open letter enjoining President de

Klerk to sack his Ministers of Law and Order and Defence — the most startling of its demands — or risk collapse of the negotiating process, on which Mr de Klerk has staked his reputation and political future.

Realising its mistake amid a chorus of criticism from South Africa's white-controlled media establishment, the ANC felt the need to re-establish its commitment to peaceful negotiations and to reassert its credentials as a force for constructive engagement: hence, the theory goes, the release of its constitutional discussion document last week.

Its "retraction" was made easier, according to this appraisal, by two events:

● The reported statement by the ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, while briefing diplomats on the controversial open letter, that the ANC was more flexible than a literal reading of the letter implied and that it might settle for a significant gesture from Mr de Klerk

in response to its demands.

● The dismissal by Defence Minister Magnus Malan after publication of the open letter of 28 members of the Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau, one of the counter-insurgency units whose disbandment was demanded by the ANC in its open letter.

But there is a third and, it is submitted, more cogent and convincing interpretation of the ANC's apparently contradictory steps: it is simply that the ANC is genuinely committed to a peaceful settlement and that its two steps are consistent with that underlying motivation.

The first point to make about the controversial open letter is that it is a well thought out and trenchantly argued exposition of the ANC's views on the violence sweeping the country. Many of the thoughts in it have matured over months. They are to be found in a discussion document circulated at the ANC's consultative conference last December.

It is not the brainchild of

"hawks" who supposedly triumphed over "doves" in a coup within the upper echelons of the ANC. It has the unanimous support of the ANC's entire national executive, having been adopted at the end of a special two-day plenary session.

Two intertwined themes run through the letter: deep concern at the unprecedented "bloodletting" sweeping through black townships and apparently timed to peak every time the ANC prepares to launch its mass action campaigns; the inability or, worse, unwillingness, of Mr de Klerk's administration to halt the scourge.

Add to them two additional strongly emphasised concerns: the heavy price in lives and political influence paid by the ANC (in townships around Johannesburg ANC members and sympathisers have been the main victims, which has had a predictably negative effect on the ANC's appeal); conversely, the capacity of the township violence to inflate the

image of Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party from a "minor to the third major player in the political arena" after the government and the ANC.

Underpinning the rationale of the open letter is another point of cardinal importance: if the violence is not stopped soon and decisively, the negotiations will fail; negotiators may sit around a table but their words and decisions will be overshadowed by the bloody township war, particularly if the ANC, not wanting to be part of a charade, withdraws from the talks.

Seen in that light the ANC's open letter is a desperate move to save the peace negotiations which Mr Mandela initiated with great ingenuity from his prison cell.

Thus its constitutional proposals, which, critically for the minority whites, include acceptance of proportional representation and a justifiable bill of rights, are consistent with and not in contradiction of, the open letter. □



Seeking unity . . . PAC president Clarence Makwetu (left) and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela after meeting in Harare yesterday.

Picture: Associated Press

ANC, PAC forging one patriotic front

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

Star 16/4/91

(11A)

HARARE — ANC leader Nelson Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu yesterday stressed their commitment to demand an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution in South Africa.

They were speaking at the opening of the crucial meeting of their national executives to

agree on steps to forge a patriotic front of anti-apartheid organisations.

Both leaders said they were confident the historic meeting would result in their speaking with one voice on major issues.

On the need for unity, Mr Mandela said the divisions of the oppressed would determine how long the oppressor would continue to rule.

Mr Makwetu rejected bilater-

al negotiations with the Government and said that, as of now, no genuine negotiations were taking place.

President Robert Mugabe, whose Zanu-PF party is sponsoring the meeting, said the proposed constituent assembly was undoubtedly a most attractive transitional strategy.

He said President de Klerk's words were encouraging, but it was his actions that mattered.

11A 1228 321

Falati 'didn't believe Stompie was dead'



AT COURT ...
Mrs Winnie Mandela

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A co-accused in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial yesterday said she did not believe a 14-year-old boy, who had been taken to Mrs Mandela's home in December 1988, had been murdered until she saw photos of his body.

Mrs Xoliswa Falati, 37, told the Rand Supreme Court that, despite widespread publicity surrounding the disappearance and possible murder of Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, she had not provided police with information because she did not believe the media reports.

Last Tuesday Mrs Falati told the court that on December 29, 1988, she had suggested the removal of Stompie and three other people from a Soweto church manse to Mrs Mandela's home.

Mrs Falati said she had made the decision to remove the four for their own protection after learning that they were being sexually abused by the

supervisor of the manse, the Reverend Paul Verryn.

The four were later assaulted at Mrs Mandela's home before Stompie, who was accused of being a police informer, was murdered by Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, Jerry Richardson.

Stompie's body was found on January 7, 1989 in an open lot in Soweto with his throat cut, and was only identified by police a month later.

Richardson was convicted in August last year of Stompie's murder and sentenced to death.

Both Mrs Mandela, 56, and Mrs Falati have denied being present during the assault and, together with co-accused, Mr John Morgan, 61, have pleaded not guilty to four counts each of kidnapping and assault arising from the December abduction.

When asked by state advocate Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, whether she suspected that Stompie was a police informer, Mrs Falati said she initially believed he was, but later changed her mind.

She agreed with Mr Swanepoel that it was a serious allegation to label someone as a police informer, and added that the black community would try to "win back" an informer with "love and comradeship".

During her cross-examination Mrs Falati contradicted evidence she gave during Richardson's trial concerning her movements on the night of the assault.

Mrs Falati told the court she had caught a taxi home after removing the four from the manse on December 29 and leaving them with Richardson at Mrs Mandela's home.

During Richardson's trial she gave evidence that a driver had taken her home.

She also repeated her allegation that the Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, had tried to cover up the homosexual activities of Mr Verryn because he was a member of the South African Council of Churches.

The trial continues today.

ANC gives details of units for self-defence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC for the first time has detailed how paramilitary self-defence units could be formed and deployed nationwide under the guidance of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A confidential 29-page booklet being circulated to ANC structures is likely to add to the growing government-ANC tension over self-defence units, which the ANC says are necessary to halt township violence.

The booklet recommends regular physical exercise, weapons training at weekends, the wearing of uniforms and the purchase of licensed weapons and crossbows.

It envisages a 2 000-strong township defence force, organised along paramilitary lines, would be needed to protect 20 000 township residents.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend again called on blacks to form self-defence units.

Plan to halt township violence

ANC outlines strategy for armed units

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PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC for the first time has detailed how paramilitary self-defence units could be formed and deployed nationwide under the guidance of its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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The booklet recommends regular physical exercise, weapons training at weekends, the wearing of uniforms and the purchase of licenced weapons and crossbows.

It envisages a 2 000-strong township defence force (TDC), organised along paramilitary lines, would be needed to protect 20 000 township residents.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at the weekend again called on blacks to form self-defence units, a call that Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze labelled a "recipe for civil war".

ANC Youth League publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana said yesterday the booklet was prepared by the ANC itself, although the league was spearheading efforts to establish self-defence units.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the booklet, a draft discussion paper, had been prepared at the request of the ANC-Cosatu National Committee on Violence. It was still being examined by the ANC national executive committee and no

decision had been taken on its publication. She would not say who had written it.

The booklet appears heavily influenced by Umkhonto and its recommendations are in line with a decision at the ANC consultative conference last year to initiate units under Umkhonto guidance.

Kotze last night described the booklet as "a manual for building an army for offensive operations". Nobody would be allowed to take the law into their own hands.

Entitled, For the Sake of Our Lives — Guidelines for the Creation of People's Self-Defence Units, the booklet says the ANC's August 6 suspension of armed struggle did not neutralise Umkhonto.

"Umkhonto cadres, particularly ex-prisoners and those due to return from exile, must play a leading and active role in the establishment of the defence structures," it says.

The booklet says there is no intention for the self-defence units to attack anybody.

It points out that political initiatives are important and urges the winning over of "hostile forces".

Defence units must have firm political direction and be rooted among their communities. This would prevent them degenerating into "personal power bases used as a cover for criminal activities".

● See Page 6

ANC's plan for 'Township Defence Force'

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PATRICK BULGER

ment should be on a voluntary basis.

"As the first are formed and begin to train and drill in uniform, much excitement and enthusiasm will be generated and the groundswell to join will increase.

"The wearing of uniforms, drilling and political education will build the required discipline."

The booklet highlights the importance of training. It envisages 10 minutes of light exercise followed by a 20 minute jog. People should be encouraged to join martial arts classes.

It recommends that licensed security organisations be set up and that funds be collected from the community to buy licensed firearms.

"Once even a few firearms have been obtained, firearms training can begin. This should be handled by MK cadres and sympathetic township police. . . . For initial training purposes air guns should be used. Air rifles and pistols (the pellet gun type) can be bought for about R200 each.

"The advantage is that no licence is required and they are an excellent, cheap and safe way for teaching peo-

ple how to aim and shoot correctly. A suitable practice range needs to be organised."

Rudimentary weapons are also useful, the booklet says.

"Crossbows and bow and arrow sets can be bought without a licence. Factory and engineering workers have the skills and the equipment to manufacture rudimentary weapons.

"Volunteers who do not have firearms should at least be equipped with two stout sticks, clubs or iron bars and a homemade shield. . . . If a few armed volunteers are reinforced by units hurling stones and other missiles, such as petrol bombs, a very strong defence can be put up."

The booklet recommends physical training every day, politics classes once a week, three hours of drilling on weekends and two hours of firearm classes a week.

The defence committee will have

a communications chief who will have eight helpers equipped with telephones and walkie-talkies. The communications unit will also man an alarm system. "There will also be various observation posts strategically placed to give advance warning of the movement of hostile forces."

An intelligence unit will make a priority of recruiting "individuals who are associated in some way with the hostile forces. . . . Typists, waiters, cleaners and nightwatchmen at establishments run by hostile forces" should be recruited as agents.

It emphasises the use of barricades and notes that "wooded areas, koppies, streams, dongas and ditches must be studied to see how they can be incorporated into the fortifications".

"This is a job for the expert eye of MK comrades. . . . Scrap iron, wrecked vehicles, timber, old furniture as well as rocks and tyres are the ingredients for barricades. Steel cables could be strung across the road in front of the barricade.

Ditches can be dug alongside the road in front of the barricade. Coils of razor wire or barbed wire can be extremely useful. These should be bought and stored and can be speedily erected along routes and passages at the first sign of danger.

"On the flanks of the barricades in specially fortified houses are sections ready to hold the position. Tucked away in adjoining streets are masses of auxiliaries ready to hurl missiles over the houses at advancing aggressors.

"If the attackers are about to overcome the barricade it is set alight and an orderly retreat takes place to the next line of defence."

The booklet contains a diagram illustrating how barricades would be erected and used.

It notes that efforts must be made to influence and win over hostile forces. They are often among the most oppressed section of the population: "Those soldiers and police who persist with their racist brutality will find that when they strike the people they strike rock."

FOR THE Sake of our Lives — Guidelines for the Creation of People's Self-defence Units, produced by the ANC, envisages a 2 000-strong Township Defence Force (TDF) to protect a hypothetical township of 20 000 people.

The still confidential booklet, distributed to selected ANC officials, says: "The TDC must be headed by a commander who works with a deputy commander and about eight others.

"Immediately under the defence committee are the company formations. These should be organised along paramilitary lines. Because of the defensive aspect of the tasks and the paramilitary nature of the structures, the company and subordinate formations will be larger than found in a regular army. Each company could consist of about 500 volunteers," the booklet says.

The force is further broken down into platoons and sections. Each section would be responsible for defending a street.

The booklet notes that recruit-

Blom 161491.

11A 11M

Contralesa backs ANC over ultimatum

LINDEN BIRNS

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) yesterday came out in support of the ANC's ultimatum to government over violence and attacked Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi's support for the carrying of traditional weapons.

Contralesa Natal regional secretary Chief Zibuse Mlaba yesterday accused Buthelezi and his KwaZulu cabinet of trying to delay negotiations, insulting the Zulu nation and of trying to distort Zulu customs, culture and history.

Contralesa publicity secretary Sipiwe Thusi said sharpened objects did not constitute traditional Zulu weapons and were

only used for important celebrations.

Mlaba also lashed out at government, accusing it of funding impis with arms, transport and money.

Mlaba said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok should take responsibility if rogue police members were instigating violence.

Thusi said Contralesa, while in favour of the ANC's ultimatum, was opposed to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's threat to arm the townships if it was not met.

Contralesa was opposed to all forms of violence, he said.

Unity is the key, insists Mugabe

HARARE — Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe yesterday issued a plea for unity between the ANC and PAC when he opened a two-day conference aimed at healing divisions between the two organisations dating back to 1958.

Mugabe, who is understood to have played a key role in setting up the meeting, said the organisations should recognise that the most potent weapon in the liberation struggle was unity.

In what conference sources saw as a reference to the two organisations possibly joining forces in township "self-defence committees", PAC president Clarence

31 Day 16/4/91
MICHAEL HARTNACK

Makwetu said the closed session talks would include an attempt to "identify the causes and isolate the perpetrators of violence in our country."

"We are optimistic that the formation of a principled, democratic front will assist towards minimising the violence," Makwetu said at an emotional opening session.

Observers were also intrigued by Makwetu's remarks on the possibility of joining talks with President F W de Klerk, previously denounced by the PAC as a "be-

□ To Page 2

Unity

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trayal of the struggle".
"The PAC formally rejects the regime's strategy of wanting to engage us in bilateral talks," said Makwetu, using the qualification "bilateral" for the first time here.

But by going on to say that "the people should talk with one voice", he appeared to suggest the PAC might come into the process under the "national front" proposed by Mugabe.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela urged both organisations to put aside the exaggerated counter-claims which have characterised past backbiting between them.

Mandela stressed ANC-PAC unanimity on the need for immediate one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly,

which would draw up SA's first majority rule constitution.

Mugabe roused interest with his earlier remark that although a constituent assembly was "undoubtedly the most attractive transitional strategy towards a democratic SA, we encourage ... all possible options, which may in the long run achieve the same results, be explored".

"In the interests of peace we are willing to make reasonable compromises," said Mandela. But he could not countenance a "Lancaster House" compromise, such as existed in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1987, in which specific racial groups had reserved, entrenched representation.

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Mandela, Makwetu healing old rift?

CAPT Tark 11A
16/4/91

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — President Robert Mugabe yesterday convened a two-day conference of the combined African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress executives, aimed at healing divisions dating back to 1958.

The Zimbabwean leader, who played a key role in setting up the meeting, urged PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to: "Recognise that the most potent of all secret weapons in your arsenal for the successful waging of your liberation struggle is the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa."

In what conference sources saw as a reference to the two organisations possibly joining forces in township "self-defence committees", Mr Makwetu said the closed-session talks would include an attempt to "identify the causes and isolate the perpetra-

tors of violence in our country".

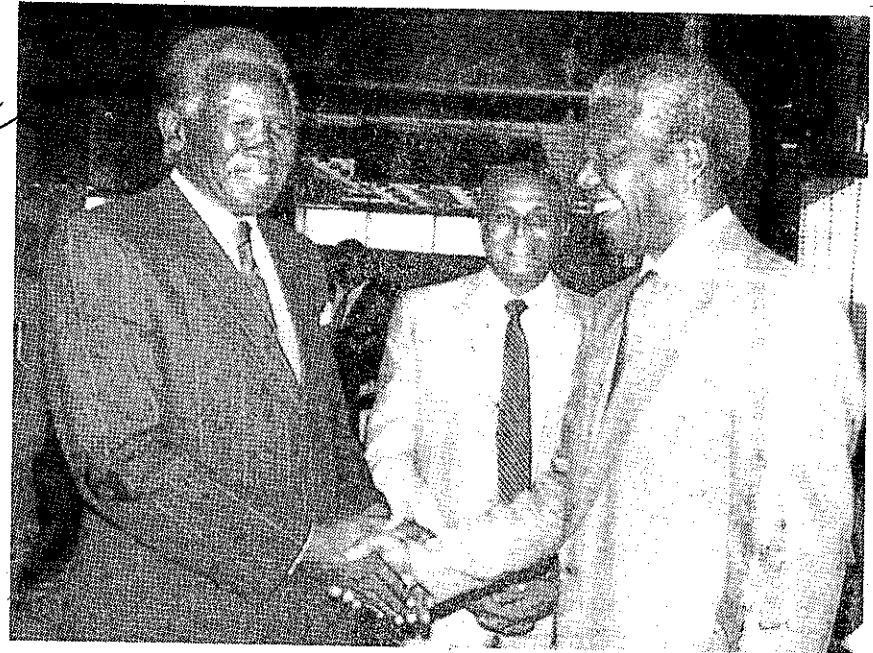
"We are optimistic that the formation of a principled, democratic front will assist towards minimising the violence," Mr Makwetu said at an emotional opening session, when ANC and PAC veterans embraced each other and exchanged black power salutes.

Observers were also intrigued by Mr Makwetu's remarks on the possibility of joining talks with President F W de Klerk, previously denounced by the PAC as a "betrayal of the struggle".

Mr Mandela urged both organisations to put aside the exaggerated counter-claims which had characterised past backbiting between them.

He stressed ANC-PAC unanimity on the need for immediate one person, one vote elections for a constituent assembly, which would draw up SA's first majority rule constitution.

There was thunderous applause as Mr Makwetu and Mr Mandela linked hands with the cry "Long live victory and unity".



SEEKING UNITY . . . Deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, meets PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu (left) in Harare yesterday where the two organisations are holding talks.

Picture: AP

ANC explains stand in full-page adverts

CNA Times 16/4/91 117

JOHANNESBURG. — As confusion continued on whether the ANC's open letter to President F W de Klerk was an ultimatum or not, the organisation yesterday moved further to explain its position by taking out full-page advertisements in two Johannesburg-based newspapers.

But in doing so, the ANC conspicuously left out its May 9 deadline for the dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan, a move which could lead to further confusion.

The ANC also chose the two English-language publications with possibly the most different audiences across the political spectrum — the Citizen, with its more conservative white liberal reader, and the Sowetan, with its black metropolitan readership.

In a bold headline, accompanied by a photograph of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, the organisation said its open letter was a "Cry for Peace".

Quoting Mr Mandela, the advertisement charged that the success of the peace process depended, above all else, on mutual trust between the major actors as well as confidence in the peace process by their supporters.

"Every single demand we have made is designed to restore confidence in the peace process. It is not too late. If the government shows a reasonable response to our reasonable demands, we, on our side, will not be found wanting," Mr Mandela is quoted as saying.

After listing the seven demands in the open letter, the ANC goes on to point out that almost 10 000 people have died in violence since 1984.

"The people of South Africa want peace now," the advertisement stressed in conclusion. — Sapa

● Our political correspondent reports that President De Klerk is expected to respond to the ANC's seven-point ultimatum before he leaves on his three-nation trip to Britain, Ireland and Denmark at the weekend.

Diplomats were told by government ministers that

Mr De Klerk would give attention to the ANC demands that the government curb violence or face a suspension of talks before he met political leaders in the three countries.

A signal from Mr De Klerk that talks with the ANC were likely to remain on track would be particularly useful before he met politicians in the three countries.

Although the Conservative Party government has been broadly supportive of Pretoria in recent years, British Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and political leaders in Ireland and Denmark have been in the forefront of European Community criticism of the government.

An indication from Mr De Klerk that he is prepared to address at least some of the ANC's misgivings about the violence sweeping the country should go some way to ensuring a warmer reception in these countries.

Diplomats have indicated that Mr De Klerk could encounter some opposition on his visit to Denmark and Ireland, in particular.

Road to liberty or anarchy?

MASS action has become one of the most controversial terms in the South African political lexicon today. To some it is regarded as the final key to liberation, to others the grimmest manifestation of lawlessness and intolerance.

Amid all the rhetoric, it is sometimes difficult to put the issue into proper perspective, but a recent report issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations, written by social scientist Anthea Jeffery, makes an admirable attempt to get to grips with the issue.

Based on extensive research and a series of interviews with political actors and analysts across the spectrum, Dr Jeffery forwards a convincing, but sometimes worrying, picture of the mass action strategy.

To properly understand mass action in South Africa, she argues, it has to be put in its historical context. The current activities should not be seen as a new phenomenon, but rather the end-product of a series of approaches to black liberation starting with the "Programme of Action" first mooted by Nelson Mandela and

Oliver Tambo in 1949.

Tracing the history of the struggle for black liberation, she argues that the ANC's overall strategy for liberation adapted significantly over the decades as it grew to encompass the lessons of the armed struggle and the "conscientisation of the masses" through Black Consciousness in the 1970s.

Accordingly, in 1984, the idea of mass mobilisation became entrenched as one of the ANC's "four pillars of liberation". These were:

- The creation of non-government structures.
- United mass action.
- The armed struggle.
- The international isolation of South Africa.

As the other three pillars fell by the wayside, mass action slowly began to take centre-stage.

First through activities by the UDF, and then the second "Defiance Campaign", organised by the MDM in 1989, the strategy evolved into its present form.

According to ANC officials, the purpose of mass action is twofold: to compel the State to abdicate power and to keep sufficient pressure on the State to ensure that negotiations are kept on

track.

On top of this, however, Dr Jeffery makes the point that it has become an activity that is seen by the ANC to serve several ends over and above the mere destabilisation of government.

Most conspicuous among these is the notion that the strategy aids in the politicisation of the masses.

It is believed to actively encourage and entrench grassroots democratic participation in ANC decision-making while preventing elitism and autocratic activities on the part of the leadership.

In conjunction with this, some ANC members also admit to the more nakedly political goals of placating radical factions while ensuring ANC dominance in the liberation struggle. The decision to target groups like Inkatha and the black local authority system provides clear examples of this.

In this form, therefore, it is clear that the ANC regards mass action, in all its forms, as indivisible from the overall process of transition via negotiations and essential to the organisation's own standing within the black community.

From the Government perspec-

11A
tive, however, mass action means a completely different thing.

While the State is now willing to countenance political mobilisation (public meetings and legal marches), it opposes both the "people's war" aspect of the strategy and "destructive" activities like consumer, rent and education boycotts.

Analysts mention other reasons for opposing the strategy. Among other things, it is seen to greatly increase the potential for violence, both with respect to the security forces and rival political and ethnic groupings, while increasing the strength of the right wing and deterring foreign investment.

As Dr Jeffery makes clear, moreover, perhaps the most pressing question is to what extent the ANC really is in control of the strategy itself, and to what extent that strategy has the support of the people.

While ANC spokesmen remain convinced that the strategy has broad-based support, rival groups assert that a "silent majority" remains opposed to such activities.

And while such charges are extremely difficult to verify, Dr Jeffery regards it likely that "intimi-

dation plays an important role in generating mass support for the various campaigns associated with mass mobilisation".

In addition, analysts caution that a wide range of factors over and above that of simply responding to calls from the ANC have been responsible for popular mobilisation. These include millenarian sentiments as well as reaction to genuine local grievances such as demands for education or services.

Nevertheless, as one analyst noted, "(w)here there is local level initiative, very soon the ANC and/or its allies, move in to take control".

A more serious spin-off to this question is whether the ANC genuinely has sufficient control to bring mass action to an end or whether it has developed its own momentum.

Even in its own pronouncements on the issue, the ANC acknowledges that it operates only in "alliance" with grassroots groups such as trade unions and the civic associations whose activities are not always properly coordinated.

As an example, Dr Jeffery points to the case of education where she argues "the situation has acquired its own destructive impetus".

In addition, ANC spokesmen stress that in many cases the decision about ending mass action is not theirs to make. Citing Eastern Europe, they argue that one of the most important lessons of the collapse of the communist system was the need for a "civil society" of local interest groups independent of the central political structure.

The positive sentiment behind such arguments notwithstanding, it seems clear that mass mobilisation in its present form does contribute to the current instability and that it is, at least for now, an absolute non-negotiable on the part of the ANC.

Given this, there seems to be little hope in the immediate future for a successful resolution to the problem. And in the meantime, as Dr Jeffrey warns, mass action could well presage "at minimum, escalating instability, at worst, a slide into irreparable un-governability". □

ANC, PAC agree on patriotic front

HARARE — The ANC and PAC have agreed to a conference in August which will lead to the establishment of a patriotic front of anti-apartheid forces.

The agreement was announced at a news conference in Harare last night at the end of their two-day meeting which was hailed as an "outstanding success". *11A*
By Day 17/4/91

They condemned Monday's announcement of the lifting of some trade sanctions against SA by the EC, saying their cause was being done a disservice.

ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan, who read the joint ANC-PAC statement, reiterated his organisation's threat to government to break off talks if it did not meet its

demands for the dismissal of key ministers and an end to violence by May 9.

Jordan said the ANC and PAC would retain their independence after the establishment of a patriotic front.

"What will emerge will be a minimum programme of co-operation," said Jordan.

Jordan said the two organisations would set up a sub-committee to work out ways and means of stepping up the campaign for the maintenance of sanctions until political change was "irreversible".

ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma said organisations that would be invited to join a proposed coalition would be mainly those which subscribed to the popular call for a constituent assembly. — Sapa.

ANC gives details of defence units

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The ANC has produced a confidential 36-page booklet giving details on the formation of its "self-defence units" and a 2 000-strong township defence force (TDF) model.

The booklet, entitled "For the Sake of Our Lives! Guidelines for the Creation of People's Self-Defence Units", describes in detail how self-defence units can be formed and deployed nationwide under the guidance of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The booklet says each TDF would protect 20 000 township residents, and that the ANC's

suspension of the armed struggle as part of the Pretoria Minute had not neutralised MK.

Recommended in the booklet are regular physical exercises, weapons training at weekends, the wearing of uniforms and the purchase of licensed weapons and crossbows.

Also to be taught would be intelligence-gathering, first aid and "speedy and reliable communication".

The self-defence units, says the booklet, would not be used to attack anybody, but the people demanded the right to protect themselves because they could not "rely on the apartheid police and army for protection".

Star 17/4/91
These units, which would have to be paramilitary and clearly different from other forms of organisation such as street committees, would be organised along military lines and have commanders, deputy commanders and platoons.

A political campaign would be waged for the self-defence units to be armed, and funds to buy licensed weapons would be collected from the community "on a voluntary basis".

Once a few firearms had been obtained, training, which would be conducted by MK cadres and "sympathetic township police", could begin.

The booklet says that although the units would be formed by the ANC and its allies, they would not be affiliated to any organisation but would protect the entire community.

"There should be no intention of setting the defence units up as armies of any political grouping or individuals.

"This is undesirable and potentially dangerous — it is a prescription for Lebanonising a conflict," says the booklet.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday said the booklet was a discussion document that had not been adopted or ratified by the ANC's leadership.

I was out of town, Winnie tells court

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'Spy claim dangerous'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, who took the stand for the first time yesterday in her trial for kidnapping and assault, said she was out of town when the crimes allegedly took place and was "outraged" when accused of complicity by black anti-apartheid activists.

Her testimony followed evidence from two youths who claimed to be her victims, who said Mrs Mandela, 56, threatened, punched and whipped them and two others at her home on the evening of December 29, 1988.

Speaking softly and calmly, Mrs Mandela denied being involved in either the abduction or assault of four youths, saying she was in the Free State town of Brandfort at the time.

She said she first heard of the allegations of kidnapping and assault when members of a Soweto crisis community approached her in mid-January 1989 and informed her that she had been accused of the crimes.

"I was furious (and) said I knew nothing about the allegations," she said.

Mrs Mandela said she had little knowledge of who stayed in the back rooms of her home — where the victims were allegedly detained and assaulted — as young people often "sought refuge" there from detention and police harassment.

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's allegation last week that a journalist for a British newspaper was a state agent could place him in personal danger and restrict the free flow of information, the Association of Democratic Journalists said yesterday.

ADJ general-secretary Mr Monty Narsoo requested Mrs Mandela to either substantiate the allegation, which has received wide local and inter-

national media coverage, or withdraw it.

In the presence of her bodyguards at her trial on Thursday, Mrs Mandela reportedly accused Mr Mandla Themba, an ADJ member working for the Independent, of being a member of the special branch.

Mr Narsoo said the allegation would affect Mr Themba's ability to effectively carry out his job and could affect his personal life. — Sapa

Mrs Mandela told the court she first learnt that four people from the manse were staying in her back rooms when she returned from Brandfort on December 31, 1988.

She said a co-accused, Miss Xoliswa Falati, had met her on her return and had "rattled something" about removing children from the manse, where they were being sexually abused by the manse supervisor, the Rev Paul Verryn, and placing them in Mrs Mandela's home.

Mrs Mandela said that after being informed of the assaults she approached Jerry Richardson, the coach of the Mandela United soccer club, and "inquired whether he had any knowledge" of the assaults.

Richardson, who also stayed in the houses' back rooms, admitted only "slapping" the four victims while questioning them.

Mrs Mandela said because of the "serious and false" allegations against her she did not believe the similar allegations directed against Richardson and other youths living in the rooms.

Last August, Richardson was convicted for the murder of 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, one of the youths taken from the manse, and sentenced to death.

Mrs Mandela, Miss Falati, 37, and a third co-accused, Mr John Morgan, 61, have all

pleaded not guilty to four counts each of kidnapping and assault arising out of the December abduction.

Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, yesterday told the court he would call at least two people to testify that his client went to Brandfort at the time of the December 29, 1988 assault and only returned on December 31.

He said Mr Thabo Motau would testify that he drove Mrs Mandela to Brandfort and Ms Nora Moahloli would testify that Mrs Mandela stayed with her there and attended a meeting with her to discuss the future of welfare projects Mrs Mandela had set up. — Own Correspondent, UPI

Joint forces

CAF Trip 17/4/91 (11R) (27R)

Reading a joint communique agreed by Mr Mandela and PAC president Mr Clarence Makutu, ANC secretary for information Mr Fallo Jordan said it "Paved the way for the early establishment of a patriotic front".

This would embrace all organisations whose minimum demand was the summoning of a constituent assembly to draw up a majority rule constitution.

"The meeting discussed in depth the current violence and concluded that the principle source of the violence is the apartheid system and the apartheid regime employing special counter emergency units such as the CCB, Koevoet, Buffalo 2 Battalion, the Askaris, the Z-Squads and others to repress and terrorise the national liberation movements and other democratic activists."

Both sides demanded the disbandment of these death squads, said the communique.

The ANC and PAC wished to encourage "a culture of political tolerance and democratic practice and should desist from making hegemonistic claims".

The ANC and PAC planned to form a "special joint committee on sanctions" among their new joint structures and deplored the decision of the economic community foreign ministers to relax boycotts.

Mr Jordan drew attention to the ANC's open letter, with its deadline for President De Klerk's compliance with its conditions.

"There will be no engagement with the system in respect of the modalities of a constituent assembly," said a PAC spokesman. "We say that there will be a patriotic conference from which will emerge a patriotic front, with more parties than just ourselves. There will be no negotiations about the constitution itself as opposed to the preconditions in which the ANC is engaged upon. These negotiations will continue in facilitating compliance," he said.

Some observers thought that the ANC-PAC accord paved the way for the PAC to be drawn into the negotiation process under the "patriotic front" label.

In Cape Town the Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok launched a scathing attack on the ANC, saying it was "apparently the catalyst" in every case of the ongoing violence in South Africa, reports Political Correspondent Anthony Johnson.

Mr Vlok told a press conference that instructions had been issued to police with immediate effect that "axes and pangas carried in potential conflict situations such as marches and meetings" had to be confiscated in future.

Other weapons like scythes and garden forks would also be confiscated.

However, he added that the issue of traditional weapons was "very emotional" and there had been no concrete evidence to indicate they had been used in township killings.

The ANC demanded in its seven-point ultimatum issued to the government last week that the carrying of all so-called cultural weapons in public be barred as one of the steps necessary to discourage the ongoing carnage in the townships.

Joint forces

CAF Trip 17/4/91 (11R) (27R)

PAC, ANC unite

to oppose govt

HARARE. — The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday decided to join forces against the government, which it blamed for the violence in the country.

The two movements set aside 30 years of enmity at their meeting in Harare, paving the way for the establishment of a "patriotic front".

A "patriotic conference" will be held in Cape Town in August and joint structures will be set up to achieve a transfer of power and to deal with the question of violence.

With the ANC's intention to establish "defence committees" becoming a major issue between it and the government:

● The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok in Cape Town yesterday blamed the ANC for most of the violence in the country but slapped a

ban on the carrying of pangas and axes at marches and meetings.

He stopped short of the ANC's demand to outlaw the carrying of all traditional weapons. He also said that the government had been doing its best to get a conference on violence going between the different parties.

● In Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, criticised the ANC's "defence committees" and said there should be more concern about "sophisticated weaponry" secreted in caches around the country than about traditional weapons. He said, however, that he had no problem with the police confiscating weapons in conflict situations.

● Mr Nelson Mandela, on his return from Harare last night, took a hard line on "defence committees" and said the ANC would go ahead with them, whatever the police or the government said.

Asked about the accusation that the ANC units would lead to private armies, Mr Mandela said "that is their language. That is not ours".

In Harare the ANC and PAC said they would make joint plans on "how to defend ourselves in the face of the violence which we are all agreed emanates from the South African government".

The two organisations also discussed the strategies "that need to be adopted with the main thrust of seeing to it that there is an immediate transfer of power from the minority regime to the majority in our country," ANC executive member Mr Jacob Xuma told a joint press conference.

Asked about President Robert Mugabe's urging the two to form a military alliance, and possible collaboration over the "defence committees", Mr Xuma said: "There are joint structures being created to go into other questions" (besides the transfer of power).



CULTURAL WEAPON . . . Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, with some of the weapons that came under discussion at yesterday's press conference. Picture: BENNY GOOL

THE African National Congress has put before the government seven reasonable demands.

In summary, these are that before May 9 the carrying of "traditional" and other weapons be banned from public places, that ministers Malan and Vlok be dismissed, that units such as the CCB etc be publicly disbanded, that SAP and SADF officers implicated in massacres be suspended pending independent investigation, that civilised methods of crowd control be used, that the hostel system of accommodation be addressed, and that an independent commission of inquiry be established to look into complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

Month after month the death toll mounts. Figures that would, in any sane society, reflect a national disaster of immense proportions are bandied about without the human tragedy that lies behind such statistics impacting on white South Africa. It is regrettable that white society is so insulated from the violence taking place on its doorstep, as if it is part of another world, not a national issue affecting its fellow men, women and children.

The violence is a result of apartheid. It is also a product of forces bent on internal destabilisation and the derailment of the peace process. Successive South African governments, using special secret forces and the SADF, have a long history of destabilisation in the region. It should be a matter of national concern that notorious units such as 32 Battalion and Koevoet are de-



ANC Viewpoint
by GILL
MARCUS

Art. Times
17/4/91

Authoritarian legacy left to us by apartheid

ployed in the townships and elsewhere.

Political commentators, experts from all quarters, parliamentarians and government officials, including De Klerk, put forward a variety of motives as to why the ANC should have acted in a manner so as to, in their view, jeopardise the negotiation process. Thus the perception created is that the ANC's demands have caused the present impasse. But it is precisely the opposite. The ANC responded in the national interest to the extremely serious crisis resulting from the growing violence. It was the lack of recognition and lack of action to resolve the crisis facing our entire country that forced the ANC to take the steps it did. The demand for action is made precisely to save the negotiation process. Negotiations cannot take place while the violence continues.

'Bloody cheek'

Most attention has focused on the "bloody cheek" the ANC has in calling for the resignation of ministers Vlok and Malan. It is therefore regarded as legitimate that newspaper editorials, political parties across the spectrum and white South Africans call for such resignations. But when the ANC does so, all those who chorused the demand for resignation trumpet that De Klerk dare not concede and that the ANC's call has in fact secured both ministers their jobs.

Ministers in the government of the day are paid with taxpayers' money. In a democracy the citizens who elect the government are entitled to express their views about the performance of that government. Where ministers have conducted themselves in the manner that General Malan has done, citizens have the right to demand their resignation. It is a measure of the extent of apartheid authoritarian rule that such a demand is considered out of place.

Police retraining

Yet democratisation of our society is an integral part of the transition process. It is diffi-

cult to comprehend that those responsible for decades of oppression see themselves, and are presented, as the forces for democracy, while those who have fought for fundamental human rights remain pariahs in their own land.

Long before calling for Adriaan Vlok's resignation, the ANC consistently proposed, among other things:

- There be a retraining programme for the police, whose role and function should be transformed so as to serve the community.
- There be a code of conduct for the police, drawn up with the participation of the community.
- Police live among the communities they serve, so that they know the people and the people know them and that they are deployed when trouble breaks out.
- An independent commission of inquiry be established to look into the violence throughout the country.

None of the above has even been heard by the government or the minister of police, let alone implemented. The call for Vlok's resignation comes after years of appeals.

Political tolerance

The ANC is striving to achieve an open society, where political tolerance prevails and the organs of government are representative. To promote the democratisation of our society, the ANC has, despite all obstacles, put forward for debate proposals on a Bill of Rights and a future constitution. Such discussion is vital to ensure that the constitution that emerges from an assembly empowered to draw it up is based on the will of the people.

Authoritarianism has been the hallmark of successive apartheid governments. It will require positive and strenuous efforts to eradicate these authoritarian practices not only from government and its civil service, but from civil society. Opening up of society demands that, as the constitutional principles of

the ANC state, "there be a single system of fundamental rights, guaranteed on an equal basis for all."

"Every South African irrespective of race, colour, language, gender, status, sexual orientation or creed should know that his or her basic rights and freedoms are guaranteed by the constitution and enforceable by recourse to law.

An open society requires political tolerance, guarantees for the free functioning of religious bodies, trade unions, sporting and cultural associations, etc. It also requires a free flow of information and a media that is open, accessible and responsive to the views, opinions and interests of the entire community.

'Dunkeld walls'

The culture of violence has become endemic in our society. The ANC has specifically appealed for the prohibition of carrying of weapons, including what has been termed "cultural weapons", in public. The brandishing of these weapons on marches and at rallies greatly exacerbates tensions and generates enormous fear within communities, particularly as deaths usually result.

What is required is a systematic disarming of all segments of society, including disarming of white South Africa which remains armed to the teeth. The violence, if unchecked, will jeopardise the very survival of the whole of South Africa. There should be a recognition by all who value our future that the country faces a disaster of catastrophic proportions if the present trend of violence continues. No one and nothing will remain untouched.

Eradication of the authoritarian heritage so prevalent in our society will not be possible so long as white South Africa continues to erect "Dunkeld Walls" and remains impervious to the aspirations and needs of the millions of oppressed fellow citizens.

□ Gill Marcus is head office spokesman of the ANC in Johannesburg.



Self-defence units: ANC reacts to row

JOHANNESBURG. — Community organisations, and not the ANC, will be primarily responsible for preventing ANC-proposed self-defence units from becoming private armies, ANC Youth League spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana said yesterday.

He was reacting to a growing row around the issue of ANC self-defence units, as called for by Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend and detailed in a 29-page confidential ANC manual on self-defence units.

Rejecting any form of state accommodation of self-defence units, which the ANC says are necessary to stop township violence, law and order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday: "Private political armies from all sectors of the political spectrum will not be tolerated in any way."

"If implemented these plans for so-called township self-defence units will almost certainly lead to an even more bloody conflict in black communities, or even conflict on a wider scale."

"These proposed measures look more like plans for building an army for offensive operations rather than the supposed equivalent of neighbourhood watches." — Sapa

ANC to look at civil servant jobs

CAPL 114 FS 17/4/91 (11A) 12870

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The top 1 500 jobs in the public service would have to come under scrutiny in the new South Africa, ANC manpower director Mr Mzwai Piliso said yesterday.

He told an Anglo American Corp conference on human resources management in Vereeniging the jobs would have to be looked at "in order to show the face of the new SA".

Mr Piliso said the ANC be-

lieved it was necessary to remove historical imbalances. He was aware this could lead "to the promotion of blacks for window-dressing purposes".

'Destructive legacy'

The ANC wanted to avoid this and would opt for training opportunities to be made available.

"Some contend that affirmative action is nothing short of reverse discrimination. We observe, however, that the colour of management does not augur well for the

new SA. Affirmative action should be aimed at bringing trained blacks into the mainstream of the economy."

Change would have to come to eradicate "the destructive legacy of apartheid labour policies and practices", he said.

Public Servants' Association general manager Mr Hans Olivier said yesterday the PSA had no problem with blacks at all levels of the public service. The new SA would need qualified people and training was essential. — Sapa

Progress in ANC, PAC talks

11A

Sowetan
17/4/91

HARARE - The Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress have reported progress in their unity talks, which were due to end in Harare yesterday.

Both PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe there was consensus emerging among the delegates from both groups, who are meeting to try and forge a united front.

Makwetu, who was the first to call on Mugabe at

his office, told the Zimbabwean leader that the major aspects of a united front were discussed on Monday.

Yesterday's session was to deal with the mechanisms to reach that goal, *Ziana* news agency reported.

"No problems are anticipated," Makwetu said.

"We expect positive results, naturally," replied Mubage.

After Makwetu's departure, Mandela, accompanied by ANC foreign affairs director Mr Stan Mabizela and ANC chief representative in

Zimbabwe Mr Max Mlonyeni, met Mugabe.

Asked by Mugabe how the meeting went on Monday, Mandela replied: "Very well indeed."

Mandela said the two organisations had made significant progress in their deliberations. In fact, the delegates had found in the first hour of the meeting that they could easily discuss the issues facing them.

He told Mugabe that he and Makwetu would brief the Zimbabwean leader on the two-day meeting after its conclusion later yesterday. - *Sapa*.

Patriotic Front planned for SA

From ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — The ANC and the PAC have entered an alliance and have agreed to hold a congress in Cape Town in August to form a Patriotic Front of all organisations supporting a constituent assembly as the way to a new South Africa.

A joint statement after two days of talks to explore ways of forming a united front said the meeting had been an "outstanding success" and exceeded expectations.

Meanwhile, the ANC will continue to hold talks with the South African government about removing the obstacles to negotiations.

The statement said the main thrust of the meeting was to pave the way for an early establishment of a Patriotic Front.

Disband units

On violence, the meeting concluded that the principal source of the violence was the apartheid system and the apartheid regime employing special units such as the CCB, Koevoet, the Buffalo battalion, the Askaris, the Z squads and others.

It called for the disbandment of these units and resolved that the "organisations of the oppressed" should identify and isolate those members who indulged in attacks on supporters of other political organisations.

The meeting called for a culture of political tolerance.

It resolved that the constituent assembly was the only mechanism through which South Africa could be genuinely democratised.

The meeting rejected the government's multi-party formula as a substitute for a constituent assembly.

It decided there should be no negotiations on the modalities for a constituent assembly until the government released all political prisoners, allowed the unhindered return of all exiles and complied with the other conditions set out in the UN consensus declaration of 1989.

It decided to convene a conference of patriotic forces aimed primarily to unite the oppressed. All representatives of organised groupings who supported a constituent assembly should be invited to the conference.

The ANC and the PAC resolved to approach those uncommitted to a constituent assembly to encourage them to take part.

Joint structures have been appointed to deal with these issues and sanctions.

A resolution on sanctions condemned the European Community for deciding to lift sanctions and said this decision caused grave concern and deep disappointment.

In terms of the agreement reached yesterday, there can be no start to negotiations with the South African government on a new constitution until the government:

- Releases all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrains from imposing any restrictions on them.
- Lifts all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and people.
- Removes all troops from the townships.
- Repeals all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity.
- Ceases all political trials and political executions.

These are the five points specifically made in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus in December 1989.

Dispute over self-defence units grows

Sowetan 17/4/91

COMMUNITY organisations - not the ANC - will be primarily responsible for preventing self-defence units proposed by the ANC from becoming private armies, a spokesman for the organisation said yesterday.

ANC Youth League spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana was reacting to a growing controversy following the call for defence units by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend.

A 29-page confidential ANC manual details the

organisation's concept of the units.

"One must realise that these self-defence units are community structures. They are not per se organs of the ANC," said ANC Sharpeville chairman Mr Siza Rani.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, rejecting any form of State accommodation over the defence units, said yesterday:

Tolerated

"Private political armies from all sectors of the political spectrum will not be tolerated in any way."

Details of the confidential ANC booklet, entitled *For the Sake of Our Lives - Guidelines for the Creation of People's Self-Defence Units*, were

revealed in *Business Day* yesterday.

The document details how para-military self-defence units could be formed and deployed countrywide under the guidance of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Fears

Self-defence units already exist in five Vaal townships, said Rani last week.

As a result of fears of an attack, the ANC last Wednesday night set up defence units in Evaton, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong and Sebokeng, Rani said.

They operated mainly at night, patrolling streets and searching "suspicious-looking cars" at township entrances. - *Sapa*.

Churchmen to hold talks with Mandela

Sowetan 17/4/91.

By DON SEOKANE 11A 11A

A DELEGATION of church leaders is to meet ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela today.

Headed by National Conference of Church Leaders co-chairmen the Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts, the delegation is expecting to receive Mandela's response to proposals it made regarding a new dispensation.

NCCL representative Ms Val Pauquet said the proposals were contained in the church group's Rustenburg Declaration document.

The declaration was made by delegates from various churches at the NCCL conference last November.

Apartheid

The document puts forward the church's opinion on the future dispensation of the country and the need to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.

Pauquet said the declaration had opened up opportunities for denominations which had often avoided contact in the past to co-operate in the reconciliation and negotiation process.

"A highlight of the conference was the confession of guilt by Professor Willie Jonker of the Dutch Reformed



FRANK CHIKANE

Church's complicity in apartheid, which in turn elicited confessions from other churches," said Pauquet.

Members of the steering committee include Dr Isak van der Merwe (Apostolic Faith Mission), Mr Dennis House (Mission Southern Africa), Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Church of the Province of South Africa), Bishop Wilfred Napier (South African Catholic Bishops' Conference).

Negotiations in crisis as differences harden

Sowetan 17/4/91

11A

THE Government and the African National Congress were expected to move a lot further apart in coming weeks as differences over the nature and composition of constitutional negotiations harden.

FOCUS

This was said by senior negotiators yesterday, who added that the latest setback for the ANC - the lifting of European sanctions - would aggravate differences.

Unless there was a major shift, talks - even on a one-on-one basis between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela - were now almost definitely ruled out until July, they said.

The ANC leadership was now positioning itself for a militant congress in June.

The Government made no special plans to address the ANC's open letter demands - apart from an expected slight shift in its policy on Zulu traditional weapons - while the ANC suddenly stepped-up its public programme in underscoring the issues which separated it from the Government.

Principles

The ANC also started positioning itself for talks by releasing its well-received constitutional principles on Friday.

This was clearly a response to growing public estrangement with the ANC.

The organisation also stressed that its proposed all-party congress should discuss principles for a new constitution, not the constitution itself.

Meanwhile, the Government has simply reacted to the ANC's ultimatum with a "business-as-usual" attitude, saying it was up to the ANC to come and explain

itself regarding what it was looking for.

The Government also expressed disappointment that it had been unable to convince the ANC to bring Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into a so-called "troika" to deal with violence, now becoming the major stumbling-block to talks.

The apparent rashness of the ANC's "ultimatum" is seen as a symptom of something deeper than mere dove/hawk squabbling. It is considered a deliberate attempt to buy time and symptomatic of an ANC strategy to set up constitutional talks in the most beneficial format.

The desired ANC format includes:

Violence

- * Total rejection of the "troika" approach to address black violence;

- * Disarming and reducing to a minimum the status of Inkatha and its leader Buthelezi; and

- * Going to the negotiation table profiled as the leading force in a broad united liberation front.

Whereas most observers agree that this is in the main a reflection of the ANC's strategy since negotiations began last year, they feel the organisation had been sidetracked by the heady atmosphere of the initial cordiality of talks and by De Klerk's formidable personality.

Current moves, such as the Harare unity meeting with the Pan Africanist Congress and the ultimatum, now reflect a last-ditch effort to get back behind the original strategy for securing political power by dictating the



Mandela's tough stand at the Alexandra funeral at the weekend reflected growing differences with the Government. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

terms of a constitutional settlement.

There are clear indications that the ANC will not sit down at the negotiation table until it has achieved some success towards setting the table more favourably for itself and probably not before July.

Strategy

The strategy was necessitated by the ANC's own admission that it had lost the initiative to De Klerk and that the violence had caused a ground-swell of anti-ANC sentiment among black moderates. At the same time, its accommodating meetings with Chief Buthelezi have eroded the trust of the more militant youth.

The first signs that the ultimatum was only one component of a new strategy came when Mandela let the cat out of the bag in a confidential briefing

of diplomats on the "ultimatum" last week and at a funeral oration at the weekend.

He told the diplomats that the ANC was absolutely opposed to forming a leaders' committee with Buthelezi and De Klerk to deal with the issue of violence.

At the funeral, he swept aside speculation that the ultimatum reflected a hawk victory over so-called doves. He claimed that he himself had proposed it, overruling "hawks" Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani and SACP leader Joe Slovo.

Such a strategy is clearly aimed at reversing the weakening of the ANC's National Executive Committee on the eve of the movement's first post-exile congress.

Alliance

To regain the moral and political high ground, the ANC would have to find a way to endorse the image it had for decades propagated, particularly amongst its sponsors abroad, as being an organisation which:

- * Was the leading, if not only, black liberation movement;

- * Was able to represent the widest possible spectrum of black and white democratic South Africans; and

- * Was therefore the undisputed post-apartheid government.

The Harare talks with the PAC to form a possible "patriotic front" is a key element in achieving this goal.

Once such an alliance becomes a reality, ANC leaders hope, De Klerk will be forced into a more open and premature alliance with Buthelezi.

This, they feel, would drive both leaders out into the political prairie before negotiations start, enabling a "patriotic front" to ultimately emerge the victor at the talks table and the post-apartheid polls - Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978. * Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

ANC, PAC 'shun Azapo'

Sowetan 17/4/91

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THE Azanian Youth Organisation has urged Azapo to renew its call for a consultative conference of all liberation movements.

Azapo president, Mr Thami Mcerwa, said despite the fact that Azapo had called for a

patriotic front on March 3 last year, the ANC and the PAC had excluded Azapo as an equal participant.

"The intention of this front is suspect. The ANC has failed to respond positively. Instead it supported (President FW) De

Klerk's call for an all-party congress.

"The PAC has equally not indicated enthusiasm to the idea of a consultative conference of the black liberation movements.

"Azapo calls upon the

PAC and ANC to refrain from indulging in undemocratic practices and entering into alliances that seem to be dictatorial and negating the very idea of unity among the oppressed and exploited," Mcerwa said. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

PAC, ANC reject call for conference

THE ANC and the PAC yesterday rejected government's call for a multiparty conference on ways to end township violence.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said at a Press conference yesterday that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's call for a multiparty conference was a "propaganda ploy" in preparation for President F W de Klerk's visit to Europe.

He addressed reporters after eight members of the National Conference of Churches (NCC), led by Rev Frank Chikane and Louw Alberts, met the ANC National Executive Committee.

Mandela said there was no point in meeting on the issue because government knew exactly what to do to end the violence, "and we are not going to be engaged in any discussions which, in our view, are not intended to address the matter seriously."

Chikane said the church leaders had listened carefully to the ANC's presentation on violence and the way the violence threatened to stop the process to find a peaceful way of resolving SA's problems.

Church leaders were thinking of ways to assist in solving the problems, but had not decided on what action would be taken.

Alberts said the church was concerned that blood was being shed to solve "eventual political problems".

Asked about the ANC's plans to develop "defence units", Mandela said these were not discussed at the meeting, but that the ANC was "firm" that the units ought to be formed. The ANC would ignore threats by the SAP.

"It is no longer a question of what they want, it is a question of what we regard as necessary," he said.

"I might well add that in our view either the SAP or certain elements of the police have themselves been forming private armies of criminals in order to attack the residents in the townships.

"We are not prepared to fold our arms in that situation, and the defence units are going to be formed."

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Bloem 18/4/91

TIM COHEN

The church delegation said in a statement that the ANC delegation was briefed on the Rustenburg Declaration adopted by the NCC, outlining the relationship between church and state and principles for a new constitution.

Mandela emphasised that the Freedom Charter reflected the ANC's commitment to the right of all faiths to exist in conditions of freedom and to the right of individuals to practise their faiths.

The ANC identified itself with the churches' call for the creation of a body that would negotiate a new constitution that will be "clearly and fully representative of all South Africans", the statement said.

Cause

The PAC would not discuss solutions to the violence with Vlok, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told Sapa yesterday.

"He (Vlok), as the representative of the state security operation, is the cause of the violence."

The PAC had "identified the state as the main perpetrator of the violence", and was "therefore not likely to engage" with it in any talks.

Alexander said the PAC was involved in its own attempts to resolve the violence.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that three bodies with gunshot wounds have been discovered by police at neighbouring Edendale. Police say they are investigating.

Meanwhile, ANO reports from Lusaka that Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda yesterday called on the international community to help end the violence in SA.

Kaunda said that unless the violence was stopped, there was a potential danger of it spilling into neighbouring countries such as Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia and Zimbabwe which share common ethnic groups with SA.

ANC stands firm on ultimatum

Star Africa Service
and Sapa

Star
18/4/91

The ANC yesterday stepped up its recent hardline approach on talks with the Government and on the issue of violence.

In Harare, the organisation's chief spokesman, Dr Pallo Jordan, made it clear that if demands made in the ANC's open letter to the Government were not met by May 9, all discussions would be broken off.

He said unless the Government removed the obstacles to negotiation by April 30,

the ANC would have to reconsider its position.

"That is one thing. The second thing the ANC has said is that it shall not proceed with any other discussions with the Government if certain demands are not complied with by May 9."

In Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela told a press conference that the ANC rejected the Government's plan for a multiparty conference on violence as a propaganda ploy.

The ANC leader was reacting to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's an-

nouncement that the Government planned to call a multiparty conference in an effort to end the violence.

Mr Mandela added: "There is nothing in it because the Government knows exactly what to do in order to put an end to the violence.

"And we are not going to be engaged in any discussions which in our view are not intended to address the matter seriously."

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said Mr Vlok would arrange a conference as soon as possible.

Winnie tells court she was framed

Case files 18/4/91 (EJR) (117) (BJV)

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday said evidence implicating her in crimes of kidnapping and assault was fabricated and she hoped the reasons for the fabrication would emerge during her present trial.

She told the Rand Supreme Court that only the people who had fabricated the evidence would be able to say why they had done it, adding this was not the first time made-up evidence had been used against her.

She said she hoped the reasons would emerge "during the court case (through evidence) given by some of the witnesses".

Under cross-examination by Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, for the state, she conceded that despite widespread allegations about her involvement in the December 29, 1988, kidnapping of four people from a Soweto church manse and their subsequent assault, she had not formally produced an alibi until the beginning of her trial in February this year.

Mrs Mandela agreed she had not informed Soweto community leaders, police, the media, the Witwatersrand attorney-general or a magistrate of her alibi.

Her alibi is that at the time of the abduction and assaults she was in the Free State town of Brandfort, discussing welfare projects with community leaders.

Mr Swanepoel asked why, when allegations were made against her, she had not simply said she was in Brandfort and could not have committed the offences.

She said she felt there was no need to



AT COURT ... Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie arrive at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. Picture: AP

produce an alibi as the allegations were "absurd".

She added that her alibi had come up during football coach Jerry Richardson's murder trial last year.

Mr Swanepoel asked her when it had first emerged that she was not at home on December 29 as she claimed.

"I cannot remember," Mrs Mandela said. "Did you tell anyone before you went that you were going to Brandfort?"

"I was not in the habit of disclosing my moves because of my experiences."

Earlier in her evidence Mrs Mandela said she had been betrayed by a "handful of so-called anti-apartheid leaders" who had called for her to be ostracised from

the community following allegations of her involvement in the abduction and assault.

Mrs Mandela said she had been tried by members of the Mass Democratic Movement, including Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, without being consulted.

She said her detractors had also "stated that no lawyer belonging to the democratic movement" should represent her.

A statement by prominent anti-apartheid lawyer Mr Krish Naidoo that he was withdrawing as her attorney had surprised her, as he had never represented her.

Mrs Mandela, 57, and her co-accused, Ms Xoliswa Falati, 37, and Mr John Morgan, 61, have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Mrs Mandela dismissed claims by Mr Swanepoel that the alleged homosexual activity of the supervisor of the manse, the Rev Paul Verryn, had "nothing to do with your defence".

"If it were not for (Mr Verryn's alleged sexual misconduct) I would not be in this court," Mrs Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela agreed that even if Mr Verryn had been sexually abusing youths at the manse it had nothing to do with the assault on the abducted four at her house.

During her evidence-in-chief Mrs Mandela said that despite Mr Verryn's sexual misconduct she held him "in the highest esteem" for the community work he had done in Soweto.

She said she had wanted to "contain the problem" and persuade Mr Verryn to seek psychiatric help.

The trial continues today.

Patriotic Front will end bitter rivalry

11/4
PAC/CS
19/1

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

THE decision by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to form a Patriotic Front is one of the most significant political developments since the unbanning of liberation movements.

Bitter rivalry between the two organisations is at last coming to an end.

A conference in Harare this week where this decision was taken was the first get-together between the two movements since a rift in the ANC which led to the formation of the PAC in 1959.

At the Harare conference enmity of more than 30 years was put aside with this decision to form a front of all those who are in favour of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system.

A "patriotic conference" will now be held in Cape Town in August and joint structures will be set up to achieve a transfer of power and to deal with the question of violence.

The government is strongly opposed to the idea of a constituent assembly. Instead it wants to have a multiparty conference to prepare for a negotiation forum to draw up a new constitution.

Its argument against a constituent assembly is that it will negate real negotiations because the groups present in such a body will be bound by mandates received in an election.

The rift in the ANC which led to the formation of the PAC started in 1957 when there was a strong flaring-up of "Africanism" among some blacks.

Differences arose between those who were to form the PAC and those who remained with the ANC about the preamble to the Freedom Charter which stated that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it, black and white together.

The charter also stated that no government could justly claim authority unless it was based on the will of all of the people.

Those who supported these ideas were an alliance of the

ANC, the SA Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Congress of Trade Unions.

With its attitude of "Africa for the Africans" the PAC saw the situation in South Africa in very stark racial terms. In its ranks there was also concern about the involvement of whites in the liberation movements.

On the other hand the attitude of the ANC was that, while blacks were the most oppressed group, the help of other groups was needed to achieve liberation.

The breakaway PAC was started on April 6 1959 and from then on there was a vying for support among blacks between the two movements.

At an ANC conference in December 1959 it was decided to embark on an anti-passbook campaign on March 30 1960.

The PAC in turn announced that it would start such a campaign on March 21 and this led to Sharpeville and afterwards the banning of the two movements.

While operating underground they both formed armed wings, Poqo in the case of the PAC and Umkhonto we Sizwe in the case of the ANC.

Particularly the PAC was hard hit by government actions against it. A number of its people were caught and sentenced to death, particularly in the period 1962-64.

After the unbanning of the two movements last year a feeling started that it was time to set aside the enmity and to stand together.

According to ANC sources the idea is not to have an amalgamation but to establish a common platform of action, also to draw in like-minded organisations.

While they agree on the idea of a constituent assembly the ANC and the PAC still differ on some other perspectives.

The PAC has taken a hard-line attitude to negotiations, talking more of the need to transfer power while the ANC has all along been in favour of negotiations, although it has many misgivings.

These differences will have to be sorted out at the coming congress.

American communists to host Hani visit

WASHINGTON — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani begins a two-week, 10-city tour of the US this week as the guest of the Communist Party of the USA.

The party's newspaper, the People's Weekly World, is using his visit to raise badly needed funds and to recruit new supporters for its "Worldbuilder" programme.

US officials — who are scheduled to meet Hani at the State Department next week — are aghast that Hani should have agreed to associate himself with the party and believe it can only damage the ANC's credibility.

The issue may well be raised on the floor

SIMON BARBER

of the Senate and further lessens the chances of the ANC seeing any of the \$3.73m the administration proposed to give it last year as part the congressionally mandated Transition to Democracy Project. It may also undercut congressional opposition to lifting sanctions.

In its March 16 issue, the newspaper urged readers to "help build the world and smash apartheid" with contributions "to help defray the cost of this historic tour and also help sustain our publication".

Through the paper the party is co-ordinating a series of "rallies, banquets, uni-

versity appearances and media interviews" for Hani. The paper is inviting readers to buy space to "greet" Hani.

In addition to visiting the State Department while he is in Washington next week, Hani will also have private meetings with congressmen and is scheduled to address the National Press Club, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and students at Howard University.

Other cities on his tour include New York Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Boston.

ANC spokesmen in Johannesburg were unable to confirm Hani's tour.

11/1/81
18/4/91
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(11A)

Key Market Movements — April 16 to April 22





Mr Chris Hani

Communists invite Hani to visit US

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Umkhonto We Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani begins a two-week, 10-city tour of the United States this week as the guest of the American Communist Party.

Mr Hani will meet the State Department, congressmen and is scheduled to address the National Press Club.

● The party claimed some 20 000 members in late 1988.

CAPE TOWN (VIA)
18/4/91 (BOST)

PAC rejects Vlok's peace conference

11A

Sowetan 18/4/91

THE Pan Africanist Congress has rejected a proposal by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok to call a conference of all affected parties in a bid to end violence.

"No, we are not going to talk to Mr Vlok about the violence at all," the organisation's general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said.

"He (Mr Vlok), as the representative of the State security operation, is the cause of the violence.

"The PAC has identified the State as the main

perpetrator of the violence and therefore we are not likely to engage ourselves in any talks on the violence with them."

Asked whether the PAC had plans of trying to end the ongoing violence, Alexander said: "We are engaged in our own attempts to resolve the violence."

"We met with the African National Congress leadership on Monday and Tuesday this week in Harare and we will soon make announcements about meeting other



BENNY ALEXANDER

organisations."

Alexander declined to divulge further details. - *Sapa.*

SADF and ANC in war of words

11A

Sowetan 18/4/91

By MATHATHA TSEDU

A WAR of words has erupted between the African National Congress Northern Transvaal region and the local command of the SADF over allegations of intimidation and harassment.

The first salvo was fired by the ANC last week in a statement accusing the SADF of waging a campaign against the organisation in many rural areas of Lebowa.

The ANC said the SADF had declared "mini states of emergency" in many villages and was distributing pamphlets to thwart ANC programmes.

Campaign

It accused the SADF of setting up "an electronic communications network between some chiefs" and the soldiers to entrench the harassment campaign.

But in a return of fire, the SADF lashed out at the ANC for engaging in "agitation and intimidation" of rural communities throughout Lebowa by using youth congresses and civic associa-

tions.

"This is not a campaign against the ANC, but is aimed at protecting and safeguarding the people against intimidation by the ANC.

"It is not destabilising. On the contrary, it is protecting the people and is stabilising the situation in the rural areas of Lebowa.

"The allegation is a transparent attempt by the ANC to destabilise the self-governing states and to intimidate and destroy orderly government."

The SADF said it had placed radios with certain leaders who live in inaccessible areas "to facilitate communication whenever their safety is threatened by the youth and civic associations. This is probably the 'electronic system' that the ANC referred to".

The ANC has said SADF actions were designed to create friction within the community.

Lebowa Minister demoted

LEBOWA Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike yesterday announced a Cabinet reshuffle and demoted one of his ministers.

In a statement released to the media, Ramodike said the homeland's minister of justice Dr Kgoadi

By MATHATHA TSEDU

Molaba had been demoted to deputy minister in charge of housing and management services.

Molaba, a medical practitioner, was ap-

pointed to the Cabinet in 1989 as minister of health, a position he held until his unexpected transfer in January this year.

Rumours of his pending demotion have been circulating in the region for some time following an arrest warrant issued against him for failing to pay medical bills. Sowetan

Flat 18/4/91

Sources close to the Lebowa Cabinet said Molaba, an Africanist, had been at loggerheads with Ramodike, who is said to support the ANC.

Molaba's demotion means that he must now move out of the R200 000 ministerial house into a flat where deputy ministers are housed.

Strikers sacked

WITH one department as yet unaccounted for, 1 638 striking Ciskeian civil servants are reported to have been dismissed for not returning to work.

A government source said the Ciskei's total civil service workforce, including police and army personnel, comprised 30 509 employees.

The Eastern Cape region of the Congress of South African Trade Unions on Tuesday sent two officials from Port Elizabeth, the regional secretary, Mr Dennis Neer, and regional educational secretary, Mr Thobile Mhlahloto, to meet the Ciskei's Council of State over the strike. Sowetan 18/4/91.

The National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union have pledged to fight for the workers' reinstatement. - Sapa.

ANC, PAC dismiss 'iron fist' claims

Sowetan 18/4/91

11A

THE PAC and ANC do not intend dictating terms to other liberation groups in the envisaged "patriotic front".

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

Harare, yesterday dismissed claims that they intended becoming the principal players in the future "patriotic front" of the country's liberation movements.

They said all organ-

isations who met certain specific principles would have equal representation.

The ANC's information chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, and the PAC's secretary of information, Mr Barney Desai, addressed reporters at Jan Smuts Airport.

Replying to specific questions on why Azapo was not invited to the unity talks, the spokesmen said the conference followed congress resolutions of the PAC and ANC over the need for unity.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke

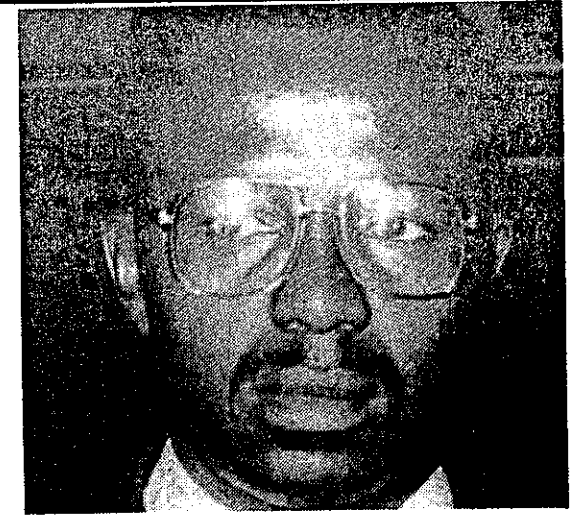
said a meeting with Azapo had already been scheduled. This was in line with the PAC's congress resolution.

A conference to form a "patriotic front" of all organisations subscribing to the concept of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa will be held in Cape Town in August.

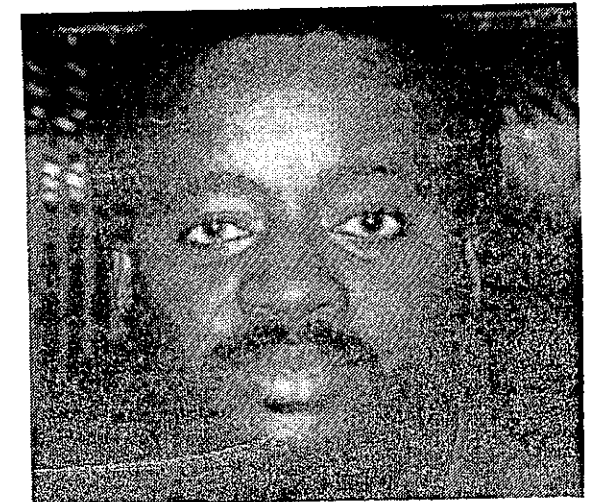
Desai said the Harare summit elected ANC foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki and PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim to chair a special committee on sanctions.

Members of the committee have still to be appointed.

The resolution follows the organisations' condemnation of the European Community's decision to lift sanctions against South Africa.



DIKGANG MOSENEKE



PALLO JORDAN

Winnie Mandela tells of allegations against priest

Sowetan 18/4/91

11A

From Page 1

she had admitted to journalists seeing Stompie a few days before he disappeared from her house, Mandela said she had made a mistake.

She said the person she had seen at her house washing hands near the

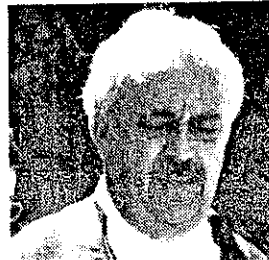
Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches.

She said she had hoped there would be an inquiry into the problem.

She said she took the youth, Katiza Cebekhulu, "in a hysterical state" to Asvat.

high esteem. I intended to contain this problem among ourselves and I had hoped that Paul Verryn would allow himself to be assisted by a psychiatrist.

"I could not understand how a man who was doing such valuable work



The indaba between the ANC and PAC was vital, writes Tos Wentzel

Chapter closes on bitter rift in black politics

Star 19/4/91
THE decision by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to form a patriotic front is one of the most significant political developments since the unbanning of liberation movements.

Bitter rivalry between the two organisations appears at last to be coming to an end.

A conference in Harare this week at which this decision was taken was the first get-together between the two movements since a rift in the ANC which led to the formation of the PAC in 1959.

Enmity of more than 30 years was put aside with the decision to form a front of all those who are in favour of a constituent assembly to decide on a new constitutional system.

A "patriotic conference" will now be held in Cape Town in August and joint structures will be set up to achieve a transfer of power and to deal with the question of violence.

The Government is strongly opposed to the idea of a constituent assembly. Instead it wants to have a multiparty conference to prepare for a negotiation forum to draw up a new constitution.

The rift in the ANC which led to the formation of the PAC started in 1957.

Differences arose between those who were to form the PAC and those who remained with the ANC about the preamble to the Freedom Charter which stated that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it, black and white together.

The Charter also stated that no government could justly claim authority unless it was based on the will of all of the people.

Those who supported these ideas were an alliance of the ANC, the SA Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Congress of Trade Unions.

With its attitude of "Africa for the Africans", the PAC saw the situation in South Africa in very stark racial terms. In its ranks there was also concern about the

involvement of whites in the liberation movements.

On the other hand the attitude of the ANC was that, while blacks were the most oppressed group, the help of other groups was needed to achieve liberation.

The break-away PAC was started on April 6 1959 and from then on there was a vying between the two movements for support among blacks.

At an ANC conference in December 1959 it was decided to embark on an anti-passbook campaign on March 30 1960.

The PAC in turn announced that it would start such a campaign on March 21 and this led to the Sharpeville shootings and afterwards the banning of the movements.

While operating underground they both formed armed wings, Poqo in the case of the PAC and Umkhonto we Sizwe in the case of the ANC.

After the unbanning of the two movements last year the feeling grew that it was time to set aside the enmity and unite.

Speaking in Tanzania last March, deputy leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, expressed the hope that the two would start talking and for the first time he mentioned the possibility of a patriotic front.

At an OAU conference in August the then leader of the PAC, the late Zeph Mothopeng, also raised the idea. The ANC consultative congress in December had a resolution dealing with the idea and its anniversary statement early in January also supported it.

According to ANC sources, the idea is not to have an amalgamation but to establish a common platform of action.

While they agree on the idea of a constituent assembly, the ANC and the PAC still differ on some other crucial issues.

The PAC has taken a hard line on negotiations while the ANC, in spite of misgivings, supports them.

The two sides have nevertheless described the Harare meeting, the first bilateral one, as an "outstanding success". □

CAP. TMS 19/4/91

11A ~~1700~~ ~~1700~~

Doubt cast on Winnie's alibi

JOHANNESBURG. — Evidence that Mrs Winnie Mandela's minibus was in two places at the same time casts doubt on her alibi, it has been suggested in the Rand Supreme Court.

Mrs Mandela has said she was being transported in the minibus to Brandfort in the Free State on the evening of December 29, 1988. This is about the same time she is alleged to have initiated and taken part in a vicious sjambok assault on child activist Stompie Seipei and three men at her Soweto home.

In a statement to the police, her co-accused and driver, Mr John Morgan, said he had used the same minibus on the same night to transport another co-accused in the trial, Ms Xoliswa Falati, and her daughter, Nompumelelo, to the Orlando West Methodist Church manse.

Mrs Mandela told the court yesterday she had left Soweto for Brandfort about 7pm, but according to Mr Morgan's statement, he was driving the minibus in Soweto later on the same evening.

Mr Morgan's statement was accepted as evidence after a trial-within-a-trial about two weeks ago.

Mrs Mandela, Ms Falati and Mr Morgan have pleaded not guilty to kidnap and assault charges.

Other evidence presented to the court Mr Jan Swanepoel, for the state, yesterday included a newspaper report from February 19, 1989. It quoted former Mandela United Football Club coach Jerry Richardson as admitting to assaulting Stompie and the three men.

Secret report

Richardson was sentenced to death last year for murdering Stompie, 14.

In the report, Richardson said Stompie had last been seen at the Mandela house about a week after he and the others had been removed from the manse.

Mr Swanepoel also submitted as evidence another newspaper article about a secret report sent to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka by the Soweto Crisis Committee (SCC), which in-

vestigated the allegations that Mrs Mandela had been involved in the kidnap and assault.

The SCC report apparently recommended that ties with Mrs Mandela be severed.

Mr Swanepoel hammered at Mrs Mandela's apparent inability yesterday to remember specific details presented as fact in a statement attributed to her and submitted as evidence at the start of the trial.

The statement mapped out Mrs Mandela's Brandfort alibi and described how Ms Falati, with the help of Richardson, had brought Stompie and the three men to her Soweto home without Mrs Mandela's knowledge or consent.

According to Mrs Mandela, she returned to Soweto on December 31, two days after the assault apparently occurred, and was told by Ms Falati that the four had been brought from the manse.

Mrs Mandela denied that she had made aware the four had been assaulted or were being held against their wills at her home.

The hearing continues today. —

Sapa

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two businessmen were wounded by robbers with AK-47 rifles and pistols when they tried to help a guard attacked outside a bank in Alberton.

Police said the five robbers wrenched a firearm from Mr Cedric Jandi. Mr Alf Jones and Mr H Engelbrecht went to help him and were shot. Both are in stable condition.

● A 62-year-old bee-keeper, Mr F F Steinhobel of Benoni, was held up by three men with AK-47 rifles in his garden and robbed of R8 000 cash, which was kept in a safe in an office next to his house. The gunmen fired at Mr Steinhobel when he fled, but missed.

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to go ahead with the proposed summit on violence in spite of the ANC's rejection of the idea.

Top government sources confirmed this today and said that Mr De Klerk had indicated this to deputy ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he told him beforehand of the announcement.

A meeting of leaders in governmental executive positions, including the chief ministers of self-governing black areas, were told about this when they met Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday.

While there will be some disappointment in government circles about the ANC rejection of the plan, Mr De Klerk will go ahead. Rightwing whites will also not attend. The Conservative Party has also rejected the idea.

Although Mr De Klerk did not directly refer to the ANC's recent ultimatum to him on the question of violence in his announcement on the summit and on a permanent standing commission of inquiry into the prevention of violence, he gave the impression that it was addressing at least some of the issues raised by the ANC.

These could also be raised at the summit to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk's main point was that the government alone could not end violence but that it needed the help of all leaders.

Mr De Klerk's statement was also timed for his departure on a short European trip where the issue of violence will undoubtedly be raised.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr De Klerk's announcement did not address the question of violence as raised in its open letter to him.

"The call for a summit on violence seems to be the same idea that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, floated a few days ago. As is known, the ANC rejected that idea as unnecessary and divisionary."

The ANC had called for a commission of inquiry that would be independent and would have full powers to deal with violence.

"The present proposal does not seem to be aimed at achieving that objective."

The ANC's national executive committee would respond to Mr De Klerk's statement in full in due course.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said he regretted that the ANC had reacted negatively to the call for a summit on violence.

"It will certainly be our intention to raise the matter of police violence at the proposed meeting.

"We would very much have wished to have heard the voice of the ANC also.

"We have considerable sympathy for some of the views the ANC has been expressing on this question and we shall continue to seek ways and means of co-operating with them.

"However, to boycott a conference such as the president is calling will simply not be our style," Dr De Beer said.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said that his party was not involved in violence and would not hold talks with perpetrators of violence.

He dismissed Mr De Klerk's announcement as a panic reaction because it no longer controlled the security situation in the country.

"The government is responsible for unbanning terror organisations which in turn have terrorised and murdered innocent people."

Summit 'on'

By TOS WENZEL, Political Staff

MS 19/4/91

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19/4/91

AAE

A 33-year-old feud comes to an end

19/4 - 25/4/77

By ANDREW MELDRUM: Harare

THE Patriotic Front planned by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in Harare this week is envisioned as a broadly-based anti-apartheid coalition to undertake mass action campaigns to press for a popularly-elected constituent assembly.

The proposed alliance, due to be launched following a conference in Cape Town in August, is seen by some as a strategy to isolate Inkatha from other anti-apartheid groups. ANC and PAC officials deny this, saying they hope the Inkatha Freedom Party will participate.

In their two-day meeting in Harare, the ANC and the PAC agreed to set aside their 33-year-old bitter rivalry to work together to form the Patriotic Front. They see it as an umbrella organisation to group together all organisations in favour of one-person/one-vote elections to select representatives to a constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution.

"The Patriotic Front will be formed by the participants at the Cape Town conference," said PAC deputy president Ernest Moseneke. "We anticipate that it will be made up of all those groups which subscribe to the demand of holding a constituent assembly such as the PAC, the ANC, Azapo and conceivably a large number of groups that reach right through the society of our country."

The proposed alliance between the ANC and PAC has ended years of bitter rivalry — but is seen by some as a bid to isolate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

By ANDREW MELDRUM in Harare



Isolated? ... Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"It is a historical trend that in liberation struggles there comes a particular time, when the goal of liberation draws near, when all groups decide they must work together to achieve victory," said ANC security chief Ja-

cob Zuma. "We have decided that time has come for South Africa and that we must work together."

The co-operation of the ANC and PAC in forming a united front is similar to the 1976 agreement by Robert Mugabe's Zanu and Joshua Nkomo's Zapu to form their Patriotic Front against Rhodesian minority rule. The Zimbabwean front proved effective in marginalising Bishop Abel Muzorewa's United African National Congress which had collaborated with Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front. Because Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already stated his opposition to a constituent assembly, the new PAC/ANC co-operation is viewed by some observers as an attempt to isolate Buthelezi much as Zimbabwe's Patriotic Front separated Muzorewa from the nationalist movement. Participants at the Harare conference deny this is an aim of the planned Patriotic Front.

"We are not plotting against Buthelezi, we are hoping we can bring him in with us," said PAC administrative secretary Joe Mkwanazi. "The beauty of this agreement is that it does not end with just the PAC and ANC, it will bring together all the organisations of the oppressed in a Patriotic Front. The Cape Town conference is an open door. We want everybody to come who accepts a constituent assembly."

Mkwanazi said both the PAC and the ANC hope to have private meetings to encourage Buthelezi to participate.

ANDREW MELDRUM

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Azapo plans a huge recruitment drive

11A

Sowetan
19/4/91

AZAPO will launch a major information and membership drive in the Northern Transvaal on Sunday to explain the organisation's policy and its stand on current political issues.

The organisation's regional information and publicity director, Mr Kangale Makhado, announced this in

Pietersburg yesterday.

The campaign would start with a public meeting in Seshego, where new members would be signed up.

The meeting, at the Seshego Community Hall, will feature the organisation's secretary general, Mr Don Nkadimeng, and vice-

president for political affairs, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Molatlhegi Tihale.

University of Venda student leader and member of the Azanian Student Convention, Mr Rudzani Nemutudi, will speak on "The student view of the turmoil in black education".

A window into Winnie's mind

By Emma Gilbey

Winnipeg 19/4 - 25/4/91

WINNIE MANDELA'S performance on the witness stand has provided several insights into her character, both through the way she behaves in court and the life she describes having led in Soweto.

She has said that all the evidence against her has been fabricated, and Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Mono, John Morgan, Xoliswa Falati and the Crisis Committee have all lied about her in various statements.

She has a tendency to refer to herself occasionally in the plural, "We shall agree with that document," she said when state advocate Jan Swanepoel asked her about her defence statement.

She has revealed the frustration she has felt with the press, writing "wild allegations" about her. "I think it was *The Weekly Mail* that came out with the first bad article," she told the court.

Living in Soweto as a community leader and social worker, people would come to her with problems. She would ask for people to be brought to her rather than visiting them herself. When Xoliswa Falati came to her and told her that Katiza Cebukulu was traumatised following his complaint about being raped by Reverend Paul Verryn, "My reaction was that she should bring the youngster."

When Swanepoel asked her a hypothetical question as to what she might have done if Falati had said a youth had been slapped by Jerry Richardson, "I might have asked her to bring the slapped person."

Although Mandela can drive, she was usually driven — the job being shared by a number of people. She has said that she never visited the back rooms of her property to see who was there, that she had no control over who stayed there. Youths came and stayed there for different reasons, she told the court. They never came into the main house, "There was an understanding — they just respected the privacy of the family as much as I respected theirs."

The youths did, however, accompany her to funerals and meetings, dressed in the track-suits of the Mandela United Football Club which, she says, was no longer in existence.

"It was a general understanding that if I went to a funeral the whole family would go with me. If we went to things like meetings and funerals they would accompany me, they were comrades."

Swanepoel asked Mandela if they led separate lives, as she has stated, why take them along?

"It did not mean I was not to communicate with them at all. I provided them with food, I provided them with shelter. To that extent I did go out with them," she said.

CURRENT ISSUES



Why is the ANC talking to the government?



The duty of any liberation movement is to seek freedom by the shortest possible route. In the case of South Africa most people have been ruled by force and experienced oppression and exploitation for three and a half centuries. Obviously and quite correctly they are not willing to be patient and wait for freedom at some unknown time.

At any particular moment we need to analyse the various forces at work and assess how best we can take our struggle forward. What methods of struggle we use are determined by the strengths and weaknesses and the possibilities of winning various other groupings to our side.

Until recently the ANC's perspective with regard to the ending of apartheid and creating a democratic state was that this would occur through the combination of political and military action, leading to an armed seizure of power.

This had not always been our perspective. From its foundation in 1912, in fact, the ANC had tried to achieve political freedom through peaceful means, deputations to London and to government ministers, peaceful protests and so on. Over time it became clear that these forms of political activity were not having much effect and the liberation movement embarked on more militant forms of action.

The formation of the ANC Youth League was instrumental in the 1940s in taking the ANC along a more militant path. This found expression in the development of the ANC into a mass movement in the 1950s, particularly through the defiance campaign in 1952 and the Congress of the People Campaign which created the Freedom Charter in 1955.

All the time, the Congress alliance headed by the ANC sought to engage the government discussions to relieve the disabilities of the people. But this was in vain and the Sharpsville massacre, followed by the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960, showed that peaceful and lawful activity was no longer possible.

The ANC never entered armed struggle as a military organisation, but as an organisation with particular political goals it wanted to achieve by the swiftest possible route. For a time the armed dimension was a significant element, and Umkonto we Sizwe scored massive blows against the apartheid targets.

But the ANC has always preferred a peaceful route to freedom. It is our people who have been the prime victims of violence and it is in our interests and that of the country as a whole to end military conflict. That is why when the possibility of a negotiated settlement emerged in the late 1980s we grasped it and set about embarking on an initiative to ensure that any negotiations would result in

This article was written by Raymond Suttner who is the head of the department of political education in the African National Congress. We would like you to feel free to reply to what the ANC have to say about negotiations. Perhaps you disagree or have some questions to ask the ANC leadership. Read this article with other people, discuss it and send your point of view or questions to Learning Nation, P.O. Box 11350 Johannesburg. We will pass them on to the ANC and publish the replies, together with your questions or points of view later on in this series.

the same goals as we sought from our previous methods of struggle, including armed action.

This point is important. When you negotiate you are not negotiating for something different from what you seek through armed action. Our goals remain the transfer of power to the people and the creation of a nonracial, nonsexist democratic South Africa.

But why did negotiations come on the agenda? This was not some act of magic nor some sudden realisation on the part of the Nationalist Party that talk was better than guns. It was a combination of the crisis of apartheid and the fearless and massive resistance of our people that forced the government to realise that they had to talk to the ANC.

In brief, the apartheid regime was losing its support to both the right and left. Increasing numbers of whites were coming to doubt the morality of apartheid. The economy was stagnating with little prospect of investment that would make it possible to grow. Repression was not quelling popular resistance at home and the military suffered defeat in Angola.

The period of the 1980s saw waves of semi-insurrectionary mass action throughout the country bringing puppet structures to a standstill, and paralysing apartheid.

Naturally the government wanting to talk did not mean that they shared our goals. That is why it is essential that we continue to maintain pressure on every front to ensure that the outcome at the table is dictated by the power of the people on the ground.

While we recognised that the prospect of a negotiated settlement was there, others less sympathetic to our goals were also considering this question. The Thatcher government, in particular was preparing an initiative that would have sidelined the ANC.

It is always better in politics to be the initiator of a process, since that way others have to respond to what you suggest, and you provide the framework for debate. To ensure that we made the running, that instead of us having to respond to an initiative started by the imperialists, we developed our own plan for peace - the Harare Declaration, and this document adopted by the OAU, the Non-Aligned movement and with slight modifications the United Nations, became the internationally accepted peace process. (The Harare Declaration will be examined in the next article in this series in conjunction with the Constituent Assembly.)

Before we go any further it needs to be acknowledged that many people find the idea of talks with the government distasteful and even suspect. Some of our 'radical' opponents suggest that talks or negotiations mean selling out.

Any contact with the government must be taken with great care. This is especially so when it is likely that they might want to trap us in some plan to help maintain white domination. We do not avoid any contact because of such danger.

If we see contact creating possibilities of advancing our goals in a substantial way, it is our duty while taking adequate steps to avoid the dangers, to engage the government. And the ANC has used this contact to start and we have reason to believe, complete the freeing of political prisoners and ensure the return of exiles. None of these processes are complete, but contact with the government is a necessary element in its achievement.

The ANC believes that negotiations do not substitute for any other form of struggle. We pursue negotiations together with other forms of struggle in order to provide the maximum pressure towards the dismantling of apartheid.

We hope that there can now be a peaceful route to freedom but we believe that the efforts at the negotiating table have to be coupled with mass struggles on every front to ensure that the government recognises that we will settle for nothing less than total freedom.

The way we pursue negotiations is also a reflection of the mass character of our struggle. We want the people to be involved at every phase of the struggle. Their power must be felt at the negotiating table. They must have their demands heard in the streets and factories, on the land and in the schools. The ANC signature campaign for a Constituent Assembly and Interim Government gives expression to this intention - to have the people's voice decisive. That voice must guide our negotiators and convince the government that negotiations will not mean a softening of our demands, but rather the way in which our legitimate demands are realised.

THE VIOLENCE

FM 19/4/91.

THE BLOOD-DIMMED TIDE

Is the country heading for anarchy and civil war? Is the ANC starting something it will not be able to stop? Is government doing enough to restore law and order? These questions are on everyone's mind.

This week details emerged of a secret ANC discussion document on township self-defence units. On Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, calling for township residents to form such units, said they would not be much more than the equivalent of neighbourhood watches in white areas.

However, the document, as reported in *Business Day*, paints a different picture. There are uncomfortable parallels with rightwing commandos, raising the spectre of private armies and a government impotent to prevent bloodshed borne of political and tribal rivalries, poverty and sheer criminality.

Compiled in conjunction with Cosatu, the ANC document suggests that at least 10% of township residents could be organised into such commandos.

Senior ANC spokesman Saci Macozoma, who had not seen the document when the *FM* spoke to him, said it did not mean the ANC was considering removing its suspension of armed action (agreed to in the Pretoria Minute in August). He said if this was discussed at all, it would have to come before the movement's National Consultative Conference in June.

"Isn't it obvious why there is such a document? People aren't getting protection from the police force and when we raise the issue we get abuse from the media," said Macozoma.



Mandela ...
playing with fire

zoma.

Admitting that he did not know how the ANC could train or control the numbers of armed people envisioned in the document, Macozoma said his understanding of defence committees "was the involvement of vigilant communities that patrol their areas. The question of arming people has not been central."

Macozoma would not be drawn further on

that point, other than to say the aim was defensive. But he admitted that the line between defensive and offensive could easily become blurred.

"People in our communities are dying all the time," he said. "It is terrible to see what is happening. They keep calling for arms and protection. The police force is not impartial and there are persistent allegations that they assist in attacks. We can't keep moralising to those people and telling them to live on government promises."

The ANC document recommends physical exercise, the wearing of uniforms, political education and the collection of money to buy weapons that do not require a licence, such as air rifles and crossbows. It gives advice on setting up communications systems, building roadblocks and barricades with fortified houses.

Whatever the motivation, it sounds like preparation for war.

Some rightwingers have claimed they are organising for war but the ANC appears to be moving into a dual game — negotiations on one hand, war talk on the other.

It is a dangerous game and will lead to speaking with forked tongue. ANC credibility will be affected and dissatisfaction in its ranks will rise if it keeps crying "Wolf!"

Government does not emerge blameless from the bitter escalation in violence (see *Leaders*) but it is somehow going to have to convince the ANC of its bona fides in trying to stem the anarchic tide. No state can allow private armies.

And still little attention is paid to simple but explosive socio-economic issues: last week's fatal violence at Kathlehong, for instance, is said to have been sparked by a dispute over squatters' access to lavatories and taps. ■

TRYING HARD

A permanent judicial commission, to investigate aspects of the violence sweeping the country, was expected to be the main thrust of President FW de Klerk's response this week to recent ANC demands.

De Klerk, who is due to leave on a European tour at the weekend, was preparing the response as the *FM* went to press. His reaction will be coupled to the announcement in Cape Town on Tuesday by Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that so-called traditional weapons are to be outlawed at public gatherings.

Vlok told journalists that instructions have been issued that "axes and pangas carried in conflict situations" such as marches and meetings are to be confiscated by police.

De Klerk's response and Vlok's action

are seen as a serious attempt to go some way to convincing the ANC that it is taking the violence seriously and to head off the threatened collapse of negotiations.

Vlok says the current unrest must be seen in perspective. Though the number of deaths is horrifying, there have in fact been fewer unrest incidents in the first three months of this year than in the corresponding period last year; if the current trend for April continues, there will be fewer than a third of the number of unrest incidents this year than there were in April 1990.

But, he says government remains "extremely concerned" about the violence and is committed to ending it as quickly as possible. The use of AK-47 rifles in attacks is particularly worrying.

11A ~~11A~~ ~~265~~

— usually takes a tough line. This has been aggravated by him being less than familiar with the chamber, and the influence of a militant faction under Thokoza civic association president Sam Ntuli.

Mayekiso refused to comment to the *FM* before a meeting this Thursday with the Soweto People's Delegation.

Cast has recently begun leaning towards an anti-negotiations stance and some of the opinions of its members sound more like militant Pan Africanist Congress rhetoric than the statements of the ANC, Cast's traditional ally.

Ntuli is against talking to black councillors, which is contrary to more flexible ANC negotiations strategy. Last week Ntuli called on township communities to arm themselves for self-defence after the government had failed to respond to an ultimatum for the carrying of traditional weapons to be banned. Though Cast claims it is non-aligned, Ntuli made it clear that Inkatha and black councillors were seen as "the source of violence against our people."

Others in the "civics" claim the real issue is the personal ambition of some members of Cast, rather than the best interests of civic structures. Cast is the most powerful amalgamation of civic structures in the country and will be a prime mover behind a national civic organisation expected to be formed this year.

Though the movement is theoretically nonpolitical, it has strong ties with the ANC. There is a belief that some of the militants are trying to form power bases, either for election to the ANC's National Executive Committee in June or as a springboard to more powerful positions in the ANC — as long as the violence makes militancy a popular option.

The NP leadership regards local government as critical to the negotiation process and talks here are expected to deal in advance with some of the issues to be discussed by ANC leaders and government.



Mayekiso



Ramaphosa

Yet other members of Cast are closer ideologically to African nationalistic positions like those of the PAC, and could form part of a breakaway faction.

Whatever the reason for the latest intriguing squabble in the anti-apartheid ranks, the citizen of Soweto or Alexandra — rubbish mounting on his pavements, sewage running down his potholed roads, his skies polluted by coal fires, his neighbourhood unsafe — appears to be last on anyone's list of priorities. ■

LOCAL POLITICS FM 19/4/91

CIVIC DISPUTE

11A ~~11A~~ ~~265~~

Power struggles within the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast) organisation almost cost Johannesburg its hard-won nonracial Metropolitan Chamber last week.

The chamber is a product of last year's Soweto Accord between the Transvaal provincial administration, three Soweto town councils and the Soweto People's Delegation. It has the job of formulating "regional, non-racial and democratic approaches for long-term implementation of measures for the constitutional, economic, institutional and social development of the metropolis."

But nearly seven months after the signing of the accord, Cast questioned the mandate of those who had signed and rejected the formula for the chamber, calling it racist. Cast, which represents about 40 civic structures, also refused to sit at the same negotiating table as black councillors.

At first it seemed the chamber might collapse before it had begun. But the powerful Soweto People's Delegation, under union boss Cyril Ramaphosa, rejected Cast's allegations, saying it was unfortunate that Cast had gone to the press before consulting the signatories of the accord. In the end, last week's opening chamber meeting was attended by all relevant structures, including some members of Cast.

Other signatories to the constitution last week were councils of Johannesburg, Alexandra, Randburg, Sandton, and the civic associations of Soweto, Kliptown, Eldorado Park, Klipspruit, Riverlea and the Western Residents' Action Committee.

The *FM* learns that there is deep division in Cast about a number of issues, including its stance on the new chamber.

Moses Mayekiso, Cast president and resident of Hillbrow, is head of the Alexandra Civic Organisation, which so far has refused to sign the chamber constitution. Mayekiso — who is thinly spread between those tasks and his roles as head of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA and a central committee member of the SA Communist Party

ANC in talks with civic leaders over chamber

8/10am 19/4/91 - WILSON ZWANE (11A) (12A)
A HIGH-powered ANC delegation, including deputy president Nelson Mandela, yesterday held extensive talks with civic leaders in a bid to heal the rift between civic associations over the newly constituted Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

A source confirmed yesterday that the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast), the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD), the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) and the ANC delegation met to discuss the chamber.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the discussions were held to enable the ANC to get "different viewpoints" on the chamber which has been boycotted by Cast, but in which the SPD and SCA are taking part.

However, Marcus declined to say whether the ANC was for or against participation in the chamber although it was aware of the various viewpoints.

Cast last week slated the metropolitan chamber, saying it was based on racial lines and was aimed at undermining national political demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The SPD's Cyril Ramaphosa has said his organisation and the other civic associations that had signed the chamber constitution were not so "politically naive" as to get involved in something that was what Cast said the chamber was.

The chamber's constitution was signed in Johannesburg on April 9.

The koeksuster tannies of the ANC?

ON Thursday, some 1 000 women will converge on Kimberley for what will surely be the largest all-female gathering in South Africa since Lilian Ngoyi led the march on Pretoria

in 1956.

Then, the "mothers" of the African National Congress were fighting — at the most basic level — for their freedom, for the right to exist without a dompas. This week, at the first national congress of the ANC's Women's League, their daughters (and in many cases themselves) will be doing something entirely different: charting a future for the role women will play in the ANC, and for the role women's rights will play in a democratic South Africa.

"This might sound idealistic," says Tenjiwe Mntso, an Umkhonto weSizwe commander and former ANC chief representative to Uganda, "but we are striving for nothing less than a restructuring of South African society. If we are to move to democracy, we have to redress the gender imbalances that leave women powerless, mute and exploited."

It sounds like a tall order for the first three-day conference of a fledgling organisation. And there is an acknowledgement by women in the ANC that before they can start rewriting the *lobola* laws or appointing female judges or mandating that South Africa's particularly macho men share the responsibility of housework and childrearing, they have to get their own house in order.

Currently, there are only three women on the 35-member national executive committee, two women in that first famous delegation that went to meet President FW de Klerk a year ago, one on the movement's constitutional committee and, even in the most "gender-liberated" sector of the ANC, the diplomatic corps, only six out of the 44 chief representatives are women.

And this, says the Women's League, is certainly not for want of talent. Co-convenor Gertrude Shope explains that "women have been socialised into keeping quiet. So even though South Africa's women play important lead-

Will the ANC Women's League become a Ladies' Auxiliary that lends support to men in power, or will it play an active role in the movement and in the redressing of gender inequality in South Africa? **MARK GEVISSER** examines the aspirations of the organisation on the eve of its first national conference

ership roles on the family and community level, when they are in a meeting, they just won't put their views forward, or make their needs known."

The first task of the Women's League, she believes, is to provide a "training centre" for women within the ANC "where they can learn and practise their leadership skills by working with each other on issues that explicitly concern them. Then, on a national political level, they will be empowered enough to work with men as their equals."

A training centre and also a think-tank. "There is so much on the ANC agenda already," says Mntso, "that it is up to us to come up with solutions to gender imbalance. And once we come up with these solutions, we must use our power — we are, after all, 53 percent of the population — to implement them."

Already, the Women's League has three potential short-term solutions that it will debate at the Kimberley conference and take to the national ANC conference in June.

The first is a proposal, from current leadership, that 17 positions on an expanded NEC of 105 be reserved for women from the league. But the league is determined that, if the proposal goes through, these positions will not be used as a sop to calls for gender equality in the movement.

"Just because the Women's League has 17 ex-officio members on the NEC," says PWV executive member Feroza Adam, "doesn't mean women mustn't be taken more seriously than ever for other leadership positions throughout the ANC."

To ensure that women are seriously considered, the league will propose to



Women ... Mothers or political movers? Photo: WILLIAM MATLALA

the ANC that a quota system be applied in all internal elections: that at least 30 percent of the nominations for any elected post in the ANC, from branch level to national leadership level, be women.

And women in the ANC have already proposed a National Women's Emancipation Commission that will act as something of a sexism-watchdog in

the movement: it will monitor and oppose instances of gender discrimination, and it will make sure that affirmative action is adhered to. "This proposal was adopted by the NEC in 1987, but the commission still hasn't been established," says Adam. "We will insist, at the national conference in June, that it be a priority."

Through the commission, the league

will ensure that women have positions in all sectors of the ANC. It will also set itself up as an affirmative action placement agency, supplying ANC departments with the names of qualified potential staffers. "We have already been doing this with the International Affairs Department," says Mntso. "Last week we gave them a long list of women who would be qualified for chief representative positions."

Perhaps the most important task the Kimberley conference faces is the election of its own president and executive. Although a week before the conference no one had declared her interest and no nominations had been tendered, there are three obvious contenders for the senior position: Shope and Albertina Sisulu, who are currently co-convenors of the league — and Winnie Mandela.

Rumours are rife that Mandela is interested in the position, and that no one is willing to challenge her. "Many of us think she will be entirely unsuitable," says one delegate, "and we are frantically trying to find someone who is prepared to stand against her."

There are clearly two tendencies within the league. On the one side there is a group, many of whom are older, who still see women primarily as "mothers": mothers of the nation, mothers of the heroes, mothers of men. This group tends to define a woman's power in terms of her traditional care-giving status.

On the other side is a younger, more radical group, many of whom have been in exile or who have been influenced by feminism, either here or abroad. They see the league's role as creating a non-gendered society in which women are valued not primarily for their reproductive systems but as equal members of society.

At best, the Kimberley conference will elect a leadership that reconciles these two tendencies to become a formidable force within the ANC. At worst, it could be marginalised into an ANC Ladies' Auxiliary, substituting *pap* for *koeksusters*, perhaps, but remaining in the role of providing organisational support to the men on the front line.

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Reports claiming that ANC executive member Mr Govan Mbeki had condemned sanctions during a speech to the Royal Africa Society in Cambridge on Monday were devoid of truth, an RAS spokeswoman said yesterday.

She said they were concerned to hear that an Afrikaans newspaper and the SABC had completely misquoted or misconstrued what Mr Mbeki said, after a speech in which he denied that the ANC had ever been a Marxist organisation.

'Must remain'

She said that to the society's knowledge the newspaper concerned and the SABC did not have reporters at the members-only meeting in Cambridge.

Mr Mbeki did not discuss sanctions in his speech and had only referred to them in a question-and-answer session, when he said categorically that sanctions must remain at present, despite the critical state of the economy.

In his speech Mr Mbeki said the denial of political rights to the black majority went hand-in-hand with "the economic deprivation and super-exploitation of that majority".

He said the economy was in a "situation of crisis" that stood out in even sharper relief when

Mbeki ^{APC Times}
19/4/91
'did not' (11A)
condemn
sanctions'

viewed in the context of the approaching political empowerment of the black majority.

He said 75% of blacks had incomes below the minimum subsistence level and between 42 and 50% were unemployed.

He said a massive housing and building programme was needed to help "kick-start" and deracialise the post-apartheid economy.

An investment code was also needed to attract foreign investment.

He refuted "propaganda" that the ANC was Marxist and meant to impose the sort of economy that had existed in socialist countries.

An ANC spokesman said: "The misreporting of what Mr Mbeki said was shocking. From what we hear, the report in South Africa inferred the exact opposite of what he said on sanctions."

ANC Bill of fare more palatable than the rest

w/mal 19/4-25/4/91.

11A

THE African National Congress' constitutional proposals, like motherhood and apple pie, have won widespread public support. Criticism has been muted, and the general impression is that Pretoria could not have hoped for a better deal on which to negotiate.

But there is also the view that it is couched in such general terms that potential difficulties are hidden and a close analysis is not yet possible.

For example, the preamble to the proposals notes that constitutional barriers to detention without trial must be secured. Does this mean that detention will be unlawful, or that it will be lawful under certain conditions — in which case, what conditions? After generations have suffered through the practice of detention, it is important for a proper debate on the proposals that the public know the exact circumstances under which such detention would be allowed.

Similarly, paragraph 15 provides that a State of Emergency may be declared, during which fundamental rights will be protected "as far as possible". This leaves open several questions including whether arbitrary arrest and detention will be allowed during an Emergency.

Even though it is an initial document — describing itself as "principles and structures" — there are other instances where significant information is not contained in the outline. It does, however, contain interesting and important indications of the general thinking among members of the ANC's constitutional committee.

In essence, the proposals outline a two chamber legislative structure, elected under a proportional representation system which attempts to balance national and regional interests, with free and fair elections guaranteed by an independent electoral commission.

The document also proposes an independent judiciary, a constitutional court and a Bill of Rights against which the courts will test legislation and official practice.

A three-tier government is suggested, along with universal suffrage and a common and equal citizenship.

All languages will have equal status, although the government may declare one or more languages as, for example, "the language of administrative communication or judicial record".

While all discriminatory laws will be outlawed by the Bill of Rights, all other legislation will remain in force unless repealed by

The ANC's constitutional proposals were released a week ago to widespread public support. **CARMEL RICKARD** takes a look at their strengths and weaknesses



Oscar Dhlomo ... 'democratic direction'

parliament or set aside by a court.

It is also proposed that the constitution may be changed only by a two-thirds majority in the national assembly or by a two-thirds majority in a national referendum.

Political commentator Oscar Dhlomo found much in the proposals to his liking, particularly the unambiguous commitment to proportional representation, and said the guidelines pointed strongly in a "democratic direction". However, he found several "seeds" which aroused concern that the implementation of the proposals could turn out to be quite different from the way they looked on paper.

"For example, take the need to reconcile centralism and the devolution of power to second tier government. This is a burning issue and one can predict it will feature prominently in a debate about the new constitution. The ANC says the regions should have similar powers to those entrusted to the present provinces. But the trouble is the present provinces do not enjoy any real power. Their powers were taken away and centralised by the tri-cameral parliament."

Dhlomo said the issue of centralism versus the devolution of power was a crucial

issue for democratic local government and the ANC's proposals on this relationship would be contentious — a view shared by most commentators. "If you have an all-powerful, highly centralised government, it ends up being autocratic, loses touch with people and ignores with impunity the aspirations of the people in the region."

Dhlomo also asked what had become of the ANC's undertaking to provide a role for chiefs and traditional leaders in local government.

Professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dennis Davis, predicted the major area of dispute with the government would be over the upper house, which Pretoria would want to use to bring in minority protections. This could be possible even without a racial voters' roll, given the present Group Areas-induced pattern of residential areas in the country.

A number of commentators including Davis were complimentary about the proposal which uses regional weighting to the system of proportional representation, ensuring that parties with a regional rather than a national following can still win seats in parliament. This could work in the ANC's favour in regions such as Transkei but could favour other parties elsewhere.

Davis also foresees serious negotiation over the question of an executive president. The problem is that such a president can lose a sense of being accountable to parliament.

Clauses 11 and 13 are also sure to spark serious negotiation. These refer to affirmative action, including promotions in the civil service. Given the government's refusal up to now to apologise for past policies — as the land reform bills make clear — it is hardly likely to approve an aggressive affirmative action programme.

In addition, of course, it will want to protect its own clients in the state bureaucracy.

These questions and the criticism about content aside, there can be no doubt that, in its broad strokes, the document places the proposed constitution in the mainstream of modern human rights culture.

Finally, in releasing its draft Bill of Rights and constitutional proposals, the ANC has stolen a march on the government. The Law Commission's final draft Bill has still not been issued, although officials say this could happen very soon, and the ANC's constitutional proposals are far clearer, more concrete and, like apple pie, more generally palatable, than anything we have so far seen from the government.

Stormy weather ahead for SA's peace process

11A w/mail 19/4-25/491

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday called an all-party conference on the violence rocking South Africa to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

De Klerk made the announcement as the peace process headed into heavy weather with the April 30 deadline for the Pretoria Minute, the African National Congress' May 9 ultimatum on the violence and the ANC's June conference looming on the horizon.

However, all the major parties remain committed in the long-term to the negotiations — and have no option but to find their way back to the bargaining table once the storm is over.

And despite ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's rejection of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's plan for a multi-party conference on violence, the concept of a peace conference has been far from ruled out.

De Klerk said parliamentary and extra-parliamentary movements, government institutions, churches, trade unions and academics would be invit-

ed to the conference. He also announced legislation to provide for a standing commission into the violence.

But several obstacles still lie in the path of the government and the ANC.

The first is the wind-up date for the Pretoria Minute. According to the agreement between the government and the ANC, all the tasks laid out in the minute — including the release of prisoners and the return of exiles — have to be completed by April 30.

The date was further loaded at the ANC's December conference where it was decided that unless all the obstacles to the negotiations were removed on or before April 30, the ANC would consider suspending the negotiating process.

There's a big storm ahead for peace — but all the players will have to ride it out, reports

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

ANC negotiator Mathew Phosa said this week at least 1 362 identified political prisoners had still not been released, 32 of them on death row.

Nagging problems over indemnity have not been resolved, returning exiles are still being arrested on their arrival in South Africa and, to make matters worse, ANC NEC member Penuel Maduna was arrested at Jan Smuts Airport on Thursday.

The Pretoria Minute deadline is unlikely to be met, though it is not certain what the ANC's response will be.

"We will have to cross that bridge when we come to it," said Phosa.

However, the ANC will be under further pressure to suspend talks in the likely event of the government failing to meet its six demands on the violence, including the axeing of Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

ANC spokesman have reiterated in the past few days that the ultimatum stands. Mandela has said, however, that if there is a serious response from President FW de Klerk on the movement's demands, then "the ANC will not be found wanting".

Malan's belated sacking of Civil Cooperation Bureau members and Vlok's

attempts to distinguish between "traditional" and other weapons are not viewed by the ANC as going anywhere near to meeting the demands.

The ANC's leeway in finding compromises on the two deadlines is narrowed by the conference, due for June 26, when the performance of the leadership will be under scrutiny from a membership whose militancy was strongly in evidence during the December conference.

Some cynics say that if the government wants an ANC team prepared to compromise, it must let Mandela and the present team continue sounding a hard-line until the conference.

Negotiations, including unpopular compromises, can only proceed once the conference has been surmounted and the present pro-talks leadership is intact.

Even so, in its response to the violence during the past few weeks, the ANC has shown that it has to remain in touch with the feelings of its members on the ground — and cannot negotiate the New South Africa in disregard of its township constituency.

Biko's legacy comes full circle with unity merger

W/Mail 19/4-25/4/91

THE legacy of Steve Bantu Biko will come full circle this year with the launch of South Africa's first non-racial student movement at tertiary level — a move likely to be fraught with difficulties but full of potential.

The pending merger of the militant South African National Students Congress (Sansco) and the more liberal National Union of South African Students (Nusas) breaks new ground on university campuses in which black and white students have for 22 years organised separately because of their different experiences under apartheid.

In 1969 black consciousness leader Biko led a walk-out of black students from Nusas, formed in 1924. The split arose out of a growing conflict of interests between the two constituencies, Nusas' then politically neutral stance and the structural difficulties of black and white students working together under apartheid laws.

The South African Students Organisation (Saso) was formed, and banned in 1977. Its successor was the Azanian Students Organisation (1979), which in 1981 adopted the Freedom Charter and in 1986 changed its name to Sansco.

This year's merger, planned for between July and September, marks the beginning of a new era in student politics. "We have outlived the tool of separate organisation, which in itself has been a double-edged sword," Nusas national president Steven Silver told *The Weekly Mail* this week. "On the one hand it has been important in highlighting and raising debate about the inequalities created by apartheid; on the other it has sometimes hampered our capacity to address issues, particularly on the Afrikaans campuses."

Now, the student leader believes, they are taking advantage of their relatively privileged position as university students to demonstrate that non-racialism can work in practice.

This is not to say all the reasons for separate student organisations no longer exist — apartheid is far from dead. But Silver and Sansco general secretary Moss Sekhu — who held a joint press conference on the issue this week — as well as the 125 potential branches they claim in teacher training and agricultural colleges, technikons and universities across the country,

A pending merger between Sansco and Nusas marks the beginning of a new era in student politics.

By PORTIA MAURICE



Steve Biko

are convinced the time is right to make the change.

The alliance was cemented during the 1980s when the two organisations — albeit tenuously — embarked on joint campaigns and struck political congruence when they both joined the United Democratic Front in 1983. Sansco today is confident it has developed a sufficiently articulate and sophisticated cadreship to hold its own. And, says Sekhu, although the interests of black and white students do not always coincide, the growing contingent of black private school products with little experience of township struggles makes joint politicisation easier.

The unbanning of the African National Congress last year meant Sansco no longer had to adopt a high political profile under repressive conditions, and could "look more deeply to its own sectoral interests", says Sekhu. And it is the fight for student grievances and aspirations which will form the backbone of this new organisation, although it "would not be shy to enter the national political arena as an independent organisation".

Structural political independence, they believe, is crucial, although ideologically the new organisation is in tandem with the tripartite ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance. "Any student organisation worth its salt should be critical of the political players," says Sekhu. "Even if the

ANC were to come to power, we cannot become a conveyor belt for its decisions — although we may support its aims and objectives."

Does this mean we could see a broad student movement developing across the political spectrum and incorporating such groupings as the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, the Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) and others? This appears unlikely in the short-term although, in the medium term, a national students consultative conference is on the cards, initiated by Azasco. Sekhu says they hope to build "tactical alliances" with other student groupings on particular issues.

The new organisation — the name of which will only be announced at its launch — will adopt the Sansco infrastructure as a unitary organisation with individual membership at branch level. Nusas "has reached the end of its era as a white federation of student representative councils, and inter-college forums and black students' societies are likely to be dissolved. SRCs on liberal campuses will become independent and black students will begin contesting seats on the party political ticket of the new body.

Potential support, say Sekhu and Silver, is difficult to gauge and will be tested in practice. Most of its membership will come from "bush" campuses and the body will have a stated bias towards "leadership of the African working class" — fostering an image which may alienate an already largely apathetic white student constituency. Scepticism on campuses where Sansco has no practical experience of working with Nusas has been ironed out though, says Sekhu.

Merging such different organisational traditions, strategies and bases from the bottom up is a daunting challenge.

Sansco has been able to rely on largely organic support and, even when weak, it has had the capacity to engage masses of students in militant action, says Sekhu. Nusas, says Silver, has in many ways been "an anomaly" for which that kind of support has been hard-won. "Because our constituency has always been more akin to the status quo than to 'the people' as a whole, our work has relied largely on information campaigns — the explaining, exposing and popularising of alternatives. I think, though, our strength has been the ability to mobilise and organise from within the ruling bloc."

wards.

From page 1

Winnie

surd" a prosecution claim that she wanted the former coach of the Mandela United football club, Jerry Richardson, "to take the blame" for the abduction and assault of the four people.

Mrs Mandela said that in February 1989 she had caught Richardson lying to a reporter about his involvement in the assaults and had instructed him to tell the truth.

She said Richardson then admitted to the reporter that he had slapped and beaten the youths in the back room of her home.

"(I had the) impression he was trying to protect (the Mandela) family (by lying to the reporter)," Mrs Mandela said.

Last August Richardson was convicted for the murder of 14-year-old Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, one of the abducted youths, and sentenced to death.

Mrs Mandela also asked Mr Swanepoel whether he was suggesting "that I volunteer myself as a police informer" after he had asked why she had not reported the "slapping" and "punching" of the youths to the police after Richardson and two others had confessed their involvement to her.

Mrs Mandela added she had not gone to the police as she was living in an "abnormal society" (referring to the 1988/1989 climate of anti-government protest and township perceptions of police being the enemy).

The trial proceeds on Monday. — Sapa

Witness differs with Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's key defence witness apparently differs with her on a crucial aspect of her alibi defence — the date on which Mrs Mandela claims she arrived in Brandfort in the Free State.

State advocate Mr Jan Swanepoel yesterday revealed to the Rand Supreme Court a statement made by Mrs Nora Moahloli of Brandfort, in which she said Mrs Mandela arrived to visit her in the Free State town on the night of December 28, 1988.

Mrs Mandela's evidence is that she arrived in Brandfort a day later on the night of December 29, about the same time she is alleged by the state to have initiated and participated in a vicious sjambok assault on 14-year-old Stompie Seipei and three men at her Diepkloof, Soweto house.

Mrs Mandela, 56, Mr Morgan, 61, and a third co-accused Miss Xoliswa Falati, 37, have all pleaded not guilty to four counts each of kidnapping and assault.

Two witnesses

Mrs Mandela yesterday said she did not agree with the dates quoted from Mrs Moahloli's statement, which was made to police investigators on February 1 this year.

Mrs Moahloli, who was named by Mrs Mandela's attorney Mr George Bizos as one of two defence witnesses who will support her alibi, is expected to testify next week.

Mr Swanepoel said he was unsure whether Mrs Moahloli would contest her statement.

Mr Swanepoel also attempted to shake Mrs Mandela's alibi on Thursday, when he pointed out that, according to available evidence, the minibus which she claimed transported her to Brandfort was also allegedly used later that night in Soweto by her driver and co-accused Mr John Morgan.

Earlier yesterday Mrs Mandela described as "ab-

Continued on page 2

Whither the ANC-PAC merger?

THE last half of the 1950s accelerated the split which everyone knew was coming but few desired. The African National Congress, hitherto united, experienced an unprecedented wave of internal ideological commotion spearheaded by a small but powerful band of "purists", who charged that the ANC had lost track.

The purists — or Africanists, as they insisted on being called — claimed that:

- The ANC had abandoned the 1949 Programme of Action championed by the ANC Youth League, whose prominent members included Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Robert Sobukwe, and Walter Sisulu.

- Communists were at helm of affairs within the ANC, and the organisation could no longer claim to speak on behalf of the African masses.

There were other charges too, including the deep suspicion that white liberals were involved in the African struggle primarily to dilute it. The Africanists said whites, however well-intentioned, could not seriously champion a cause whose fundamental goal was to remove white privilege.

In the eyes of committed Africanists the 1955 "Congress of the People" held in Kliptown, Johannesburg, removed all doubt.

There the Freedom Charter — for decades afterwards the working document of the ANC and its various formations — was unveiled.

The authorship of the document remains clouded in mystery — ANC president at the time, Albert Lutuli, said he saw it for the first time at the congress.

THE reason given then for not having circulated the document beforehand to the participants for discussion and possible amendments was that its drafting had taken too much time.

The Africanists saw the matter differently: failure to circulate the document was a deliberate tactic by its authors — rumoured to be communists and liberals — to ensure it was not discussed before the Kliptown gathering, as it would surely have been rejected.

The Kliptown gathering, which the Africanists boycotted, unanimously endorsed the document and the split between the hard-core purists and the organisation was not long in coming.

The PAC was born on April 6 1959 at the Communal Hall in Orlando East, Soweto, and Sobukwe was elected president. Until this week in Harare, the two organisations had never

Exactly 31 years and 10 days after parting ways, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress reached a broad agreement on joint cooperation at an historic meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, this week. But the underlying reasons which led to the initial break are still there, reports JON QWELANE from Johannesburg.

W/C Mbu 20/4/91

come together at the highest level.

From the early days of the split a major point of departure between the ANC and the PAC has been the first few lines of the Freedom Charter that "the land belongs to all".

Since February 1990, when both organisations were declared once more legal, another serious difference emerged through the ANC's decision to participate in constitutional negotiations with the government.

Contrary to the declaration of the Freedom Charter that the land belongs to all who live in it — black and white — the Africanists believe the land belongs to the indigenous African people, to whom it must first be restored before any negotiations can be entered into.

THE meeting this week of the two organisations, well received at home and enthusiastically encouraged by various governments in Africa, raises an interesting question.

Why have the organisations decided only now to come together to explore a united front?

It would have seemed eminently more worthwhile if moves towards a merger had been much earlier in the era of naked repressive white rule and "total onslaught" thinking, when units of the SA Defence Force launched regular "pre-emptive" raids into neighbouring countries and destroyed bases of mainly the ANC.

More than a decade ago the Organisation of African Unity, which accords both organisations equal status, persuaded them to close ranks against a common enemy.

But even at the United Nations, where the organisations have observer status, the ANC and PAC insisted on remaining distinct entities with distinct constituencies.

According to sources the ANC, larger of the two, saw itself as the sole and authentic representative voice of the majority — a status against which the PAC fought strongly, especially as the OAU was nearly persuaded to withdraw recognition of the PAC.

For its part the PAC has always jealously guarded its autonomy, fearing being swamped

by a larger and stronger rival. At any rate PAC spokesmen have always argued for "principled unity", explaining they would go along with any trend provided its advocates did not compromise the PAC's basic standpoints.

THERE could be at least five reasons why the organisations, despite their differences, now explore unity:

- Politically and tactically, a united opposition to the government — despite its reforms, the government is still viewed suspiciously by both organisations — stands a far better chance of success than different voices singing mainly a discordant tune.

- Pressure by Frontline States — the neighbouring states, impoverished and relying heavily on financial aid from the West, have been hosts of the exiled movements for decades.

Western governments, allegedly with threats to curtail their aid, have pressured the Frontline nations to ensure a negotiated South African settlement succeeds, and to persuade their guests to ensure it succeeds by being part of it.

- The collapse of Eastern Europe and the economic chaos stifling the Soviet Union mean that liberation movements which previously derived financial and especially military assistance from those quarters must now revise their strategies — the sources of supply are now virtually closed.

- The possible emergence of Unita and Renamo-type factions in a post-apartheid South Africa, given the violence raging through the black constituency and with its roots traceable to political rivalry, is lessened by the formation of a united front.

- A desire to isolate Inkatha in the run-up to the first elections held on the basis of one-man one-vote, given that both organisations have regularly declaimed Inkatha as an extension of the apartheid order.

Even if all these may be among the reasons for the Harare get-together, the differences which split the ANC and PAC three decades ago are still there and, as the negotiations process has shown, new ones have cropped up.

By SEKOLA SELLO *C/Prem 2/14/91* (11A)
THE first concrete steps in what the ANC's Pallo Jordan calls "the journey of a thousand miles" was undertaken by the ANC and its rival the PAC during an historic meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, this week.

With the two having publicly declared their commitment to a patriotic front after four months of intense private negotiations, it now remains to be seen whether they will be able to translate words into deeds.

Expressing a desire for a united front is one thing but acting on that is another. It would be folly to expect the problems that have kept the organisations apart for the past 33 years to disappear suddenly.

The PAC and ANC will not have any problems wooing Azapo to joint the front. Azapo has already stated its intention of doing so, saying this is what it has been suggesting for a long time. The New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), which are both largely confined to the Western Cape, are also expected to become members.

The Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa is certain to join the front.

Although the PAC will hold talks soon with Inkatha on the issue of the front, these talks are not likely to bear much fruit. Inkatha's opposition to a constituent assembly is well documented.

Inkatha says such a forum would lead to a winner-takes-all situation and would frighten whites, leading to further strife.

Other homeland leaders seem to be sitting on the fence. This is particularly so with Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, who talks sweetly about the ANC one moment and in the next takes action against activists.

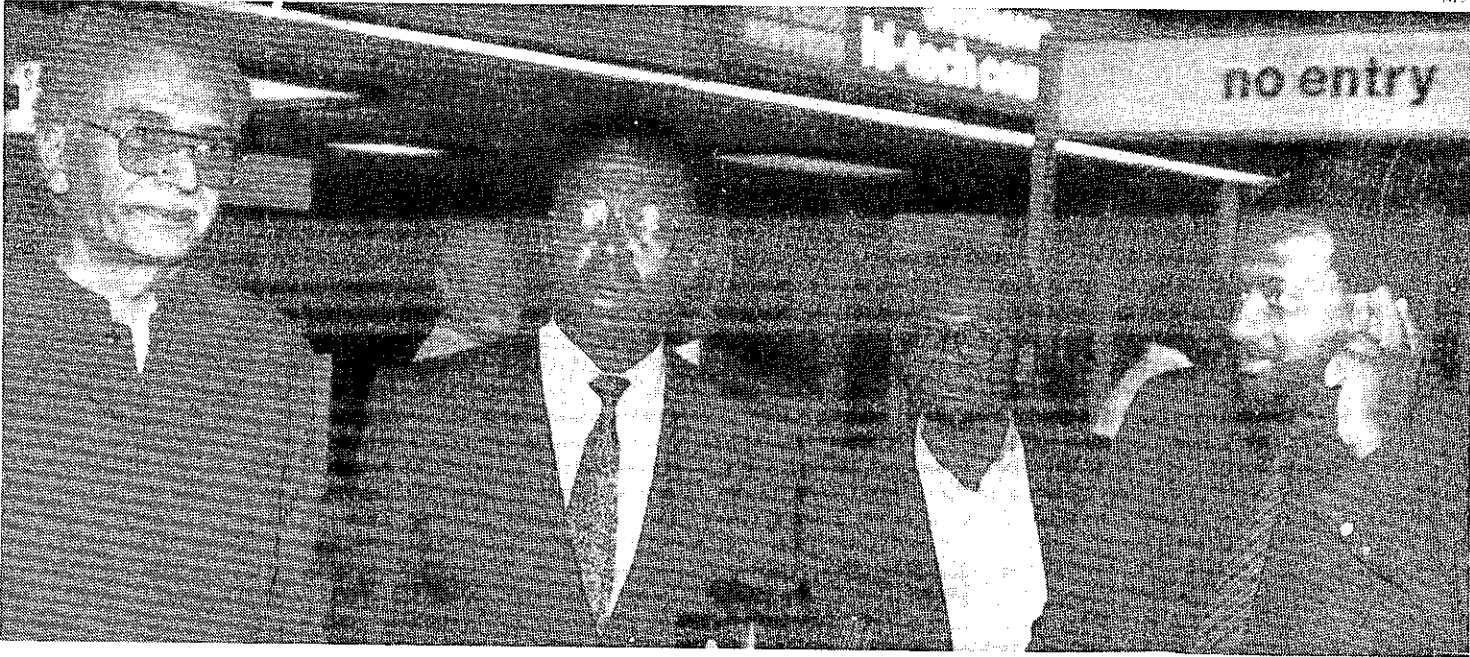
The situation in QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Venda, KwaNdebele, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana is blurred and the possibility of them joining the government in another alliance cannot be discounted.

Although in theory the front would comprise equal partners, there is little doubt the ANC and

PAC - which are recognised by both the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity - will play a leading role. Critics of the front will argue it does not represent all the voteless. This is true, but it is equally true it will have the majority of blacks on its side.

According to a lecturer in African Politics at Unisa, Phil Mtimkulu, the front will allow "the majority of blacks to speak with one voice with the government".

A front supported by



The PAC's Barney Desai, Dikgang Moseneke and Carter Seleke arrive with Pallo Jordan of the ANC at Jan Smuts airport after the historic Harare meeting aimed at forming a patriotic front. Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Thousand-mile journey starts

the majority of blacks will pose serious problems for the government. For State President FW de Klerk's reforms to achieve any results they will have to have the backing of the majority of blacks.

This is why the government has been talking to the ANC, which is currently occupying centre stage in resistance politics and not with Inkatha or other homeland groups.

Why have the ANC and PAC suddenly decided to come together after years of hostility?

The OAU and the Frontline States were instrumental in this regard.

Senior lecturer in politics at Unisa, Dirk Kotze, said that apart from the pressure from the OAU, the Frontline States had as early as 1986 been urging the ANC to come closer to the PAC and even Inkatha.

In addition to outside pressures, the current violence in the townships, where people have been killed irrespective of political affiliation, must have jolted the two into

burying their differences to combat the killings.

While the need to counter the current bloodletting and also face the government with one voice played a crucial role in speeding the attempt to form a front - it is expected to be formalised in August or September - such a front is not likely to be a lasting one.

Kotze says what has brought the parties together is largely their opposition to the government. He says both organisations seem to have

agreed to focus on similarities or elements they agree on, while playing down differences.

He says there is still a great divide between the ANC, Azapo and PAC on the question of land.

Azapo and the PAC maintain the land belongs to the indigenous people while the ANC accepts the view that South Africa belongs to "all its people".

According to Kotze the two are unlikely to resolve their ideological differences and the front will last only until the prob-

lem with the government has been resolved.

Mtimkulu says ideological differences between members of the front should be cleared at the start if it is to become strong and have a hope of being permanent.

But he acknowledges that a Zimbabwean scenario, where Zanu and Zapu parted company after the Lancaster talks, could also happen here.

The euphoria at the unity announcement must be tempered with the reality that it is likely to be temporary.

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ANC lobby calls for Zulu leaders

By S'BU MNGADI

CP Press 2/14/91.

11A

ARE you a Zulu-speaking senior member of the ANC with leadership qualities popular with both hardliners and moderates? Are you prepared to spend your life ducking bullets and "traditional weapons" in the war-torn Natal province? And are you popular in at least 10 of the the ANC's 16 regions.

If your answer to all these questions is YES, then you are very likely to be elected deputy president of the ANC at the ANC's annual conference to be held in Durban from June 26 to June 30.

As the conference draws nearer, the debate within the organisation over ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's successor when he takes over from ailing president Oliver Tambo, has heightened.

Those lobbying for a Zulu-speaking deputy president recently won the first round of their campaign when the NEC consented to suggestions that Natal host the conference.

Officially the ANC has said a number of factors influenced the NEC decision. These included the fact the organisation wanted to avoid holding the conference in the PWV region, where its consultative conference was held last December.

According to top ANC officials, those lobbying for a Zulu-speaking deputy president include members from all three of Natal's regions, and some regions in the Transvaal and Cape.

It has been said that Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff and NEC member Chris Hani was jockeying for the position with international affairs director Thabo Mbeki. But this week *City Press* learnt reliably that most ANC leaders agree on the significance of a Zulu-speaking deputy president.



Harry Gwala, Natal Midlands ANC leader.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, ANC officials this week said the organisation was making a serious effort to address criticism by its detractors, and certain elements within the organisation, that its leadership was overwhelmingly Xhosa-speaking.

However, because of its non-racial policy, the reshuffle was being presented publicly as "broadening regional representation in the senior ranks of the national leadership".

Sources said the ANC was principally concerned about the ballot power of the Zulus, the largest single ethnic group in South Africa. It was also hoped the election of a Zulu-

speaking deputy leader would go a long way to counter propaganda among Zulu hostel-dwellers on the Reef and conservative chiefs that the "Xhosa-led ANC wants to take over KwaZulu and destroy the Zulu monarchy".

The ANC is, however, divided on the choice of a suitable candidate among the organisation's senior Zulu-speaking leaders, senior ANC sources said.

City Press was told the only strong contenders are Southern Natal ANC chairman and ANC chief of intelligence, Jacob Zuma, and Harry Gwala, fiery chairman of the Natal Midlands region.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma conceded that "rumours were abuzz" within the organisation about the possibility of electing a Zulu-speaking deputy president, but said at this stage all this was "mere speculation".

He added that the ANC was not insensitive to the ethnic question, but was committed to a process of creating one nation which would include all existing ethnic groups.

Who will take over from

Nelson?

WE'LL RUIN THATCHER VISIT, SAY ANC

THE ANC and the PAC plan to disrupt the visit to SA of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher next month.

Both organisations are incensed that the Democratic Party-controlled Johannesburg city council has offered Mrs Thatcher the freedom of the city.

Mrs Thatcher, a long-time opponent of sanctions, is expected to arrive in the middle of May at the invitation of the government.

By SIPHO NGCOBO

She is expected to attend a special council meeting in her honour where she will be presented with a citation, according to management committee chairman Ian Davidson.

The ANC said it would hold demonstrations that would make it impossible for Mrs Thatcher to do business in Johannesburg.

The ANC's PWV region

spokesman, Ronnie Mamoepa, said: "Mrs Thatcher supported the regime and stifled our attempts to isolate it while our children, mothers, brothers and sisters were being maimed and killed by apartheid.

"We are in no position to prevent her from coming to SA, but we are in excellent shape to make her itinerary here an impossibility. We will launch such mass demonstrations that it will be impossible for her

to go about her business."

Mr Mamoepa described the offer to Mrs Thatcher as a betrayal of the people of Johannesburg. He said the council should have consulted the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher's visit was one of the main items on the agenda of the PAC NEC's working committee council meeting at the week-end. A senior PAC official said the organisation was definitely planning mass demonstrations

against her. (1/A)

Mr Davidson said the council's offer of the Freedom of Johannesburg to Mrs Thatcher was a symbolic gesture to recognise "the democratic values she stood for.

A spokesman for the British embassy, John Sawyer, said Mrs Thatcher had not yet accepted the offer of the freedom of the city. He described the visit as a private one.

● See Page 15

BREYTEN BREYTENBACH WRITES AN OPEN LETTER TO NELSON MANDELA

Dear Mr Mandela,

ALLOW me to be so presumptuous as to address this open letter to you. It may be seen as a dog barking at the passing caravan — I can't pretend to fully understand the complexities of the present situation, and my reading is prejudiced, and a letter is a poor substitute for helping to staunch the spurting wounds of our society — but everything possible must be done to alert as many people as can be reached to the consequences of state and communal violence.

From the poor man's Beirut in the Reef townships to the killing fields of Natal and the much bigger explosion looming in the Eastern Cape, this country is at the point of tearing itself apart.

Many anguished voices have cried out to warn that no political motive, no strategic advantage, no cause and no struggle can justify our cynical indifference to the issue of death. The killing is not just mortgaging the attempts to negotiate a different kind of

It is my conviction that we are still living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes, with skilled and motivated agents in the state apparatus practising a scorched earth policy in moral, political and human terms

South Africa, not only is it rotting society with its wake of corruption and revenge and bestiality — we are all being progressively brutalised and driven down the road towards the abattoir of a repressive state.

Now the ANC, by your hand, has finally and belatedly spoken out, making future negotiations dependent upon a resolution of the violence. It is good that you recognised the urgency. Indeed, you, sir, would have had no further national role to play unless you were seen to be responsive to the agony of the population, and perceived to be effectively leading the ANC out of this vicious circle of fire.

I notice that the government and those media which have

always been white-skinned about black death, maliciously interpreted your letter as an admission of weakness, the result of internal strife, a stalling technique. It was to be foreseen that they would do so and, under other circumstances, those would have been justified perceptions of the ANC's troubles. But they refused to read the reason for your letter: that nothing can be solved until the killing, spawned by poverty and the passion of hatred — and feeding these — is stopped.

I have just returned from spending a few days in the Midlands region of Natal. I was taken for a drive through Kloof along the most expensive properties in South Africa, a veritable paradise for the white rich on the heights

above Durban.

Purple-flowered shrubs and palms and all manner of tropical vegetation showed the silver and green colours of money. It is said that these lushly-shaded mansions — out of this world as it were — are guarded by specially trained young Germans.

Then, within a stone's throw, over the crest, I came to where the earth suddenly fell away over rolling hills dotted with the shacks of rural Kwazulu's poverty. Cattle wandered over the road, young unemployed men lolled against the walls of a rare dilapidated general store, kids were trekking back from school down the valley. The splendid isolation of colonial luxury and the desperate isolation of black holes,

the First World and the raw futility of a miserable subsistence living cheek by jowl.

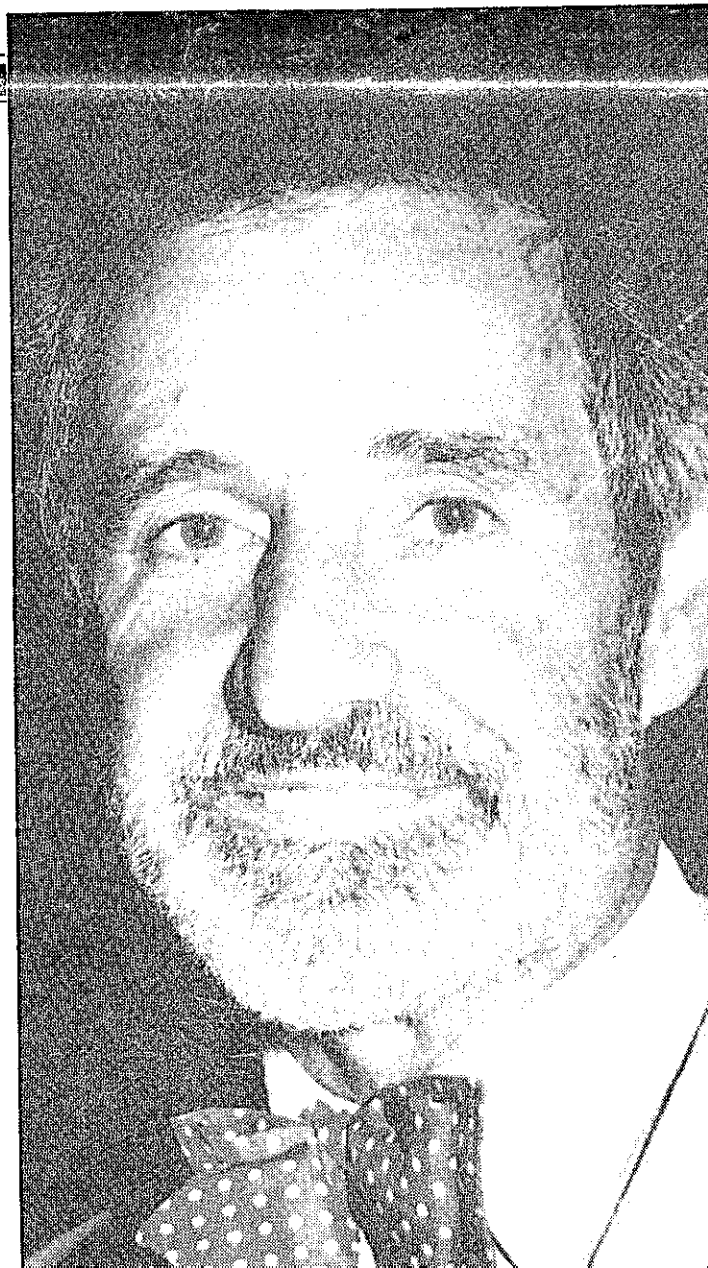
More: this was a war zone, the visual manifestation of the heart of violence. With the naked eye one can judge where "Comrade land" ends and "Inkatha land" begins. On one side the wasteland of roofless houses and burnt-out schools (their inhabitants now refugees elsewhere), on the other (of the same community) the maize patches and mango trees of areas where the rule of warlords holds sway.

It was explained to me how one could sit on the privileged heights, in a grandstand position, and watch the Inkatha impis sweep down to "clear out" the Christian or communist or trade union or civic or teachers' or students' association "scum".

Kombis filled with firearms would speed along the ranks to deliver and recuperate the instruments of killing. A helicopter with Chief Minister Buthelezi and Law and Order Minister Vlok aboard would whirr above the battlefield. "Bring me the evidence," Vlok would later say. And: "The ANC is the common denominator to all violence."

Again and again I was given graphic descriptions of police collusion. A warlord would at last be charged with multiple murder, his docket would be "misplaced", necessitating a postponement of the trial, and the witness would be killed before the case could resume.

In Harry Gwala's office, he of the paralysed arms, I met people who'd just escaped a third assassination attempt by hit squads. I



beneficiaries of apartheid and thus to start narrowing the gap between the starving and the stuffed, to create the conditions for democracy, to lay the foundations for a society in which we can take pride. That, to my belief and satisfaction, is what the ANC's constitutional proposals are pointing towards.

There must be local and regional and national elections, there must be an elected constituent assembly, there must meanwhile be a care-taking neutral authority — an interim government or some form of international supervision. And all this can only come about through sustained popular mobilisation and participation (but let's please ban that disdainful 19th century terminology of "masses"!), and through brave and visionary leadership.

You may well ask why I didn't write this letter to President De Klerk? It is my conviction that we are still living through the planned horrors of the apartheid state in its death throes, with skilled and motivated agents in the state apparatus practising a scorched earth policy in moral, political and human terms.

I have no doubt that this present dissolution was programmed: judiciously controlling resources, profiting from a modified world environment, destabilising the population, vying for hypocritical "respectability" and bogus "moral high grounds" (that coming from national death masters!), dragging out the process — in the hope that the ANC would crack in the "African way" along

in the voices of the survivors and the body-counters, those who get drunk and laugh in the way only the bomb-shocked do. I learned that only the physical presence of a few concerned whites in the townships can prevent the police from initiating, aiding and abetting the killing.

The ANC has been outmanoeuvred by the state. A senior government minister remarks to me that, in their view, there is a vacuum below the top leadership of the ANC, and people lower down are only interested in making money.

It must mean that the government has tried and is trying to co-opt you, thus hoping to split you from your followers. It is blackmailing you by locking you into the "objective conditions" of collaboration. A "new South Africa" is dangled before your nose, and the state president obstinately refuses to admit to the intrinsically criminal nature of the apartheid state and culture which he is trying to rescue by dint of reform and international acceptance.

Can one blame him when "the enemy", the ANC, is so weak? You will lose nothing but dead illusions if you were to point out that the ANC is victim to its own propaganda and the creation of myths and aspirations that could never be satisfied — such as, that there was an "armed struggle" or that the "necklace" could be a tool for liberation; that the whites could be prevailed upon to "hand over power"; that the world worries about our plight and that it owes us solidarity; that that which has died the death of igno-

Lead us from the wasteland, Mr Mandela

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21/4/91

minious conceptual and structural failure in Eastern Europe can be resuscitated here.

We must own up to the unpleasant recognition that the ANC is not (yet) a democratic organisation, that it still shows a hegemonistic drive based on intimidation; that it was never a vector for revolution.

The ANC is a resistance movement fashioned from the suffering of generations, embodying the search for justice of a people, the only organisation capable of preserving and perhaps realising the dream of South Africans. And it is in the process of feeling (and sometimes fiddling) its way to becoming a responsible political structure.

You must show us the way, sir, by admitting that it is now counter-productive to be plaintively insisting upon sanctions in a world suffering from historical memory loss and recrudescing

racism, where money will always flow to where there can be exploitation. Why should we maintain the fiction and the absurdity of a cultural boycott which has seen the empowerment of mediocre cultural commissions and would-be-impresarios?

We must all break loose from the ban of a culture of "security", clandestinity, secret brotherhoods and cabals, manipulation, arbitrariness, intimidation, co-optation, elitism, indifference to human life and dignity ... the government must not be given reason to believe that you are like them. To enter into their cynical games is to betray your heart and deaden your tongue.

Somehow we must all inspire and articulate the national will: to stop the violence, to become productive and autonomous so that we may be freed from the humiliation of hand-outs, to change those economic structures which are the result and the

ethnic lines, its space broken by internal contradictions and the weight of popular expectations. President De Klerk is in the hands of the monsters created by a totalitarian, profoundly immoral state.

It is my conviction that the war never stopped. For the authorities "negotiations" was a means of continuing its war of attrition against the population of South Africa. I also believe that there was never a "third force". From the outset, Inkatha was intended as a national vigilante force. Now the government Broeders have stretched out red hands to take the hand of Buthelezi to hoist him to a position of national eminence.

Yet, the government may well win this war in the short term, wheeling out its Parliamentary Forum and joining up with Inkatha and dissident or corrupt black community leaders. They may destroy — as in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia — but, ultimately, they cannot construct. They cannot win the peace. You cannot rule against the majority, and it is foolish for them to bargain on the ANC splitting. Their "victory" will be pyrrhic, propagating the seed of South Africa's final demise.

It is the tightening of the heart, it is the vision of this death-in-waiting, sir, that permitted me to write to you, to join my voice to those weeping in the townships. And to reaffirm, come what may, that your cause is mine also. If only you will lead.

With fraternal respect,

Breyten Breytenbach,
Cape Town

THE news that MK chief of staff Chris Hani will be traveling around the US for the next fortnight under the auspices of the American Communist Party has provoked much hilarity in Washington.

What is causing the laughter is the slapstick comedy of the ANC permitting one of its senior members to parade his communist convictions in the capital of anti-communism at a time when communism is supposed to be dead.

Equally thigh-slapping is that he should be doing it less in his own or the ANC's behalf than to help raise money for the CPUSA, itself a laughing stock.

Aside from a few academics, many of them Trotskyists turned neo-conservatives, no one pays the CPUSA serious heed.

Its leader, Gus Hall, an unrepentantly orthodox Stalinist, and his die-hard band of nutcases (he claims they number upwards of 10,000) are treated by the mainstream press as quaint relics — the makings of an amusing read on a slow day.

Who can resist poking fun at a party whose newspaper, the People's (until recently Daily but now Weekly World, is published by something called in all earnestness the Long View Publishing Company?

As for the way in which the World is promoting Hani's two-week, 10-city round of "rallies, banquets, university appearances, cocktail parties and media interviews", it is priceless.

"Those attending these events," the paper declares, "will not only be



SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

21/4/91
experiencing history in the making, but will help boost our fund drive and also come away with treasured mementos.

The trouble is that amid all the merriment, the unfunny side of things will pass unremarked by all but a few unreconstructed cold warriors like Senator Jesse Helms.

Their fulminations will make it even less likely that the role and activities of the SACP attract the attention they deserve.

Helms is an establishment hate figure. It does not do to be seen agreeing with him on anything.

Hani is one of the few communists left whom the CPUSA could use to raise money. Crowds will surely flock to see him.

Many non-communists will buy the treasured mementos. Some may even purchase space in the People's Weekly World to "greet" him.

They would not if he were a North Korean or Cuban. If he were Chinese, they would turn out to pillory him as a butcher of Tiananmen Square.

In short, Hani and his South African comrades may not be the last communists, but they are the last "good" ones.

Their cause, as it is broadly understood in the West, is difficult to impeach without being "politically incorrect".

Because of what and who it is they are fighting, their methods and tactics are either ignored or analysed in the most benign light. (11A)

Operation Vula has scarcely been reported in the US press. "Mass mobilisation" has been treated as if it were nothing more menacing than the 60s civil rights campaign.

The creation of "defence structures" as outlined in the SACP-authored pamphlet *For the Sake of Our Lives* has set off no alarm bells.

Not only does the SACP have the right enemy — one that made the party's task easier by discrediting anti-communism with the rhetoric of "total onslaught" — it has the luck to operate in an era in which those who espouse communism are sniggered at, treated as poor dears or dismissed as troglodytes.

In the final analysis, if Hani looks a fool for associating with the CPUSA, that is to his advantage. Stupidity can provide excellent cover.

It will put off the day when the SACP is treated seriously and exposed for what it is.

UDF stands by hard line against Winnie

S/ Times 21/4/91

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE UDF has reaffirmed the tough stand it took against Winnie Mandela at the height of the Stompie Seipei investigations two years ago.

"The UDF has never retracted the statement distancing itself from Mrs Mandela's actions and I stand by it today," UDF treasurer Azhar Cachalia said yesterday. This was confirmed by UDF co-president Archie Gumede.

In court this week Mrs Mandela accused "so-called UDF leaders" of having tried and convicted her of murder long before she was brought to court on four counts of kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Condemned

She was referring to a statement issued at a UDF press conference in mid-February, 1989 — weeks after the teenage activist's body was found in open veld in Soweto.

During cross-examination in the Rand Supreme Court this week Mrs Mandela said she had been condemned by "so-called leaders" while the real leaders were behind bars. She named Gumede, Cachalia, Mohammed Valli

and Murphy Morobe.

The four men were at the 1989 press conference in which reporters were told the community had been asked to "distance itself from Mrs Mandela in a dignified manner".

A joint statement from the UDF and Cosatu at the time said: "We are of the view Mrs Mandela has abused the trust and confidence which she has enjoyed over the years. She has not been a member of the democratic structures of the UDF and Cosatu and she has often acted without consulting the democratic movement.

"Had Stompie and his three colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's football team he would have been alive today."

Speaking from his Durban home this week Mr Gumede, UDF co-president, said he had no regrets about the action taken against Mrs Mandela in 1989.

"Our information was that the Mandela Football Club was engaged in hooliganism and we didn't think the wife of Nelson Mandela should be involved with it."

Mr Cachalia said: "We never accused her of murder or said she was implicated. We, the UDF, have never retracted that statement and I stand by its contents today."

Mr Gumede and Mr Cachalia this week dismissed speculation that they had been sidelined because of the 1989 clash with Mrs Mandela. Both are now rank-and-file ANC members.

Friction

Asked whether Mrs Mandela's statement in the trial this week mirrored friction within the ANC, Mr Cachalia said: "The situation in the ANC now basically is one in which there is a difference in style between people who have been working inside the country and those from outside. The challenge that faces the ANC is to integrate these groups."

● Murphy Morobe, who chaired the press conference of 1989, is currently on sabbatical at Princeton University in the USA.

● Mr Valli, also a member of the South African Communist Party, has continued playing an important role within the ANC.

Cashing in on the ANC

S/Times 21/4/91. (11A)

By EDYTH BULBRING
SELLING the ANC is a lucrative business. Movement Enterprises, the ANC's registered company which markets its products, is riding the black, green and gold crest all the way to the bank.

The company was launched in November last year to raise money for the ANC and to crack down on the thousands of entrepreneurs cashing in on its name.

So far, Movement Enterprises has copy-righted the organisation's logo, the flag with the colours in sequence, and even the

Merchandise deal gives party funds a real boost

three letter word itself.

And, if people want to sell products using slogans like "The People shall govern" or the name of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, they must cough up royalty fees of 15 to 20 percent.

Movement Enterprises is also trying to control the unauthorised use of pictures of ANC leaders like deputy president Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki.

Movement Enterprises co-ordinator Pete Roussos says the company's turnover will run into millions of rands by the end of the year — and this is a conservative estimate.

With an ANC membership of half a million, there's a guaranteed market for ANC products, says Mr Roussos.

Products making an overtly political statement include T-shirts, umbrellas, posters, caps, cufflinks,

tracksuits and ties.

Movement Enterprises has targetted a low-income market. But Mr Roussos is looking ahead to the time when the ANC is the government of the day and the demand for political products drops off.

The company intends to launch its own fashion range, providing ANC designer clothing for the more up-market dresser. The clothing would use the colours of the ANC in more

subtle ways and could also carry a discreet ANC label — along the lines of Lacoste, says Mr Roussos.

"We want to make a fashion statement, not only a political statement."

The company is presently looking at designs for the "official ANC marshal's uniform" which will be launched at the ANC's June conference.

Mr Roussos says marketing ANC products is a low-risk business. The company has agreements with suppliers to stock its retail outlets and branches, and plans to put all manufacturers on consignment stock agreements to prevent them being landed with unsaleable stock.

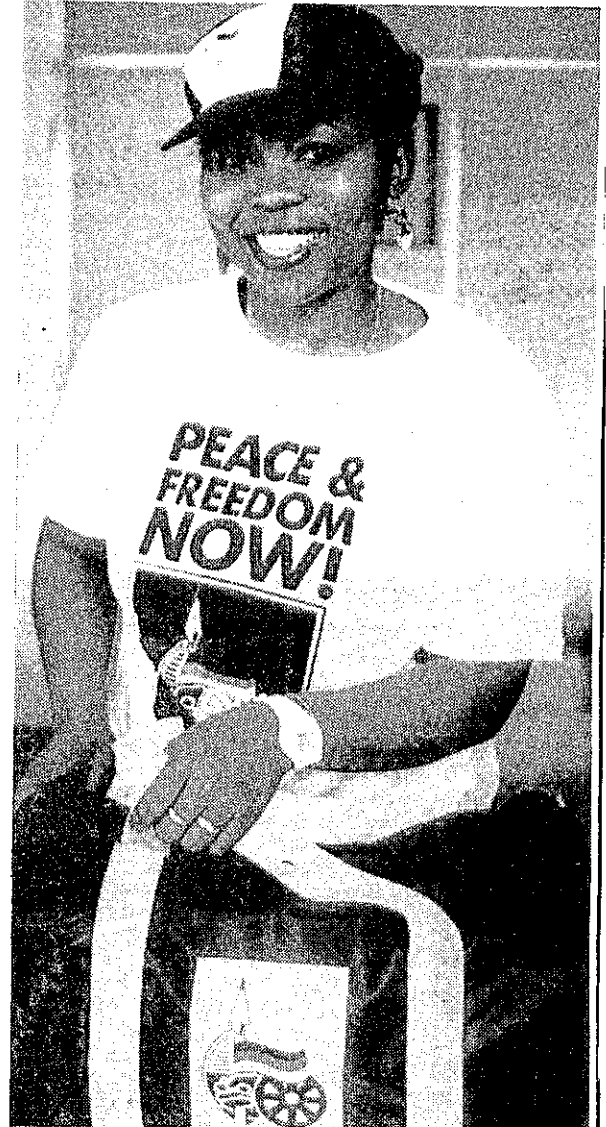
It also intends circulating 100 000 mail order lists a month, containing a range of 81 products, to ANC members.

Difficult

He adds, however, that Movement Enterprises has had many problems with pirate retailers who make huge profits selling goods using the ANC colours.

Policing the sale of ANC products is difficult, he says. If offenders are spotted, the company sends a marshal with a legal letter telling the retailer to stop, and asking for the manufacturer's name.

But, by this time, thousands of rands will have changed hands and getting a 15 percent cut for the ANC would be a problem.



TRENDY LEFTY ... lovely Anne Mnguni shows off some of the ANC travel and fashion accessories



State President FW de Klerk

De Klerk says ANC may join summit

By **SEKOLA SELLO** and Sapa ^{CP Press 21/4/91}
 THE ANC may after all take part in the summit on violence which State President FW de Klerk announced this week.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday before his departure on a three nation tour of Europe, De Klerk said he "hoped the organisation will after all take part in the summit".

De Klerk said he telephoned ANC deputy president Nelson

Mandela "the day before making the announcement on the summit and he replied the ANC would 'give it consideration'."

Two days after the announcement of the summit however the ANC formally responded by stating that the initiative by the State President did "not address the question of violence" as raised in an open letter the organisation sent him and his Cabinet two weeks ago.

Mandela views the summit as a

"propaganda ploy" by De Klerk on the eve of his departure to Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

The summit on violence, scheduled for May 24 and 25, is intended to include political parties and movements, both parliamentary and extra parliamentary; government law and order agencies; key figures from the churches, labour and private sector; and academics and institutions with specialised knowledge on communal violence.

De Klerk said the summit would

^{CP 21/4/91} provide an "in-depth dialogue" on the "climate of violence and intimidation".

"A false impression has been created in some circles that the government is uncaring about the violence."

De Klerk also said at the airport he was "not surprised" the Conservative Party had rejected participation in the talks. He said the CP's position of refusing to participate in any forum with the ANC is well known.

He said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan "will definitely take part in the summit because they are heads of security forces involved in quelling violence".

In the open letter the ANC among other issues called for the dismissal of the two Ministers.

De Klerk was in a jovial mood before his departure to Europe, but the news coming from Denmark is likely to dampen his spirits.

Denmark's parliament has ordered its government to maintain trade sanctions against South Africa despite a decision by the other 11 European Community states to lift them.

Star 22/4/91

Winnie in race for top ANC post

All eyes will be focused on Kimberley this week to see whether Winnie Mandela will continue her controversial rise in the ANC top hierarchy.

At stake is the position of ANC Women's League president, who automatically becomes a member of the ANC's highest decision-making body, the national executive committee.

More than 1000 women will gather on Thursday for a three-day national conference, the first since the ANC's unbanning last year, to elect a new executive.

Indicative of the fierce behind-the-scenes competition for the presidency is the fact that the league's powerful PWV region — of which Mrs Mandela is president — had to choose between three candidates before putting forward a nomination.

In the vote, Mrs Mandela's name, as well as that of Albertina Sisulu and Gertrude Shope, came up for discussion.

— Political Reporter.

The Star's Political Staff examines the strained relations between the ANC and the media

ANC image in need of a shine

11A Star 22/4/91

A NANC official and former journalist herself recently called a reporter "fifth" because she did not like a certain phrase in an article.

A senior Western Cape activist stunned reporters a few months ago by bluntly telling them: "We expect you to become card-carrying members of the ANC."

These are two crude examples of the ANC's apparent intolerance of the media, but they serve to highlight increasing doubts about the organisation's commitment to press freedom.

Coverage — and harsh criticism — of the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to the Government has brought relations between the ANC and the media to their lowest point yet.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela lashed out at the media, accusing it of creating a "smoke-screen of propaganda" and attempting to destroy the ANC. The media's criticism of the ultimatum was "a funny and conditioned response from a group of people who were in fact asserting that we have no right to express our views candidly", he said.

The ultimatum debacle — for

which the media has to admit its share of responsibility — will certainly die down. Hopefully, both the ANC and the media have learnt a lesson from it: the ANC to improve its public relations; the media not to push the alarm button every time it detects smoke.

Nevertheless, the latest incident of ANC press-bashing, the most vehement since the organisation's unbanning 15 months ago, provides a useful opportunity to examine the ANC's attitudes towards the media.

Compared with other political parties, the ANC has vociferously campaigned for press freedom. Its proposed Bill of Rights states: "There shall be freedom of thought, speech, expression and opinion, including a free press which shall respect the right to reply."

In November last year, Mr Mandela again firmly committed his organisation to a free press when saying the ANC would never seek to control or arbitrarily determine the way in which journalists performed their work.

"We wish to see the media report the facts as they see them, without hindrance by the State or

any political party," he said.

Much of Mr Mandela and the ANC's current frustration with the media stems from an honest belief that the organisation, which has initiated the peace process, deserves more support for its policies.

But the media argues that the ANC should face fair criticism and should not regard that as implied hostility.

Media criticism of the organisation's communication skills has seldom been raised. For months after the ANC's unbanning, journalists tried to keep their complaints to themselves, excusing bad information services as part of the transitional phase from a liberation movement to a political party.

But many have now become disillusioned.

Local reporters complain that the ANC pays more attention to the foreign media to get its message across to the world. Yet, a top visiting Dutch journalist was amazed when, on a recent trip to South Africa, many of her appointments with ANC officials were not kept.

Some journalists charge that

telephone calls are seldom returned by the department of information and publicity (DIP) and other officials. Messages often do not reach their destination. Overworked DIP spokesmen are often abrupt or not available for comment.

Many argue that, as a government in waiting, the ANC should appoint media officers to help take the load off NEC members. Interestingly, the ANC last week took a firm step to improve contact with the Afrikaans media, appointing a recently released activist, Carl Niehaus, as a liaison officer.

To the ANC leadership's credit, NEC members have steadfastly refused to brief the media on important events such as the Pretoria Minute, honouring its agreement with the Government that details of the negotiating process would not be made public.

But at the same time, deputy Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer was holding a series of press briefings, and the Government's negotiating team shrewdly followed that up with leaks to the media.

Many of the logistical hiccups

have been smoothed out, and compared to other fledgling parties, the ANC has gone public with relative success.

But what is disturbing from an organisation which regards itself as the leading proponent of democracy — with freedom of speech as a vital pillar — is the ANC's underlying intolerance of the media if not a desire to control it.

Last week, Winnie Mandela branded journalists from The Independent as security police spies for having written a particularly critical article about the shady activities of her "football team".

In Natal, a leading ANC official's lambasting of a particular newspaper whipped up emotions to a pitch where the crowd chanted at reporters attending a memorial service: "Kill them, kill them!"

"The ANC thinks if you criticise them you are the enemy," commented a foreign journalist.

In at least one case, a journalist who had written an article obtained from ANC insiders was subjected to a witch-hunt to establish the leak.

Even Mr Mandela, a favourite

of many journalists, is being criticised for his dismissive attitude towards reporters. Often, notably when he is tired, he answers probing questions with a standard response: "I don't believe I need to answer the question because you are clearly very confused."

Many political parties have over the years resorted to methods, subtle or blatant, to influence journalists.

During the heyday of apartheid, the NP Government showed no hesitation in using draconian laws to control the media. Many of these are still in place.

And other groups are guilty, too: the AWB denies certain journalists access to its public meetings; PAC supporters assaulted a photographer at Zeph Mthopeng's funeral; Inkatha supporters marching through Johannesburg threatened to kill a reporter and attempted to abduct another.

The ANC has come under closer scrutiny than other political groups for two reasons. First, because it has taken on the awesome task of bringing democracy to South Africa and, secondly, because it will be a major player in any new government. □

Culture boycott to stay, meeting decides

Art Times 22/4/91

1111 230 242

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC, PAC and Azapo representatives decided at the weekend to maintain the cultural boycott.

Delegates to a conference attended by the three organisations here decided the boycott would remain "because nothing in SA has changed significantly".

Meanwhile, ANC sports chief Mr Steve Tshwete was reported yesterday to have said there was no objection in principle to SA taking part in the world athletics championships in August, but that this would be inadvisable as many black athletes would fail to make the national team, which would cause resentment.

The Sacos-aligned South African Amateur Athletics Board (SAAAB) said at the weekend that SA participation at the Olympics next year would be "too soon".

JOHANNESBURG. — The general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has emphatically denied a report in a Sunday newspaper that he intends resigning his position.

According to the report, Mr Ramaphosa was earmarked for a senior position on the ANC's national executive committee, and was expected to resign from his NUM position this week.

Ramaphosa denies he plans to resign

Copy sent 22/4/91 (11/1/1400)

Quoting an unnamed "independent ANC source", the report claimed that chairmen from several NUM branches had attempted on Friday to dissuade Mr Ramaphosa from resigning.

He said the report was

"a figment of people's imagination, and a rumour to which there is no truth whatsoever".

"There have been consistent stories, usually bandied about by certain journalists, claiming that I had been earmarked for a senior

position on the ANC's national executive committee.

"However, I have neither been earmarked nor approached for any such position by the ANC.

"My home has been with the NUM for nine very satisfying years now, and I hope to continue serving the mineworkers for many more years to come," Mr Ramaphosa said. — Sapa

Groups decide to keep cultural boycott

ANC, PAC and Azapo representatives decided at the weekend to maintain the cultural boycott. *6/10/91 22/4/91*

Delegates to a conference attended by the three "liberation movements" in Johannesburg decided the cultural boycott would remain in place "because nothing in SA has changed significantly and apartheid structures are still in place". *(11A)*

A spokesman for the ANC's art and culture department said the weekend conference was held to draw up recommendations for a UN-sponsored symposium in Los Angeles next month where the cultural

LINDEN BIRNS

boycott would be examined.

Meanwhile, ANC national executive member and sports chief Steve Tshwete was reported yesterday to have said the organisation had no principled objection to SA taking part in the world athletics championships to be held in Tokyo in June.

However, Tshwete said this would be inadvisable as many black athletes would fail to make the national team, which would give rise to resentment.

Soccer was one sports code which had done enough to justify readmittance.

US 'no' to ANC units

Sowetan 22/4/81

11A

WASHINGTON - The United States government has denounced the ANC's intention to form defence units in townships.

The SABC quoted a United States State Department spokesman on Saturday as saying the government was opposed to the formation of any factional para-military forces in South Africa.

The spokesman said leaders of all political groups in South Africa should exercise maximum restraint on their followers in an attempt to stop the violence.

The spokesman also noted that it was the responsibility of the South African Government to protect all its citizens.

The State Department welcomed the State President's initiative in calling for an all-party conference to end the violence.

The US also supported the proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence - *Sapa.*



Mass protest to greet Thatcher on private visit

Sowetown 22/4/91

11A

THE ANC and the PAC plan mass demonstrations to disrupt former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's private visit to South Africa next month, the *Sunday Times* reported yesterday.

Both organisations reportedly were incensed that the Democratic Party-controlled Johannesburg City Council offered Thatcher the freedom of the city.

Demos

ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa reportedly said: "Mrs Thatcher supported the regime and stifled our attempts to isolate it while our children, mothers, brothers and sisters were being maimed and killed by apartheid.

"We are in no position to prevent her from coming to South Africa, but we are in excellent shape to make her itinerary here

an impossibility."

An unnamed PAC spokesman was also quoted as saying the organisation would definitely plan mass demonstrations against Thatcher.

Thatcher, a long-time opponent of sanctions, was expected in mid-May at the invitation of the South African Government.

She was scheduled to attend a special Johannesburg City Council meeting in her honour where she would be presented with a citation, management committee chairman Ian Davidson said.

However British embassy spokesman Mr John Sawyer was quoted as saying that Thatcher had not yet accepted the offer of the freedom of the city.

He described her visit as a private one. - *Sapa*.



12-year old boy dies



'Our ancestors were raped'

11A
Sowetan
22/4/91

MRS Winnie Mandela yesterday said coloured people came into being in South Africa because European settlers "raped our grandmothers".

She was speaking at the launch of a branch of the ANC women's league in Toekomsrus, Randfontein, on the West Rand. She was mobbed as she arrived in the township with many residents clamouring for space in the local community hall just to catch a glimpse of her.

When she started speaking she said: "I am not going to make a speech because as you all know we have problems to attend to presently."

And after conveying greetings and a message of admiration from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela who telephoned

By THEMBA MOLEFE

from Japan, she said: "You are called coloureds because not long after they (Europeans) landed here in 1652 these despicable people raped our grandmothers."

"You are aborigines of this land which belongs to all of us."

Freedom Charter

"In our new South Africa we shall have no colour barrier. We shall have no coloureds or Indians but one nation as spelled out in the Freedom Charter."

On the question of the escalating violence, Mrs Mandela, the ANC head of social welfare, charged: "(State President) Mr FW de

● To Page 2

Our grannies raped - Winnie

Sowetan 22/4/91 (11A)

From Page 1

Klerk has abused our belief that he is a man of integrity and that he is a sincere man. He is not interested in stopping the violence. Why?

"The Government wants to see the ANC negotiating from a point of weakness, with our backs against the wall. It is using Inkatha to attack the ANC."

She said this attitude of the Government was a declaration of war.

Mandela said the ANC was serious about the formation of defence units and that the organisation would map out how it would seize power by June.

"May 9 will decide the fate of this country. The Government will decide whether the ANC should seize power by force and it will have only itself to blame," she said.

The ANC has marked May 9 as the deadline for the dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan.

The ANC has blamed the Ministers, of law and order and defence respectively, for failing to stop township violence.

At the end of the speech, 11-year-old Ramona Rooskranz presented Mrs Mandela with a bouquet of flowers amid shouts of "Amandla" and "Viva ANC".

ANC's intolerance of Press raises doubts

Sowetan 22/4/91

11A



AN ANC official, a former journalist, recently called a reporter "filth" because she did not like a certain phrase in an article.

A senior Western Cape activist stunned reporters a few months ago when bluntly telling them "we expect you to become card-carrying members of the ANC".

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Frustration

Much of Mandela and the ANC's current frustration with the media stems from an honest belief that the organisation, which has initiated the peace process, deserves more support for its policies.

But the media argues that the ANC should face fair criticism and should not regard that as implied hostility.

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But many have now become disillusioned.

Local reporters complain that the ANC pays more attention to the foreign media, as a crucial vehicle to get its message across to the world. Yet, a top visiting Dutch journalist was amazed when, on a recent trip to South Africa, many of her previously arranged appointments with ANC officials were not kept.

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Many argue that, as a government in waiting, the ANC should appoint media officers to help take the load off National Executive Committee members.

Interestingly, the ANC last week took a firm step to improve contact with the Afrikaans media, appointing a recently released activist, Carl Niehaus, as a liaison officer.

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Control

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them!"

Journalists who write critical articles are often denigrated by the ANC as being either ill-informed or malicious.

"The ANC thinks if you criticise them you are the enemy," commented a foreign journalist.

In at least one case, a journalist who had written an article obtained from ANC insiders was subjected to a witch-hunt to ascertain who had leaked the information.

Even Mandela, many journalists' favourite politician, is being criticised for his dismissive attitude towards reporters.

Often, notably when he is tired, he answers probing questions with a standard response: "I don't believe I need to answer the question because you are clearly very confused."

Draconian

Intimidatory tactics are obviously not unique to the ANC. Many political parties have over the years resorted to methods, subtle or blatant, to influence journalists.

During the heyday of apartheid, the NP Government showed no hesitation in using draconian laws to control the media. Many of these are still in place.

And other groups are guilty too: the AWB denies certain journalists access to its public meetings; PAC supporters assaulted a photographer at Zeph Mothopeng's funeral; Inkatha supporters marching through Johannesburg threatened to kill a reporter and attempted to abduct another.

The ANC has come under closer scrutiny than other political groups for two reasons.

First, because it has taken on the awesome task of democratising South African society and secondly, because it will be a senior partner in a new government. - *Sowetan Correspondents*.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ANC and PAC were sliding down a slippery slope

Liberation machine is fuelled again

Sowetan 22/4/91. (11A)

HARARE - Before the announcement of last week's meeting between the ANC and PAC, the South African liberation machine was starting to run out of fuel.

The ANC was becoming a government in waiting. It appeared to have left the masses behind.

It had also moved too close to the present Government and was seen to have lost touch with the masses.

On the other hand, and waiting in the wings, was the PAC. They lacked Realpolitik but held the initiative and the sympathies of the masses.

The ANC was able to go ahead and even become the next government, but it risked facing the wrath of the masses if it left the PAC behind.

At the same time, the PAC was going nowhere fast. It depended on the ANC and what that movement was doing for its own political life.

The PAC had shown very little proactive politics. All it did was condemn, in an obtuse manner, what the ANC was doing.

There was, to say the least, looming political disaster on both sides.

Revolt

If the ANC went ahead on its own, the PAC would have been forced to revolt against it, thus turning real South African *broedertwis* into an ugly Renamo or Unita situation.

The PAC was faced with the problem where, if it waited too long, the ANC would get the liberation thing right.

So the PAC wanted to get in on the fight without giving up its principles of which, among others, was the demand for a constituent assembly.

The ANC, in turn, had to work through a deal with the PAC to regain its respectability among the masses.

By ISMAIL



LAGARDIEN

It is no small wonder that the ANC delivered its May 8 "ultimatum" to the Government two weeks before it met the PAC in Harare.

It is not unlikely that the new ultimatum is a type of contingency plan - just in case the Government actually makes the original deadline of April 30.

Untainted

It appears that the PAC has emerged from last week's meeting untainted, perhaps even victorious - but only just.

Let us study the scenario closer.

The ANC, before the meeting, had been talking to the Government for almost a year about "removing obstacles to negotiations".

There was apparently nothing wrong with that. But the ANC had to move closer to Government, give up its armed struggle and apply for indemnity for its members.

Whereas according to the PAC's position, or according to the United Nation Declaration of 1989, what the ANC saw as "obstacles" were non-negotiables which the Government had to remove unilaterally.

At face value, the ANC had to do an about-turn and give in to the PAC's position - which was also the UN position.

Position

Looking at the PAC's position prior to last week's meeting it is interesting to note that it had not asked for indemnity for any of its members; not given up its armed struggle (for what it is worth) and had not made even vague promises to participate in a multiparty conference.

The cherry arrived last week when the Government sent a letter to the PAC inviting it to talk about a constituent assembly, before the movement had done half of what the ANC had to do to get

to a multiparty conference.

The PAC, too, was on a slippery slope. While it had held on to the popular and growing support of the masses, the masses could not identify the movements' leaders in exile if they saw them on the streets.

The general public had never heard the policy of the movement through articulate and perhaps even moderate voices like that of the PAC's Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, Mr Maxwell Nemasivhanani, the amiable Mr Joe Mkhwanazi or Mr Leshaoana Makhandla.

The PAC had become the bogey-man of South African politics.

Along came last week's meeting in Harare that fuelled the old South African liberation machine again.

Suddenly the Government appears to have its back to the wall, politically at least.

The ANC can now go back to its constituents and feel proud that it has redeemed itself.

And the PAC has also benefitted because it was given a chance to enter the political

debate, albeit by the side door.

But where do we go from here?

There are more questions than answers.

* Will the PAC come home? Or will it wait for the Government to comply with UN demands and allow the movement into the country unconditionally?

* Will the Government meet all the UN demands?

* Will the ANC really break off talks on May 8? If so, what then?

* Will the PAC ask for indemnity to attend the launch of the "patriotic front" in Cape Town in August?

* Will the PAC drop its armed struggle? And what will the Government response be?

PAC chief (1A) to testify

PAN Africanist Congress general secretary Benny Alexander is to give evidence before an industrial court hearing in Pretoria today, a lawyer involved said. *Sowetan 22/4/91*.

The hearing was convened on Friday to determine whether a 1989 strike by 60 former employees of Transvaal Pressed Nuts Bolts and Rivets (Pty) Limited was illegal.

Alexander had been summoned to give evidence because he was "a leader of the African working class", according to legal representative Brutus Manana. - *Sapa*.

Traditional chiefs must be involved in issues - ANC

THE ANC has agreed to involve traditional leaders in major political issues.

This emerged after a one-day meeting held in Johannesburg between the organisation and the leaders of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa at the weekend.

Contralesa is already working on the ANC's local government commission.

"The meeting discussed problems arising in rural areas related to

the role of civic structures, village committees and traditional leaders," ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said in the joint statement.

Unity

"In order to achieve maximum unity it was agreed that better co-ordination and consultation should be organised at local level and regional leadership structures.

"This should involve the ANC, Contralesa and civic structures."

The two sides agreed

traditional leaders would contribute towards discussions centering on a draft constitution envisaged by the ANC.

Contralesa would establish a constitutional sub-committee for this purpose.

"Contralesa will also make an input on the proposals of the ANC local government commission, especially rural government," the statement said.

"The meeting agreed that traditional chiefs must be fully involved in all strategies and levels of

our struggle," the statement said.

The ANC said it reaffirmed its position that Contralesa was an independent organisation "committed to our common objective".

Talks

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Joe Modise also joined the talks with the traditional leaders.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and Contralesa president Chief SP Holomisa - who is also an advocate - led the delegations. - Sapa.

11A
Sowetan 22/4/91

Bid to set up youth front for anti-apartheid forces

3/23/91
PATRICK BULGER

A FRONT to unite the youth of opposing anti-apartheid forces is being formed, the ANC Youth League's newly launched magazine Horizon says.

League leaders met earlier this month to discuss violence and decided a youth front was a priority.

"It was decided that efforts to bring about a front of all anti-apartheid youth should be sped up to achieve, among other things, the elimination of internecine violence," says Horizon.

A committee to help set up the front has already been formed.

It includes representatives of the ANC Youth League, the National Union of SA Students, the SA National Students' Congress, Young Christian Students and the National Catholic Federation of Students.

"The Youth Front would aim to win maximum support among the youth for the demand for a constituent assembly. More broadly, it would help develop a common programme towards liberation," Horizon said.

"Its task would be to involve youth in a programme of eradicating apartheid in all spheres of society: education, health and sport among others."

At a meeting of the league's provisional national youth committee and regional representatives in Durban earlier this month it was agreed that a Youth Front would "enable all the youth of our country, irrespective of ideological affiliation, to act in unison in unleashing more severe blows against the regime".

It was also decided to intensify the league's recruitment drive to add to its current 460 605 signed-up members.

Horizon adds the recruitment drive has not yet generated sufficient enthusiasm.

"While there might be millions of young people inspired by the youth league, bringing them into formal and disciplined organisational structures has not proved to be as easy as we had imagined."

Mandela going to Moscow for help, Hani tells US

By David Braun
Star Bureau

Stev
23/4/91

11A

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela will visit the Soviet Union soon to discuss new assistance agreements, ANC executive member Chris Hani said on US television last night.

The chief of staff of the ANC's military wing was speaking on the Washington-based Howard Television Channel.

He was questioned on the links between the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP), the American Communist Party's sponsorship of his tour, and on the relationship between the Soviet Union and ANC.

Respect

He said he was surprised that people were upset that he had been invited to America under the auspices of a coalition of anti-apartheid groups.

His relationship with the Communist Party was not the issue, he said. The ANC had been working with the SACP for

more than 30 years. They had struggled together and had respect for one another.

People should rather focus on apartheid which had oppressed people for so long, he said.

Mr Hani, an executive member of the SACP, predicted the party and the ANC would work closely together for a long time to come in order to consolidate democracy and independence.

The ANC retained a very close relationship with the Soviet Union. The Soviets continued to train ANC soldiers.

He said the SACP did not threaten the interests or security of whites in South Africa.

"We say the country belongs to all its inhabitants and we want everybody to feel free and comfortable," he said.

The SACP favoured socialism, but wanted to use democratic means to achieve this.

He said the main focus of his visit was to tell people not to lift sanctions. The reform process would only be irreversible once power had been transferred from the white minority.

ANC not aware of IFP move

THE ANC says it has not received official word from the Inkatha Freedom Party on its reported intention of cutting all ties with its PWV regional office.

The IFP's West Rand region announced on Sunday it was breaking all regional contact with the ANC following the recent deaths of a number of Inkatha supporters. ^{South Africa} 23/4/91

In a statement yesterday the ANC said it had only learned of the break from newspaper reports.

It said it had not received any official message from Inkatha.

"As soon as that happens the regional executive committee will give the matter the necessary attention." - Sapa.

ANC wants FW to resign - PAC

Sowetan 23/4/91

11A

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THE African National Congress wants President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet to resign, suspend the constitution and create an interim government, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday.

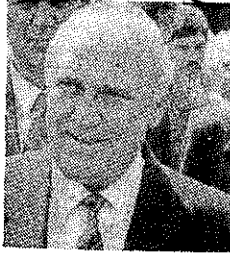
Alexander said the ANC told the Pan Africanist Congress of this plan at the Harare talks between the two movements last week.

The ANC wanted the creation of an interim government before any negotiation process towards a new constitution could proceed, he said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo yesterday confirmed Alexander's comments.

Nzo said the first phase was the removal of obstacles to talks.

The second phase was an all-party congress, where the ANC would



FW DE KLERK

point out that it wanted De Klerk and his government to resign as it could not be "both player and referee at the same time".

The Government would have to suspend the constitution and create an interim government which would rule by decree.

A constituent assembly would in turn be the only mechanism for adopting a democratic constitution.

"For the transitional period to be overseen properly it must be by a neutral authority," Nzo said yesterday.

"You can't have two governments running parallel. That's obvious. If there is agreement on an interim government it means that the other people must go."

After returning from the Harare talks between the PAC and ANC last Thursday Alexander said the ANC had offered to "give us more details than they've ever done to anybody in the past. Mainly, that Mr de Klerk in fact should resign. For the first time they said that.

"And that the constitution must be scrapped. And that the interim government must rule by decree," Mr Alexander said in an interview.

Nzo confirmed this and said the ANC's view would be determined by the removal of all obstacles to negotiations. -
Sowetan Correspondent.

De Klerk and cabinet must go, says ANC

AP/6/23 23/4/91
JOHANNESBURG.— The African National Congress wants President De Klerk and his cabinet to resign, suspend the constitution and create an interim government which will rule by decree, according to Mr Benny Alexander, PAC secretary-general.

He said the ANC told the Pan Africanist Congress of this plan at the Harare alliance talks between the two movements last week.

Mr Alexander said the ANC wanted the creation of an interim government before any negotiation process towards a new constitution could proceed.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo yesterday confirmed Mr Alexander's comments.

Mr Nzo said the first phase was the removal of obstacles to talks.

The second phase was an all-party congress, where the ANC would point out that it wanted President De Klerk and his government to resign as it could not be "both player and referee at the same time".

The government would have to suspend the constitution and create an interim government which would rule by decree.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and chief government negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it now appeared futile commenting on ANC policy.

"The confusion of leadership inside the ANC has apparently reached such a level that statements on ANC policy are now being issued by the secretary-general of the PAC," he said.

— Sapa.

Self-defence booklet is written largely in red

6/02/91 23/4/91

11A

COMMUNIST Party members dominate the committee that has drawn up a booklet outlining how self-defence units could be activated around the country.

Although the committee is nominally made up of leading members of the ANC, trade union federation Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP), the SACP provides well over half of the members.

That SACP interim leadership core member Jeremy Cronin will be presenting the document — For the Sake of Our Lives, Guidelines for the Creation of People's Self-Defence Units — to a seminar this week is perhaps an indication of the extent to which the party regards it as its work.

Remedy

Certainly nobody else will admit to its authorship and answers to queries elicit the response that "the ANC" wrote it or that "underground structures" are responsible.

The committee was formed in October last year, ostensibly to devise strategies to counter township violence. By November it had completed its work, by recommending as a remedy to violence what has been alleged could only lead to more violence.

The committee is co-ordinated by Sydney Mafumadi, who was named at the SACP's launch in July last year as a member of the SACP's national interim leadership core.

Born in Alexandra township in 1959, Mafumadi has spent most of his

PATRICK BULGER

working life in the trade union movement and is at present an assistant general secretary of Cosatu.

That he is regarded as a leader of significance was demonstrated by his visit in January 1990 to the ANC's exiled national executive committee (NEC) in Lusaka. This visit followed top-level contacts with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, then still in jail, and was intended to convey Mandela's intentions on negotiation with government.

Another top trade unionist on the violence committee is Chris Dlamini, a former factory worker from Springs who was born in 1944. He joined the trade union movement in 1972 and in 1982 was elected president of Cosatu's predecessor, Fosatu. He visited Mandela in jail in 1989 and, like Mafumadi, travelled to Lusaka to consult the ANC's NEC. He was appointed to the SACP national leadership last year and is widely tipped as a future Cosatu president.

Yet another top communist on the committee is Moses Mayekiso, who is also an SACP interim leader. He was born in the Transkei in 1948. He later became a trade union organiser. He was detained and charged for subversion for his role in organising a workers' stayaway in 1984. He later faced charges of high treason. Probably through his involvement with Alexandra township grassroots structures, he emphasises the importance of grassroots accountability. He has been a vehement proponent of de-

fence structures and has called publicly for their being armed on several occasions.

ANC department of information and publicity official Gill Marcus is a member of the SACP. She wields significant influence within the ANC and is considered the mouthpiece of the organisation. She deals daily with the local and international media and is known for sticking strictly to the ANC "line" when talking to journalists. Marcus spent 15 years working in the ANC's London office before returning to SA.

Groups

Apart from the SACP national leaders on the committee, at least one member serves on the SACP's Transvaal interim leadership core. He is trade union lawyer Stanley Nkosi, who is also with the ANC's department of political education. Nkosi is a former Robben Island prisoner and a former general secretary of the SA Railways and Harbours Workers' Union.

ANC NEC member Aziz Pahad serves on the committee. He is on the ANC-government working groups on the armed struggle and political prisoners.

Former exile and SACP official Geraldine Fraser also serves on the committee. There are apparently also one or two other people who attend committee meetings from time to time but they are not central to its work.

Inkatha branch to break ties with ANC

THE executive committee of Inkatha's West Rand branch would meet this week to resolve formally to cut off ties with the ANC, Inkatha West Rand spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

He said members in the area had voiced their unhappiness about maintaining ties with the ANC at a rally at George Goch hostel on Sunday. *B10cm 23/4/91*

The resolution would not be binding on other Inkatha branches, Ndlovu said.

WILSON ZWANE

"Our people's concern was the killing of our members by ANC supporters in Alexandra on March 17 and in Soweto earlier this month," he said. *(11A) (ND)*

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation had not been formally informed of the decision.

He added that the ANC had not given any directives to any of its members "to kill any members of any organisation".

ANC ^(11A) to join peace talks?

Swelken 23/4/91

Political
Correspondent

THE ANC could still take part in the Government-proposed peace summit.

Mr Carl Niehaus, a spokesman for the organisation's department of information and publicity, yesterday said a series of consultations were under way regarding State President FW de Klerk's proposed summit.

In an earlier statement, also issued yesterday, the ANC's Ms Gill Marcus raised hopes of her movement's possible participation.

She said the movement had not rejected the proposal outright, but that it would study it as more details became available.

Consulted

She said the ANC's allies, such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party, would have to be consulted on the issue.

Media reports last week said the ANC had rejected outright the proposed peace summit expected to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and May 25.

In last week's statement, De Klerk said the Government could not quell the continued violence in the country on its own.

Leaders

He said it needed the help of other leaders and organisations.

The ANC had earlier called for the appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the violence.

In its initial response to De Klerk's proposals, the ANC said they did not address the question of violence as raised in the movement's open letter to the State President.

The organisation added that its national executive committee would respond "in full in due course" to proposals of a peace summit.

Inquiry

A draft Bill providing details of the commission of inquiry proposed by De Klerk is expected in Parliament this week.

Before leaving for Europe at the weekend, De Klerk confirmed that he had discussed the proposals with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk said Mandela had given the undertaking that the ANC would study the proposals. He said Mandela did not reject the summit outright.

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SACP and ANC to stay together for now ^(1/A) Hanı

B10am 29/4/91

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — There is no chance of the SACP becoming independent from the ANC until a new government had been formed, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hanı has told American audiences.

"For a long time now and after we are free, the party and the ANC will work together to consolidate democracy," he said in an interview with the Howard University television station on Monday night.

"We shall tackle the huge socio-economic problems together. There is no question of the party and the ANC parting in the near future."

Pressed on the issue at a packed and generally appreciative forum hosted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Hanı said if he were asked to stand for election he would run for the ANC, his SACP membership notwithstanding.

"We are fighting for liberation. At this stage we follow totally the ANC."

Despite events in the eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, he said his Marxist convictions had been strengthened since he joined the SACP in 1961. Capitalism, he argued, was facing as great a "crisis" as socialism.

Conceding that "all of us were shocked" by revelations of what happened in the

Soviet Union, he asked the Carnegie audience to "sympathise with us".

Conditions for ANC/SACP cadres in the Soviet Union were such that "we were never able to make our own judgment".

In the television interview, he said the SACP's recognition that there had been "gross violations" in the Soviet Union was why it was now espousing "multipartyism and pluralism". He said it would not make the same mistakes when it ruled SA.

He said relations between Moscow and the ANC/SACP remained very good.

Asked to confirm that he had been invited to the US by the American Communist Party, he said he was here under the auspices of a "coalition" of anti-apartheid groups.

He suggested that he had no political ambitions of his own and that he was looking forward to returning to Transkei to become a teacher.

He dismissed President F W de Klerk's call for a conference on violence as a "delaying tactic".

He indicated that he had been asked by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to persuade prisoners still on Robben Island to complete their indemnity forms.

Nelson Mandela, in a major speech, has committed the ANC to a free press

Journalists are vital to democracy

Star 24/4/91

(S)

(11A)

IN an address to the International Press Institute annual meeting in Tokyo, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela committed his organisation to the support of a "free and vigorous" press in the new South Africa.

He said: "The ANC's draft Bill of Rights and the Constitutional Principles for a Democratic South Africa, which we unveiled a week ago, are a synthesis of the best in South African human rights traditions.

"These two documents are the outcome of a debate initiated in 1986 through the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

"We deliberately set out to involve human rights lawyers, academics, authorities and ordinary laymen and women far beyond the ANC's own membership and support base.

"We avoided being prescriptive but sought to encourage participation.

"That intervention shifted the debate decisively away from a re-arrangement of the apartheid system to its roots . . .

"If there is indeed a narrowing of the gap that separates us from the South African Government, that is because the Government has been compelled to change in order to keep pace with the tide of opinion in our country.

"These values, which the ANC espouses and shall continue to espouse, bear an incredibly high

price.

"Hundreds have lost their lives in an attempt to make them a reality.

"Thousands of families and homes have been wrecked so that we can realise them.

"Those who joined the struggle for human freedom did so with their eyes wide open.

"They were under no illusion about the path they had chosen. We knew that it entailed sacrifice, hazards, torment and even the risk of death.

"We all chose it not for personal gain or material rewards. We took this stand because these were goals we saw as worthy and virtuous.

"We do not now nor shall we ever regret having made that choice.

"Freedom of the media and the press is among the oldest and most valued freedoms for which people the world over have fought.

"The ANC has extended its solidarity, and shall continue to support journalists, editors, writers and other media people who face persecution because they seek to exercise this right.

"As an expression of our commitment to the citizens' right to know, we have inserted this among the articles on the ANC's draft Bill of Rights.

"We place an equal emphasis on the right to disseminate such in-



Nelson Mandela . . . freedom of press guaranteed.

formation through the press and other media.

"We cannot claim that the institutionalisation of these rights is the road to perfection, but at least we have not placed obstacles in the way.

"We cannot over-emphasise the great store we set by a vigorous and free press in the democratic South Africa we hope to create.

"Ours has become, through po-

litical activity, an extremely engaged and critical constituency which will not take easily to political marginalisation.

"We regard a press that has the courage to speak its mind, without fear or favour, as essential in keeping the public vigilant and alert to any temptation on the part of government to abuse its powers.

"We would say also that a democratic government that either feared or sought to constrain media scrutiny of its policies and actions is embarked on a course that must inevitably result in the evasion of accountability to the people.

"We ask the worldwide fraternity of newspeople for no favours.

"We ask them to give due recognition of these facts and to judge as they do all others. We shall not withdraw from the cut and thrust of politics, and we have the confidence that we can engage any of our critics on the strength of our record.

"The ANC shall continue to play its role for five great freedoms in our country. We shall do this not because we wish to please anyone or because we wish to cultivate new friends.

"These are the core principles on which we have built our movement and its programme.

"We shall continue to uphold them because of their intrinsic value." □

If she's jailed, we'll free her — Hanu

By David Braun
Star Bureau

Star
24/4/91

328 11A

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress would release Winnie Mandela from prison as soon as it came to power should she be jailed as a result of her current trial, according to Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hanu.

Mr. Hanu told a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday that a majority of blacks believed Mrs. Mandela's trial was political. "We cannot understand the timing of the trial. What happened to Stompie Seipei and those young people goes

back to three years ago. Mrs. Mandela is a leading figure in the struggle in our country," he said.

Mr. Hanu said he felt the Government was being vindictive and wanted to put Mrs. Mandela in her place. The Government also wanted to discredit Nelson Mandela and bog him down by forcing him to attend court sessions instead of attending to the many pressing problems of the country.

"Certainly, the ANC sees it as a political trial. We do not accept the impartiality of the South African courts. If she is convicted we shall protest that conviction.

"My own view is that when we take over, if she is not released, we will release her immediately. We do not see her as a criminal."

Mr. Hanu also said the Government was continuing to intimidate the liberation movements with its security legislation.

He criticised its failure to control the violence in the country, insinuating that the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party were "sleeping together".

On other issues, Mr. Hanu said both the SA Defence Force and Umkhonto were highly politicised, and this would have to change in the new South Africa.

New deal soon, hints Mbeki

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — South Africa could have a new constitution by the end of the year, Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's national executive member in charge of international affairs, said yesterday.

"The possibility is there that South Africa will move fairly rapidly towards adopting a new constitution.

"We see no particular reason why there should not be a new constitution in South Africa by the end of this year."

He told leading businessmen attending the Institute of Directors convention on the challenges facing southern Africa that the major problem was the issue of violence, which could derail the political process.

If the Government did not do certain things by May 9, the discussions would have to be at least



ANC executive member
Thabo Mbeki

postponed until the matter of violence had been attended to.

But Mr Mbeki said that if all went according to plan, an atmosphere conducive to negotiations would have been established by June and the process of discussing the new constitution could begin.

The ANC and the National Party had agreed

that the next step should be the calling of an all-party conference at which the mechanics of drawing up a new constitution could be discussed. The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to do that, but the NP favoured the conference itself.

Also on the agenda would be the mechanism of how SA should be governed during the transitional period.

If indeed the political process as outlined emerged, then the urgency of dealing with economic challenges became quite clear.

A political settlement in South Africa could not survive without something being done about the economy, which was in a state of crisis.

Mr Mbeki said a democratic South Africa should be interested in the development of other countries in the region.

The Nats aren't too worried about the ANC's budget model, writes Shaun Johnson

Clashing budgets not so taxing

Star 24/4/91

11A

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THE ANC's "shadow budget" bears little resemblance to the real thing produced by Barénd du Plessis, but it has caused far less consternation in Government circles than might have been expected.

The level of panic in business quarters which met the ANC proposals has, to the surprise of many observers, not been matched among Government economists.

Although there are chasms between key economic policy precepts of the ANC and the Government, National Party sources told *The Star* this week that the publication of the ANC budget "did not cause us to throw up our hands in horror".

The "shadow budget" (which is not, it should be noted, a detailed proposal, but rather an exercise in altering principles) upset businessmen primarily because of a suggestion of additional government expenditure of nearly R60 billion, and allegedly punitive taxation of the better-off in the society — all aimed at large-scale socio-economic upliftment.

But, according to senior NP sources involved in fiscal policy-making, "there is, on the basis of

the ANC document, a lot of space for negotiation. In fact, this is the beginning of a classic negotiating situation: If you want something, you first put prices on it that you know aren't feasible at all. I then offer as low as possible. At the end of the day you emerge on some sort of middle ground".

The sources' central argument against the ANC document is that it is "naive". Said one NP politician: "Everything revolves around the ANC's assumption of a three percent annual growth rate. That would be very nice indeed, but I'd love to know how they'll go about getting it — some of their proposals will kill the prospects for growth, not stimulate them.

"If you get that growth, obviously you're going to have a lot of additional revenue, you're going to create a tremendous number of jobs, and it's going to change the economic situation in South Africa completely."

The sources said the removal of sanctions "would help" to stimulate growth, "but if they (the ANC) want to get additional money by widening the income tax base to 35 percent of the GDP, that means you're going to tax a lot of people who at the moment are generating growth in the economy... You are taking away an extremely im-

portant source of development capital and also the incentive to develop...

"A lot of skilled whites might decide to leave, and if those are the tax bases that the businessmen are going to be faced with — and furthermore if there is the possibility that the assets that they have built up could be nationalised — you aren't going to get businessmen coming here at all. They'll stay away."

The sources also found fault with several additional taxes mooted by the ANC, but not fully explained in the brief document: "I actually don't understand what they mean by 'the elimination or limitation of tax expenditure including incentives', or the 'capital transfer tax'," remarked one NP member, "and I am worried by others".

He rejected:

● A capital gains tax, arguing that "it would make any private entrepreneur's hair stand on end".

"There are acceptable forms of capital gains tax — which even we might consider — but it depends on how much," he said.

● A land tax, saying it would "probably be something similar to a poll tax, but meaning that heavy tax burdens will be placed on ownership of anything above a

minimum amount of land".

"That will probably be the basic idea of progressive property tax, people who own property will be paying progressively more tax on the size of their properties."

● A minimum business tax, "which we fought against very strongly after the Margo Commission".

"It's built into the system and discourages exports and makes you less competitive on the export market."

The sources argued, overall, that "(South African) individuals fall into a top tax category in the world... And that is what we're trying to avoid".

Further, NP economists expressed concern about an ANC proposal to increase deficit financing to the "less conservative" figure of five percent. "Government will then be saddled with a tremendous interest bill, and a substantial amount of your revenue will have to be paid back as interest. Secondly, it doesn't meet up with International Monetary Fund requirements."

The NP appeared less uncomfortable with the ANC's actual plans for redirecting funds into socio-economic upliftment, but still voiced doubts about a new government's ability to release

funds of the magnitude described.

It is conceded, for example, that there will be savings via the removal of "apartheid octuplication", but it is argued that these benefits will be far from immediate, as the old system has to be phased out: "You don't just fire people, there has to be some sort of agreement with them."

The sources agreed with the ANC's identification of areas of primary need (for example housing, health and education), but argued that "a lot of money should be spent in creating the necessary infrastructure to encourage people to come into the economic world".

"For instance by using development corporations much more extensively... By doing that you will increase (black peoples') levels of wealth and put them in a position to look after their own requirements.

"If a guy builds himself a better house, moves to a better neighbourhood, you are starting to encourage private ownership and developing an economic culture... A lot is going to depend on the levels of political stability.

"But I've got no gripes at all about what they (the ANC) have got to do about primary health clinics, the rural infrastructure

and the like."

The sources concluded that the ANC proposals could have been "a lot further away from our view", but remained worried about the most basic economic tenets underlying the ANC approach.

"What really should happen," said one, "if you want to follow the route of countries that are developing very quickly economic-

ally, is to reduce your tax base, and to reduce the percentage of tax in the GDP. That generates a lot more growth. Now if you take this money out of the companies and from individuals to achieve certain socio-economic development programmes, or to achieve a redistribution of income, you're going completely away from the economic system which is based on the principles of free enterprise.

"Now you're becoming an economy in which Government control plays a far greater role, and which is based on more socialistic ideas.

"That worries us about the ANC, but I think it's absolutely necessary that the time comes soon when one can sit around and start talking about the economic structures that this country requires — even in budgetary detail." □

CAP TIGHTS

117 [initials] [initials]

Wednesday, April 24 1991

Facts disputed in Winnie trial

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A key defence witness in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial yesterday disputed evidence contained in her statement to police about Mrs Mandela's December 1988 trip to Brandfort.

Mrs Nora Moahloli, a Brandfort schoolteacher, told the Rand Supreme Court that although she had signed the statement, there were factual mistakes due to communication problems and police ignoring her requests to correct the mistakes.

In the statement Mrs Moahloli said Mrs Mandela had arrived in the Free State town on December 28, 1988, and had left on December 30 after discussing welfare projects.

Mrs Mandela's evidence is that she arrived in Brandfort a day later, on the night of December 29, about the same time four people, abducted from a Soweto church manse, were being assaulted at her home.

Mrs Moahloli said her statement had been taken earlier this year on February 1 by Mr Coet-

zee, a Johannesburg policeman, who had asked whether Mrs Mandela's visit had spanned the days of December 28, 29 and 30.

She said when she asked whether December 28 was a Thursday, because she knew Mrs Mandela had arrived on a Thursday night, the policeman had ignored her and continued with his questions.

Mrs Moahloli said she had signed the document "after a while" because she had not wanted to "undermine" Mr Coetzee.

Banishment

She added that immediately after leaving the police station, she phoned the law offices of Ms Kathleen Satchwell, a member of the defence team for Mrs Mandela's co-accused, and informed her of what had happened.

During the afternoon session state advocate Mr Chris van Vuuren cross-examined Mrs Moahloli about Mrs Mandela's involvement in welfare projects during and after her banishment to Brandfort between 1977 and 1985.

Earlier yesterday a Johannes-

burg journalist, Ms Pat Devereaux, testified that she had interviewed state witness Mr Kenneth Kgase after the London-based Sunday Telegraph had published his description of the assault at Mrs Mandela's home.

Ms Devereaux said Mr Kgase had been reluctant to grant the interview as he feared for his life and did not want the story published in South Africa.

Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, also informed the court that the defence would not be calling the editor of the Sunday Star, Mr John Hildyard, as he had refused to consult with them.

He said Mr Hildyard had indicated if called to testify he would not disclose any information, or would refuse to answer questions related to the identity of reporters who had written articles concerning the abductions and assaults.

Mr Bizos said his client's defence case had been disadvantaged by the fact they could not "get to the bottom of allegations against (her)".

The case continues.



WINNIE WITNESS . . . Ms Nora Moahloli outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. She testified in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial yesterday. Picture: AP

'Jackals' threat to ANC. We'll get you . . .

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THREATENING letters from an organisation calling itself "The Jackals", which claims its members are "weapons and explosives specialists" have been sent to at least four prominent Western Cape ANC members.

The pamphlets were sent to regional president Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Johnny de Lange, Mrs Veronica Simmers and Mr Noel Williams.

The Jackals warned they would fight to keep South Africa white.

The pamphlet said: "Warned — if you thought the Wit Wolwe and AWB and the rest were bad — that was a tea party — when we fight it will be to keep South Africa white.

'WORST NIGHTMARE'

"This is a God-given task and He is on our side.

"We are going to get the lot of you, starting with Mandela, Slovo, Hani and the rest of you scum.

"Don't take us lightly — we are going to be your worst nightmare. We are specialists in all aspects of explosives, communications, survival techniques, weapons . . . We have the advantage. We are white."

Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, acting ANC spokesman in the Western Cape, said the threats were being taken seriously.

"We do not think that it is the work of a crank. It is from people who are opposed to democracy. We'll be taking the necessary precautions," he said.

Mr Tinto said he had been surprised by the pamphlets because "I thought we were half-way on the road to a democracy".

ADVOCATE

Mr De Lange is an advocate, Western Cape treasurer of the United Democratic Front and secretary of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mr Williams was a member of the interim regional executive of the ANC and chairman of the Atlantis Residents' Association, and Mrs Simmers was the UDF's administrative secretary.

● From Pretoria The Argus Correspondent reports that the Boere Commando, a group that has broken away from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, has warned that it will not allow ANC self-defence units to function.

Boere Commando convenor Mr Gawie Volschenk said his organisation was keeping a close watch on the units.

He added that the Boere Commando would under no circumstances allow whites to be burdened by "this threatening danger".

We would set Winnie free — Chris Hani

ARGUS 24/4/91
112

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress would release Mrs Winnie Mandela from prison as soon it came to power, should she be jailed as a result of her trial, according to Mr Chris Hani, an executive member of the organisation.

Mr Hani told a breakfast meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington yesterday that most black people in South Africa believed Mrs Mandela's trial was political.

"We cannot understand the timing of the trial at all. What happened to Stompie and those young people goes back to three years ago. Mrs Mandela is a leading figure in the struggle in our country," he said.

Vindictive

Mr Hani said he felt the South African government was really vindictive and wanted to put Mrs Mandela in her place. The government also wanted to discredit Mr Nelson Mandela, and bog him down by forcing him to attend court sessions instead of attending to the many pressing problems of the country.

"Certainly, the ANC sees it as a political trial. We do not accept the impartiality of the South African courts. If she is convicted we shall protest (against) that conviction. My own view is that when we take over, if she is not released we will release her immediately. We do not see her as a criminal," he said.

Mr Hani said the government was continuing to intimidate the liberation movements with its security legislation.

In his own case, whenever he said something Defence Minister General Magnus Malan did not approve of, the minister warned him he had only temporary immunity from prosecution.

"They do this to intimidate us to make sure we blacks say only what they want to hear. The security forces continue to behave in the old way. They still detain people and they still beat up people," he said.

Mr Hani slammed the government

for failing to control the violence in the country, insinuating that as the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party were "sleeping together" no attempt was being made to strip Inkatha supporters of their cultural weapons.

He said President De Klerk was attempting a delaying tactic by calling for a conference on security. It would serve little purpose to bring everyone together to discuss the violence. Mr De Klerk commanded the security forces and he should take action.

Integrated force

He said the security forces had been very efficient when ANC forces had planted bombs. There had been roadblocks and dog patrols and within three months arrests had been made.

Now it was believed the government was not serious about the violence because it was black lives that were being lost.

Asked what he saw as the future role for the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (which Mr Hani commands), he said it would have to be integrated with the South African Defence Force and forces from the homeland armies and the PAC's military organisation into a new non-partisan South African army.

Both the SADF and Umkhonto were highly politicised, and this would have to change so that the future armed forces of the country bolstered the democratic government and would in no way be in a position to veto it, he said.

Mr Hani said he was primarily in the US to tell people not to lift sanctions until change in South Africa was irreversible.

He said it made no sense to reward Mr De Klerk for promised reforms when the victims of oppression were still in favour of sanctions.

The lifting of sanctions at this stage would only encourage Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and those in the government who wanted to keep the status quo, while it would demoralise Mr Mandela and others fighting for change, he said.

The point of irreversibility would be reached once an interim government was in place to monitor the negotiations process, he added.

TIM COHEN

HARARE — ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki yesterday called for a fresh evaluation of SA's reintegration into the southern Africa region, saying the country's political transformation could be achieved this year. *by Day 24/4/91*

Mbeki told delegates at the Institute of Directors Conference in Zimbabwe that political transformation could take place very soon if the problem of violence was effectively dealt with. *NDI*

He said regional organisations ought to be studying the implications of SA's integration into the region because if it were left to market forces alone, SA would totally dominate the countries in the region — which would create tension.

He was aware that transport and electri-

Settlement possible this year ^(11A) Mbeki _(11A)

city organisations were discussing regional issues and other organisations like universities should also do so.

He said the political process could speedily proceed to the adoption of a new constitution if violence was effectively dealt with. But the political settlement had to be underwritten by a growing economy. A growth rate of 5,5% was needed over the next 10 years to deal with unemployment.

Mbeki said a proportion of savings to GDP, currently about 7%, would have to increase to about 14%. Foreign investment of about R4,4bn would also be required.

● See Page 6

New SA constitution by year end — ANC

Cart-Tank 24/4/91 11A (KOSA)

HARARE. — Top ANC diplomat Mr Thabo Mbeki said yesterday a new constitution entrenching equal rights for all South Africans could be drawn up by the end of the year, Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana reported here.

"We see no reason why there should not be a new constitution in South Africa by the end of this year," Mr Mbeki, head of the ANC's international affairs department, told delegates to a two-day conference convened by the Zimbabwe division of the Institute of Directors.

He told the conference a non-racial South Africa should become part and parcel of Southern Africa and should join the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference.

"The countries of the region would resent economic domination. This might result in creating a situation of tension. A democratic South Africa should avoid a situation of tension between itself and the countries of the

region."

He said a political settlement had to be "underwritten" by a strong economy.

"The economy is in a crisis. The majority of the people don't expect that they are going to get a vote only. They also expect that they are going to get a job, housing, education, health facilities and a loaf of bread every day," he said.

He said the country's Gross Domestic Product had declined and the decline in the economy was causing further poverty and instability.

"It is going to be difficult to generate a growth of 5,5% to address existing unemployment and (employment for) new entrants in the labour market over a period of 10 years. It is clearly going to be difficult to turn the economy around." — Sapa

● More reports — Page 12

ANC reaction
to release issue

is 'undecided'

NY DARIUS SANAI NY

THE ANC had not yet decided how it would react if government did not meet its demand for the release of all political prisoners by April 30.

"We have not yet decided what to do: it is a process of consultation," ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The ANC threatened to break off negotiations with government if all political prisoners were not released and exiles allowed to return by April 30.

ANC sources have confirmed there is widespread support for a hunger strike among remaining political prisoners.

Meanwhile, Justice Ministry spokesman Maj Elsa Jones yesterday described as "nonsense" ANC allegations that government was deliberately delaying the release of prisoners.

Marcus said the ANC would make its plans public "when the time is right", although she declined to say when this would be.

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — There was no chance of the SACP becoming independent from the ANC until after a new government had been formed, according to MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

"The party and the ANC will work together to consolidate democracy," he said in an interview with the Howard University television station on Monday night.

"We shall tackle the huge socio-economic problems together."

Pressed on the issue at a packed forum hosted by the Carnegie Endow-

Mr. Hanf
24/4/91

SACP and ANC 'will stick together'

ment for International Peace, Mr Hani said that if he were asked to stand for election, he would run for the ANC, his SACP membership notwithstanding.

He added as an afterthought: "We might one day part company."

He said his Marxist

convictions "have been strengthened — capitalism is facing as great a crisis as socialism".

● Mr Hani dismissed President F W De Klerk's call for a conference on violence as a "delaying tactic" and said "we have given up hope" of the government being able to stop the killings. "So we have decided to set up self-defence units."

He hailed Mrs Winnie Mandela as "a leading figure in the struggle". Her current trial showed that the government was trying to discredit "Comrade Mandela".

Hani softens stance after US govt talks

5/10/91 2/14/91
SIMON BARBER (118)

WASHINGTON — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani softened his rhetoric yesterday and indicated the ANC was flexible on its May 9 ultimatum and on the creation of self-defence units.

His new tone followed separate meetings on Tuesday with US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Geoffrey Davidow and White House Africa specialist Robert Frazier.

Appearing at the National Press Club, Hani gave every sign the ANC recognised that the demands contained in its April 5 open letter to President F W de Klerk would not be entirely met and that it stood to gain little from breaking off negotiations.

What the ANC now sought, he said, was a "constructive response" which it would "consider in its totality". The organisation was also ready to "discuss with government the whole question of self-defence units".

He made it clear that Davidow had strongly criticised the creation of defence units, and had warned him that the strategy could lead to SA becoming a new Lebanon.

Hani also said, with some resignation, that he had been told by the administration that it hoped to start lifting sanctions within two to three months.

In contrast to remarks at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace on Tuesday, in which he portrayed relations between the ANC and government as a virtual deadlock, he now said there was "broad agreement" with government on the need for a non-racial democracy, and the only major difference was on the "modalities" of how to achieve one.

Asked about the ANC's economic programme, he compared the movement's policies with those of the NP when it took power in 1948.

He noted that Afrikaners had been economically deprived in much the same way black South Africans were now, and had used the state to redress the balance by nationalising certain industries and subsidising the purchase of land.

SACP unveils plan for units to defend local communities

By Brendan
Templeton

Star
25/4/91

An outline for community defence units in which Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would play a leading role has been unveiled by the SA Communist Party.

In a paper presented by SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, a call was made for voluntary, community-based defence units.

Mr Cronin argued that, in the light of township violence, a highly organised and disciplined force was needed to protect the communities and ensure law and order.

"Failure will inevitably lead to a loss of confidence in the ANC and liberation movements. There is also the danger of widespread demoralisation among the masses if no solution is found," he said.

Once the defence units had been established, he foresaw the possibility of their being organised on a regional and even na-

tional level.

"Such a people's militia could in time merge with Umkhonto we Sizwe to form the basis for a people's army and police force in the liberated, democratic, nonracial South Africa we are struggling for," he said.

Although the defence units should not be affiliated to any specific political party or movement, he suggested that "Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, particularly ex-prisoners and those due to return from exile, must play a leading and active role in the establishment of the defence structures".

Because the Government allowed Inkatha members to carry "traditional weapons" and the AWB to organise military training camps, it could not prevent the establishment of township defence committees (TDCs), Mr Cronin said.

His paper — a guideline, not a blueprint — outlined detailed suggestions on how TDCs should be structured and operate.

Membership should be voluntary and TDC leadership accountable to community organisa-

tions.

Physical and weapons training, drilling and political instruction should take place regularly, Mr Cronin said.

No effort should be spared in winning over "misguided individuals to the people's side".

They were often forced against their will to attack communities or often take up arms out of ignorance.

"By neutralising them, we will be taking one of the most potent weapons from the enemy's arsenal."

Black soldiers and police also had to be won over, nor should any effort be spared in influencing their white counterparts.

Strong barricades and fortifications should be built and auxiliary forces trained.

First aid stations should be set up with the co-operation of doctors and nurses.

Tactical plans had to be worked out beforehand so that communities could arm and effectively defend themselves within minutes of an attack, Mr Cronin said.

Mandela and Major differ at talks

By Alan Robinson
Star Bureau

LONDON — ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela spent an hour in talks with British Prime Minister John Major, but says they have been unable to resolve a number of differences.

Mr Mandela went to 10 Downing Street less than 48 hours after President de Klerk dined there and put his case for the removal of sanctions and for the start of

heavy foreign investment in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said although his talks with Mr Major had been cordial and productive, they differed sharply on sanctions.

He told a press conference last night: "We took a common position on a number of things, but there were several issues on which we did not see eye to eye."

He did not spell out what the other issues were, but said on sanctions: "The Brit-

ish government's position is well known, but as far as the ANC is concerned sanctions were introduced with the specific objectives of giving the vote to all South Africans and scrapping the policy of apartheid. Neither of these objectives has been achieved, so sanctions must remain."

He emphasised that the ANC's May 9 ultimatum on township violence was still in force.

● Picture — Page 2

ANC wants seized papers (11A) Mbeki

Political Staff ^{star} 25/4/91

ANC negotiators would have to pressure the Government to return vital documents confiscated from political prisoners on Robben Island, according to Govan Mbeki, a senior official of the organisation and member of the SACP.

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday at a media briefing on his book "Learning from Robben Island: The Prison Writings of Govan Mbeki", he said prison authorities had confiscated one of his essays.

"I am particularly concerned about one essay on the question of the peasantry."

He said his new book was a

collection of his essays on methods of political education used on Robben Island to teach fellow inmates, some of whom had left with degrees from the University of South Africa.

Mr Mbeki said ANC leaders had compiled their own study materials, which they shared with Swapo members but not with members of the Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation or the Black Consciousness Movement.

Mr Mbeki confirmed that an autographed copy of his book had been sent to AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche, who asked for it when they shared a seat on a flight from Johannesburg to Port Elizabeth.

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The agenda for women's rights in a new dispensation will be set in Kimberley, writes Esmaré van der Merwe

Winnie's future hinges on vote

8 Feb 25/1/91

11A

DIAMONDS are a girl's best friend, but the ANC Women's League considered less frivolous, more historic, reasons for choosing Kimberley as the venue for its first national conference in South Africa in more than 30 years.

The league made a strong political statement in its choice. Not only was the northern Cape town the homeground of the ANC's first secretary-general, Sol Plaatjes, it is also home to Ruth Mompati, one of only three women on the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) and one of only two women to have been included in the ANC's Groote Schuur team.

And, said Zeni Tshongweni of the conference preparatory committee: "It is on these diamond mines that our fathers, brothers and sons have been exploited and denied a share in the riches."

The significance of the four-day conference, which started today, is two-fold.

● It will determine whether Winnie Mandela will continue her controversial rise in the ANC hierarchy.

Mrs Mandela, president of the league's PWV branch, is said to be keen to add this top job to those of head of the ANC's welfare department and executive member of the ANC's PWV region.

However, many ANC women feel Mrs Mandela is the wrong person for the presidency — a position which ensures automatic representation on the ANC's highest decision-making body, the NEC — and are said to be frantically lobbying for someone to oppose her.

The prime contenders, apart from Mrs Mandela, are believed to be the league's current co-con-

veners, stalwarts Gertrude Shope and Albertina Sisulu. But they would not say whether they were available for the presidency.

PWV region publicity secretary Feroza Adam said each branch would nominate one candidate for the presidency, to be followed by a democratic election.

One delegate in the anti-Winnie camp said: "If there is a secret ballot, we hope Mrs Mandela will be outvoted. But if there is an open ballot, she will certainly be elected."

Mrs Tshongweni insisted that the voting would be democratic.

"We have recommended that a secret ballot be held, but it is up to the conference to decide on the voting procedures," she said.

Of interest too would be the election of other office bearers, who are set to play a decisive role in the ANC's leadership.

In the ANC's draft constitution, it is proposed that 17 positions on an expanded NEC of 105 be reserved for women.

The league argues that this should not exclude women from being elected to other positions. In fact, it proposes that 30 percent of all positions, from branch level to national leadership, be filled by women.

● Decisions taken at the conference will set the trend for women's rights in a new political and legal dispensation.

The ANC leadership has consistently proclaimed itself in support of gender equality, to a much greater extent than any other political party in South Africa.

But, despite a firm commitment to women's rights, the ANC has not put theory into practice.

Thus, it will be up to the women in the organisation to fight for

proper representation, the upliftment and advancement of women, and the eradication of gender oppression and exploitation — not only in the ANC but also in the new South Africa.

The league will strive to do so by adopting a charter of women's rights and a constitution. Specific proposals will be taken to the ANC's national conference in June.

To ensure gender equality in any society is a formidable task. In a country where tribal chauvinism and male domination are deeply embedded, the task becomes even more awesome.

Coupled with that, the league faces the challenge of rebuilding its organisation, which has been crippled by years of banning.

That women will have to lead the struggle for their own emancipation is admitted in an historic

ANC document on women's rights adopted last year. The document stated: "Women must take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa. They must move the ANC ... to adopt policies and forms of organisation that facilitate the participation of women in the struggle that still lies ahead."

Yet, there appears to be some reluctance — even on the part of the ANC's men — to give up their privileges.

In a constant reminder to themselves that support for gender equality is commendable, the document concludes with this remarkable admission: "Although the dominant always find it difficult in the short term to give up age-old privileges and habits, in the long run they only stand to gain from living in a world in which the health, happiness and welfare of all is guaranteed." □



ON TRIAL ...
Mrs Winnie Mandela

Winnie: Document in dispute over alibi

Cont Times 25/14/91
11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Forensic experts are to examine a document, allegedly written during a December 1988 meeting in Brandfort, to determine whether sections suggesting Mrs Winnie Mandela's presence at the meeting were written on different occasions.

Moments before Mrs Mandela's assault and kidnapping trial was adjourned in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, Mr Justice Michael S Stegmann granted a request by the state to have the document examined by experts.

The state is arguing that the December 30, 1988, date at the top of the document and comments attributed to Mrs Mandela are written with a pen different to the one used to write the document's heading as well as quotations for a list of items.

State advocate Mr Chris van Vuuren yesterday asked defence witness and

author of the notes, Brandfort school-teacher Mrs Nora Moahloli, whether two different pens had been used to write the notes.

Mrs Moahloli replied it was possible as she could have changed pens if there had been a problem with the pen she was originally using.

Mrs Moahloli's evidence about Mrs Mandela's December 1988 visit to Brandfort to discuss welfare projects corroborated Mrs Mandela's alibi that she was travelling to the Free State town about the same time four people were abducted from a Soweto church manse and assaulted at her home.

In an earlier statement Mrs Moahloli said Mrs Mandela had arrived in Brandfort on December 28, 1988, and had left on December 30.

Mrs Mandela's evidence is that she arrived in Brandfort a day later on the night of December 29.

The trial continues today.

ANC meeting to set trend for rights of women

AGW
25/4/91

11A

The agenda for women's rights in a new dispensation will be set in Kimberley, writes ESMARE VAN DER MERWE of The Argus Political Staff in Johannesburg.

ANC WOMEN DIAMONDS are a girl's best friend, but the ANC Women's League considered less frivolous, more historic, reasons for choosing Kimberley as the venue for its first national conference in South Africa in more than 30 years.

The League made a strong political statement in its choice. Not only was the Northern Cape town the homeground of the ANC's first secretary-general, Sol Plaatjies, it also is home to Ruth Mompoti, one of only three women on the ANC's national executive committee and one of only two women to have been included in the ANC's Groote Schuur team.

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Lobbying

However, many ANC women feel Mrs Mandela is the wrong person for the presidency — a position which ensures automatic representation on the ANC's highest decision-making body, the National Executive Committee (NEC) — and are said to be frantically lobbying for someone to oppose her.

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Mrs Ruth Mompoti

One delegate in the anti-Winnie camp said: "If there is a secret ballot, we hope Mrs Mandela will be outvoted. But if there is an open ballot, she will certainly be elected."

Mrs Tshongweni insisted that the voting, to take place on Saturday, would be democratic.

"We have recommended that a secret ballot be held, but it is up to the conference to decide on the voting procedures," she said.

Of interest too would be the election of other office bearers, set to play a decisive role in the ANC's leadership.

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clude women from being elected to other positions. In fact, it proposes that 30 percent of all positions, from branch level to national leadership, be filled by women.

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To ensure gender equality in any society is a formidable task. In a country where tribal chauvinism and male domination are deeply embedded, the task becomes even more awesome. Coupled with that, the League faces the challenge of rebuilding its organisation, crippled by years of banning.

Emancipation

That women will have to lead the struggle for their own emancipation is admitted in an historic ANC document on women's rights adopted last year. The document stated: "Women must take the lead in creating a non-sexist South Africa. They must move the ANC... to adopt policies and forms of organisation that facilitate the participation of women in the struggle that still lies ahead."

Yet, there appears to be some reluctance — even on the part of the ANC's men — to give up their privileges.

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Mandela ^{11/16/84} quizzed on ^{25/1/84} atrocities ^{11/9}

LONDON. — A former member of Mkhonto we Sizwe held in detention in Angola in 1984, caused a stir at a press conference here yesterday when he asked Mr Nelson Mandela what was being done to investigate alleged ANC atrocities.

Mr Mandela told Mr Amos Maxongo of Port Elizabeth that if he still considered himself an ANC member, the matter would be taken up internally.

Mr Maxongo said he had taken up the matter with the ANC but to no avail.

Mr Mandela said: "If you had no response, you could approach me. If you do so, I'll address your problem."

De Klerk will not regret setting Mandela free

Soeteman 25/2/91.

11A

THE liberators of South Africa have gone to the negotiating table too soon. People are celebrating too soon.

The South African struggle was not about street demonstrations. Its main objective was to confront the South African Defence Force and defeat it.

This seems unimaginable, but many countries which have suffered colonialism started their wars with stones and ended up over-running the capital cities of their colonial masters with guns, and even tanks.

The South African freedom fighters seem, however, to have failed to confront the white settlers.

In Zimbabwe, for instance, the war started like a joke with a few ill-equipped guerillas who in the main were all killed.

But these were the sacrifices that inspired the whole nation to take up arms and fight the white minority.

Gamble

The Zimbabwe National Liberation Army, better known as Zanla, the armed wing of Zanu, and Zipra of Zapu prosecuted the armed struggle and in the end, there were considerable areas of Rhodesia which were liberated.

In some areas the liberation army set up their own administrations and fierce battles ensued. People were politicised and convinced that they were to take up arms and fight for their land.

And they did.

The sacrifice cost tens of thousands of lives.

Out of desperation, the whites, led by their appointed puppet Bishop Abel Muzorewa, agreed to an all-party conference in London at Lancaster House to avoid humiliation on the battle front.

The conference went ahead, but on the terms of the liberators,

FOCUS



Visiting Zimbabwean journalist NEWTON KANHEMA has some serious criticisms of the present state of the South African political struggle.

for the only language their oppressors understood had been used - that language was war.

Thus the independence of Zimbabwe was attained in 1980 following a one-man-one-vote election with 80 percent of the parliament black.

The war was fought and won and the negotiations were just a formality - to draft a constitution that was to be implemented by the future government.

One of the most famous lines in the Zimbabwean struggle were the words of the then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith: "Not in a thousand years."

What he meant was that there was never going to be a black government in a thousand years - but these were a short thousand years, for he lived to see the black government in 1980.

The war that had started like a child's play in 1972 lasted eight years and involved about 80 000 soldiers.

The soldiers were known in their constituencies and civilians could identify their liberators.

Then came the time of their return. Lord Soames, the governor during the transitional period, tried to disarm them.

But the freedom fighters were prepared to go back to the bush because they refused to be disarmed by the British for they were the colonialists they were fighting against.

After all, they did not trust them.

There had been a few agreements that were signed by some black "sellouts" which had never brought any good to the people.

The soldiers were sceptical.

The freedom fighters went to the assembly points with all their military equipment and stayed there. The boys came back victorious and they were the heroes of our liberation struggle.

President FW de Klerk took a gamble by releasing Nelson Mandela - a gamble that no previous South African leader had taken.

Struggle

It was a gamble that he will never regret. This is a move that he has manipulated to change the political course of the South African struggle.

It seems the ANC, led by Mandela, has now been outwitted by De Klerk.

The return of the exiles who are supposed to be the liberators is changing the face of the struggle.

They are arriving in chartered planes. Off the plane they are pushing trollies full of exotic goodies. These are the people who are supposed to be coming from the bush.

One does not need to have been in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Kenya to have an idea of returning freedom fighters.

With the suspension of the

armed struggle that has resulted in the return of some exiles who were freedom fighters, the ANC is in a weaker position while the

Government retains its defence force and the police intact - two factors that give the Government the upper hand.

Going to the negotiating table has been interpreted by many black radicals both internally and externally as selling out the struggle. This could be wrong but one wonders what the ANC has as a trump card as it looks like it has given all it had.

The ANC cannot scare the Government anymore and yet the Government has every inch of the power they had before the release of Nelson Mandela.

The ANC is yet to prove to the radicals that they have not sold out.

The only way they can achieve this is to clinch a good deal that will bring equality and justice within the society and guarantee every citizen the right to vote for a government of their choice.

Blacks have not been fighting for the right to share toilets with whites, but to have equal opportunities with them.

This cannot be achieved easily as their white counterparts have had privileges for the last three centuries.

Anything short of this will not satisfy those in doubt of the wisdom in the negotiations. The ANC took a big gamble in going to the negotiating table and when you gamble you either win or lose.

One can only wish them luck because if they lose they are going to lose big.

They are all looking up to the ANC. If the ANC gets the deal, then all these people will be happy.

But if it does not one can scarcely imagine the consequences for ANC's support and popularity.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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* Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

A first for ANC Women's League

Sowetan 25/4/91

By PEARL
MAJOLA

THE first conference ever to be held by the ANC Women's League inside South Africa since the unbanning of the organisation is to take place in Kimberley this weekend.

Among the important decisions to be taken at the conference is the election of the leader of the organisation.

Other issues to be discussed include women's emancipation, the campaigns for a charter on women's rights and a 30 percent representation of women in the ANC's National Executive Committee, the structure of the league and the draft of the league's constitution.

Explaining why there has to be a women's section within the ANC, the league's co-ordinator Gertrude Shope said: "As much as there are men in our society, there are also women and the youth.

"But women have always been relegated when in fact they have a role to play in influencing the ANC.

"They need to rebuild their self-esteem and this can be done faster and more effectively if they do it within their own organisation," she explained.

The conference starts today and ends on Sunday.

Buthelezi waits for ANC move

11A
Sowetan 25/4/91

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he was waiting for a move by the African National Congress for fresh talks on ways to end political violence.

Buthelezi said he and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed to meet again in their last talks on March 31.

"We are now only waiting on Mandela to honour his side of the verbal agreement that we should hold an IFP/ANC summit meeting and that he and I should meet with the State President," he said in a speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Buthelezi reiterated he would take part in the peace talks proposed by President FW de Klerk, scheduled for next month.

"I applaud the State President's announcement and will do everything I can to make the summit conference a resounding success," he said. - *Sapa*.



BUTHELEZI

WHEN the ANC's ultimatum to government expires in just under two weeks, the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) is going to have to sit down and decide where it goes from there.

While it is difficult to predict the outcome of these deliberations, a clear picture of the organisation's basic perspective is emerging.

On April 5 the ANC said it would suspend negotiations unless government met its set of demands regarding violence. Whatever uproar the statement may have caused, however clumsily it may have been made public, it has arguably achieved at least part of its goal.

President FW de Klerk's three-pronged plan to address the problem of violence announced 13 days after the ultimatum was set, and the new police disclosures on the tracking down of weapons smugglers, are seen in some ANC circles as a response to its statement, even if not an adequate one.

Barring surprises, it appears unlikely the NEC will sanction an immediate return to negotiations.

For one thing, the ultimatum — as unpopular as it may have been in white political circles — has struck a positive chord among rank-and-file ANC members. Praise of that magnitude for leadership decisions has become a rare commodity, as was seen at the organisation's consultative conference last December.

The NEC will be unlikely to allow the satisfaction and goodwill to dissipate by making an early compromise in the absence of a more substantial reaction from government — even if it thought that was inherently a wise tactic. And there is no sign that it does so.

ANC sources say that, in present circumstances, there is no chance of further moves towards convening an all-party conference until the ANC's congress scheduled for July 2 to 6 in Durban. And the suspension could be extended further, depending on whether there is a significant decline in levels of violence.

While it is not a primary reason for the delay, it is believed the period

ANC perspectives suggest tougher stance will prevail

Blouay 26/4/91.

ALAN FINE

11A

of suspension of negotiations could constructively be used to consolidate the organisation and the "patriotic front" whose building began at the Harare meeting between the ANC and PAC two weeks ago.

While the organisation is unlikely to change its mind at this stage on the suspension of negotiations, the disengagement approach will not necessarily apply to aspects of De Klerk's proposals.

Mandela reportedly indicated to British Prime Minister John Major this week that the ANC might look favourably on the May 24 and 25 summit on violence and the standing commission of inquiry announced by De Klerk last week.

ANC sources say the commission is seen potentially as far more crucial than the summit. The organisation believes that comprehensive investigation is needed to identify the sources of the violence. However, before taking a final position, the organisation would first have to assess whether the terms of the commission's appointment lent themselves to this goal, and whether the President's summit had any purpose other than a propaganda one.

The suspicions and the scepticism of many in the ANC regarding the National Party's motives and intentions are at the basis of the present hiccup in the negotiating process. White frustration with the ANC's

tactics is caused partly by an inability to understand those tactics — which the ANC has failed to explain very well. The ANC is suffering an equal amount of frustration at what it sees as the refusal of the "white establishment" at least to understand the ANC's perspective.

While the violence is the ANC's main concern, there are also broader, strategic reasons for the organisation maintaining a relatively hardline position. In short, the ANC is feeling something close to humiliation at what it sees as a pattern of being politically toyed with by government. It has been accused by supporters of being weak and too ready to compromise with little return.

Often cited as evidence of this are the provisions of the Pretoria Minute and its implementation. The ANC suspended armed action, it is argued, in return for a series of undertakings regarding political prisoners and exiles. This included agreement that indemnities "which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis... will be completed not later than the end of 1990". The fact that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced a new "category" just two days ago is evidence that that deadline has already been bypassed by four months.

The surge of releases and indemnifications in the last few weeks, capped by Coetsee's announcement yesterday of a new spate of action, does little to alter the belief that government has been "playing games".

It is less easily conceded by the ANC that some of this delay has been caused by the organisation's own inefficiency, objections raised by prisoners and exiles to procedures agreed to by the ANC, and the dispute over aspects of the suspension of armed action. This aside, the ANC has been the target of intense anger from prisoners and exiles who believe the organisation has been tardy in dealing with government-imposed delays.

The violence has had a similar negative effect on the ANC's stature — with supporters losing faith in the organisation's ability to protect them against alleged police and Inkatha excesses. The Law and Order Ministry claim that ANC supporters are primarily responsible for the violence holds no water in even the most moderate ANC circles.

With the ANC having suspended armed action for "little in return", it is argued, government and other "establishment" groups have exacerbated its misery by trying to put pressure on it to relinquish its two other main "weapons" — sanctions and mass action.

"They are trying to make us powerless. But we will not fall for that. We will change our sanctions policy in our own time, if only to show that we cannot be dictated to in this way," a prominent official said recently.

There is no single clearcut ANC view on the explanation for this multitude of developments — the violence, delays in prisoner releases and the propaganda assault on ANC strategies. The most uncompromising view, which is fast gaining ground, is that this is all part of a deliberate and comprehensive NP strategy to weaken the ANC ahead of negotiations. The purpose, it is argued, is crudely to ensure that the outcome of negotiations produces a future SA structured to guarantee white privilege despite the abolition of apartheid laws.

The more "generous" view — that government as much as the ANC is a victim of bureaucratic bungling and uncontrollable security forces — is losing more credence in ANC circles every day, even though the "De Klerk is a man of integrity" line has not been finally renounced. "Not once has De Klerk sent a representative to a funeral to express sympathy with families of victims," says another leading official.

Again, the most moderate ANC view holds that government's inertia in dealing with the violence and the indemnity programme is ultimately shortsighted; "the people whose support we lose because of it do not move towards the political centre, they move leftwards. When government realises this, it will regret its attitude.

"We understand that we should not thoughtlessly push government supporters into the arms of the Right. That is why we say things like 'we recognise the existence of white fears'. But the NP is giving us no help at all", one ANC official says. And that is why the ANC is forced into taking a less compromising position, the argument goes.

These are the perspectives forming the basis for the ANC's future strategic planning. The result promises hard bargaining over detailed objectives, rather than the deals of the past which were dependent partly on the other party's goodwill.

Women urged to join MK township self-defence units

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter *Star* 26/4/91

KIMBERLEY — A female commander of the ANC's military wing has called on women to join Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and become actively involved in the organisation's township self-defence units.

Jackie Molefe said yesterday that although the military activities of MK had been suspended, women should join the structures.

In a message on behalf of the ANC's military headquarters in Lusaka, Ms Molefe told the ANC Women's League national conference: "While we have suspended armed action to facilitate the process of negotiation, MK combatants remain in

position in readiness for the next order."

The Lusaka-based commander said that although MK had hundreds of female combatants who remained "in the battlefield and the camps", their numbers still lagged far behind those of men.

In self-defence units, which aimed to defend communities against attackers, women could play an important role by "being alert, warning of impending attacks and even becoming actively involved if they have the capacity", she told The Star.

"Suspension of arms and related action does not mean leaving our people defenceless."

● Battle for equality — Page 8

ANC denies rumours over congress delay

THE ANC yesterday denied persistent rumours that its first full-scale congress, initially scheduled for June 26, is to be delayed for six months until December.

NEC member Aziz Pahad confirmed that the congress had been scheduled finally and officially for July 2 to 7 at the University of Durban-Westville. The one-week postponement was purely because of the unavailability of the venue during the preferred period. 6/02/77 26/4/77

Earlier, sources close to the ANC said two groups within the ANC had considered requesting a postponement of the congress.

Firstly, some senior members who only recently returned from exile indicated they would like an opportunity to become properly reintegrated into the ANC before

elections to a new NEC were held.

Secondly, some local branches feared they would have insufficient time before June to canvass views on key policy issues, including the constitutional proposals, due to be debated at the congress.

However, the desirability of putting the ANC onto a more democratic footing before negotiations with government begin, through the holding of NEC elections, is said to have overridden any misgivings about an early congress.

A source on the congress organising committee said that, although the rumours about a postponement had been heard, there had been no formal proposal along these lines from any ANC structure.

ALAN FINE

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Mandela gives Tambo latest news

LONDON — Nelson Mandela yesterday consulted fellow ANC leader Oliver Tambo over developments in South Africa and ANC strategies.

Mr Mandela, who arrived in Britain on Wednesday, also met Britain's opposition Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock.

An ANC spokesman said Mr Mandela had brought Mr Tambo, the movement's president, up to date on the latest developments in SA and the two had discussed strategies ahead of the ANC conference in June.

Mr Tambo has been

Star 26/4/91
recuperating in Britain from a partial stroke.

Mr Kinnock said after meeting Mr Mandela that he had reaffirmed the Labour Party's support "for his and all other efforts to bring about a united, democratic, nonracial and peaceful South Africa".

The Labour leader said he had told Mr Mandela of his regret at the European Community's decision last week to lift some sanctions and pledged to continue to oppose the Conservative government's efforts to lift remaining punitive measures.

"In my view, impor-

tant inducements for further progress (towards dismantling apartheid) are being removed with the relaxation of sanctions," Mr Kinnock said.

On Wednesday, Mr Mandela met Prime Minister John Major. The two discussed the situation in South Africa, including the violence in black townships, and set out their differing positions on sanctions.

Mr Mandela was due to unveil his own life-size wax figure at London's Madame Tussaud's wax-work museum before flying back to South Africa.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Lead battle for equality — Tambo

Star 2/1/49
Political Reporter

KIMBERLEY — The ANC had done too little to eradicate gender oppression within the organisation and society at large, ANC president Oliver Tambo admitted yesterday.

In a message to the first national conference of the ANC Women's League, Mr Tambo urged the league to lead the battle for gender equality.

His statement was read out by ANC gener-

al-secretary Alfred Nzo to more than 1 000 delegates.

Mr Tambo said the league was expected to emerge as the biggest single democratic formation because women were in the majority in the country.

Archaic

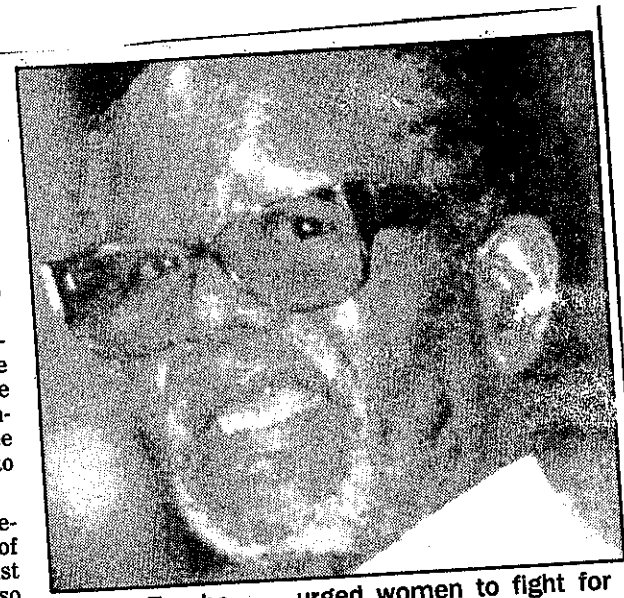
It was the collective responsibility of all organisations to discard the "archaic mentality" that women were not potential candidates for high office.

(1/1)

Despite the ANC's firm commitment to equality, the position of women within the democratic movement still left much to be desired, Mr Tambo said.

While the strengthening of the league was the responsibility of the league itself, the national executive committee also had a crucial role to play.

The league should become an instrument of struggle not only against apartheid but also against heavy social oppression, he said.



Oliver Tambo . . . urged women to fight for sexual equality.

Women's power 'must be tapped'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Star 26/4/91
KIMBERLEY — The programme of action to be adopted by the ANC Women's League must support the ANC's view that the Government should be forced to take action

to stop the township violence or resign to allow a democratic body to act impartially, league co-convenor Gertrude Shope said yesterday.

Speaking on the first day of the organisation's national conference, Mrs Shope added that women had an obligation to play a role in making the

11A
townships safer places to live in.

Mrs Shope also outlined other topics which would receive the conference's attention. Those included efficient structures and organisation; ways of attracting a broad spectrum of South African women into the struggle for women's emancipation; and a programme to bridge the

gap between rich and poor, urban and rural, and educated and underdeveloped women.

She said the league should prepare constitutional proposals, particularly on gender equality, to be submitted to the ANC's national conference in June.

"Issues like the ANC's constitution can only be complete if and when there has been maxi-

mum participation by women," she said.

The league's other co-convenor, Albertina Sisulu, said it was undeniable that women did not enjoy the same rights and privileges as men.

"Women are a powerful source and we must guarantee that our potential to contribute to the new South Africa is properly tapped," she said.

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Winnie trial: More evidence of sexual abuse

Own Correspondent



CLAIM SUPPORTED ... Mrs Winnie Mandela leaves the Supreme Court yesterday. Picture: AP

JOHANNESBURG. — Further evidence that a Methodist minister sexually abused youths staying at a Soweto church manse was heard in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday after the state failed to have the evidence ruled inadmissible.

Evidence by Mr Aubrey Nxumalo that he was sexually abused by the supervisor of the manse, the Rev Paul Verryn, supports Mrs Winnie Mandela's defence that her decision to allow four people to stay in the back rooms of her home was motivated by her concern that they were being sexually abused at the manse.

State witnesses have testified that on the night of December 29, 1988, Mrs Mandela was part of a group of people who assaulted the former manse residents.

Mrs Mandela's defence argument that she was concerned about sexual misconduct at the manse is coupled with her alibi that she was travelling to Brandfort at the time of the assaults.

State advocate Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, argued that Mr Verryn's conduct was not an issue in the trial.

However, Mr Justice M Stegmann said Mr Nxumalo's evidence had "sufficient relevance" to Mrs Mandela's state of mind at the time of the alleged

abductions.

Mr Nxumalo, 26, testified that he had spent the first two nights at the manse in Mr Verryn's bed with Mr Verryn and another man.

He said that on both nights Mr Verryn had "interfered with my private parts" and he had pushed him away. Mr Nxumalo said that after that he never again shared a bed with Mr Verryn and there were no further incidents.

Mrs Mandela, 56, Miss Xoliswa Falati, 37, and Mr John Morgan, 61, have all pleaded not guilty to four charges each of kidnap and assault.

Yesterday the state announced its intention to apply for the reopening of

its case against Mrs Mandela to rebut evidence given by defence witness Mrs Nora Maohloli.

In her evidence Mrs Maohloli said she did not support a police statement attributed to her, because it contained factual mistakes due to communication problems and police ignoring her requests to correct the mistakes.

In the statement Mrs Maohloli had said that Mrs Mandela arrived in Brandfort on December 28, 1988 and left on December 30. Mrs Mandela's evidence is that she arrived in Brandfort a day later, on the night of December 29.

The trial continues today.

reportedly ...

Now chiefs gear up for democracy 11A

By CLAIRE KEETON: East London

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa wants to democratise the traditional chiefs system.

Their proposal, which has been supported by the African National Congress' national executive committee, is that hereditary chiefs allow communities to choose representatives to the chiefs' council.

"People will be given an opportunity to elect their own representatives," said the national president of Contralesa, advocate Patekile Holomisa.

He said each administrative area had a chief under whom were several local

with mail 26/4 - 2/5/91.
areas. There will therefore be more representatives than chiefs in the council, as each locality will be able to elect people," he said.

Chiefs would consult their communities and local structures about this system, which would then be taken to the homeland authorities for approval.

Contralesa and the ANC met on the weekend to discuss the role of chiefs in a changing South Africa. The meeting addressed problems that have arisen between chiefs, village committees and civic structures. Holomisa said a source of friction had been the ap-

pointment of certain chiefs by homeland authorities. Chiefs opposed to the apartheid system "were removed, banished, detained or deposed and replaced by people more compliant with the regime", he said.

In an attempt to reduce existing tensions, the ANC, Contralesa and the civics would co-ordinate structures and consult at a local level "to achieve maximum unity".

Contralesa also decided it would give input into discussions on the ANC's draft constitution and on the proposals of the ANC's local government commission. — Elnews

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'Re-arming' of Inkatha criticised

VERA VON LIERES

THE Alexandra branch of the ANC Youth League yesterday condemned the "re-arming of Inkatha members with traditional weapons, including spears and sharpened irons" by police this week.

Branch spokesman Keith Madonsela said the return of weapons by police affirmed the view that the searching and disarming of Inkatha members and supporters in Alexandra hostels last month was a "public relations exercise ... aimed at proving the impartiality of the police".

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday if similar requests had been made by other organisations, police would have acted in the same manner.

Kinnock reassures ANC on sanctions

LONDON — Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock yesterday assured ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela that his party opposed strongly the lifting of sanctions on SA.

During a warm private meeting at the House of Commons, Kinnock said he would warn the EC and the British government that lifting sanctions now was a mistake.

Kinnock said it was vital to support Mandela's and "all other efforts to bring about a united, democratic, non-racial and peaceful SA and for early talks to that end".

He believed that "important inducements for further progress are being removed with the relaxation of sanctions.

"Earlier this week I urged Mr de Klerk to ensure that his government acts with urgency to remove the obstacles which are endangering the prospects for talks.

"I told him that it is still too early to lift economic sanctions and that more progress had to be made."

Kinnock said pressure for the release of all political prisoners and the safe return of exiles had to be maintained.

It was also vital to repeal the Internal Security Act and tackle the violence in SA "to ensure that the police are more impartial in future. It is vital that these obstacles to negotiation are removed."

Kinnock, who has formed a deep personal friendship with Mandela, said the ANC deputy president's qualities of courage,

realism and good sense were needed more urgently than ever to free SA from apartheid.

Mandela, whose two-day stay in London has been overshadowed by De Klerk's visit earlier in the week, at least found a total ally in Kinnock.

Mandela said the Labour Party's historic and continuing support for a free SA was valued by most of the people.

Mandela also had an emotional reunion with Adelaine Hain, mother of the Labour party's newest MP, Peter Hain.

Hain, once secretary of the now defunct SA Liberal Party in Pretoria and a close friend of the young Winnie Mandela, defied white hate campaigns 27 years ago to deliver tea and food to Nelson Mandela during his trial.

While they rarely if ever had the chance to talk to each other, Mandela always made a point of giving her a personal salute and smile as he was brought into the dock.

Sapa-Reuter reports from London that Mandela consulted ANC president Oliver Tambo yesterday over developments in SA and ANC strategies.

An ANC spokesman said Mandela brought Tambo up to date and the two discussed strategies ahead of the ANC's annual conference in late June.

Tambo has been recuperating in Britain from a partial stroke.

IAN HOBBS

5/26/91 26/4/91

CAPL-Tracks 26/4/91 (11A)

Liberation for women 'a must'

KIMBERLEY. — The position of women within the democratic movement still left far too much to be desired, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo said in a message delivered at the opening of the ANC Woman's League's national conference here yesterday.

"We all share the guilt of failing to systematically implement programmes which must result in the liberation of women within our ranks, let alone our society in general."

Mr Tambo said many had accepted the reality that no true liberation could occur without liberation for women. This was the real challenge all democratic South Africans must not fail to meet.

The league could not succeed unless it enjoyed a large measure of autonomy from its parent body, he added. — Sapa



NEFOLOVODWE

Azapo spells out its view on prisoners

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation this week repeated its demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said because of the controversy surrounding the release of political prisoners it had become necessary for the organisation to clarify its stance on the issue.

He said Azapo never thought the struggle for

the release of prisoners and return of exiles would become an issue within the liberation movements.

"Now that it appears as if political prisoners and exiles are just about to be defined as those de-

scribed in the Pretoria Minute, Azapo has to state its case quite clearly.

"Azapo believes that all our brothers and sisters in exile, irrespective of their political affiliation, are entitled to an unconditional return to their motherland.

The same applies to those who are in prison

for the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

"For Azapo, this is not negotiable. Those wishing to negotiate this right are entitled to do so. As long as those who negotiate do not exclude members of other organisations from being defined as political

prisoners," Nefolovhodwe added.

"Azapo wishes to remind its people that the struggle for the release of political prisoners in our country started when the first prisoner went to prison. Azapo, therefore, urges black people to resist this new version of political prisoners."

By **NEWTON KANHEMA**

(1A) ~~SOWETAN~~ Sowetan 26/4/91

The Press must be free and fair - ANC

Sowetan 26/4/91.

11A

FOCUS

By DAVID BRAUN

Sowetan Foreign Service
WASHINGTON - The ANC did not want a psychopathic Press which would indulge in adulation of Nelson Mandela and other leaders.

But, they viewed current newspapers in South Africa as being unfair to the organisation.

ANC national executive member Mr Chris Hani said this at a Press conference at the National Press Club in Washington this week.

Hani is touring the United States as a guest of a coalition of anti-apartheid activist organisations and individuals, including a newspaper closely associated with the American Communist Party.

Critical

After he made a passing remark about *Sowetan's* sister newspaper, *The Star*, being a bourgeois newspaper, asked what it was about the South African media that had made the ANC so disgruntled with it, Hani said the word disgruntled was too strong.

The ANC was instead critical of the South African media, he said.

"I want to say the Press has an important role to play in society. It has to inform people (about) what is happening.

"It has to critically assess the ANC, the National Party, Inkatha and all the players in the South African situation.

"We don't want the Press to indulge in actions of adulation, saying what a great leader Nelson Mandela is. I don't think that sort



Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani.

of psychopathic Press is useful.

"But I think sometimes the Press has been rough with us. I once read an editorial in the *Cape Times* which was headed 'Hani and Malan'. The first sentence said the highly ambitious Hani was being helped by an outburst of Malan.

"Unfortunately, I have never

met that editor and I do not know why he should use such an epithet about me, but I assume it is the prerogative of the Press to say one has a big nose or a big head even if one does not have it," he said.

The Press invariably sided with the Government. "You regarded us generally as terrorists and bloody people.

"When we were attacked in Mozambique you said to (Defence Minister Magnus) Malan 'Well done, boys, you've knocked them out'. You never treated us as individuals and human beings.

"I don't want to generalise too much, but I think that is the general view.

"I think some of you have predicted South Africa will be a real wasteland if the ANC rules some day. You don't say South Africa has been reduced to its present position by the National Party Government.

"You don't sympathise with us when we are attacked ... People like Ken Owen (editor of *The Sunday Times*) enjoy attacking us. Two-thirds of what he says is a tirade against the ANC."

Objective

Hani said the ANC did not want a situation where the Press did not like the organisation.

Being generally negative was not helpful. The Press should be more balanced.

"It should be balanced and objective in its assessment of the ANC in the same way as it is balanced and objective about the Government," he added.

He said the ANC was often described as being an organisation of hawks and doves, yet little was said about the way the organisation discussed a position and arrived at a consensus decision.

The ANC also objected to the way it was portrayed as a tribal organisation, representing the Xhosa people. The truth was the ANC commanded majority support in all the major black groups.

The organisation had eschewed tribalism a long time ago.

"We do not wish to prescribe to the Press. We need the Press. It should inform us as much as possible," he said.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Mathaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978, * Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Blacks must rule, says PAC deputy

TIA
Sweeten
26/4/91

ALL Africans should unite to destroy the white minority settler regime in South Africa, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said this week.

Speaking at a service to commemorate the death of PAC's founder member, Mr Jafta Masemola, which was held at the Methodist Church in Atteridgeville, Moseneke said Africans in this country would not be liberated unless they

By MONK NKOMO

seized power from the State.

"If there is to be democracy, it is the African people who must rule this country which was dispossessed from our fore fathers.

"We will not be liberated until the Government transfers power to the majority of the people of this country," said Moseneke.

Amid chants of "Peace among the Africans, war against the

enemy," from scores of people who crammed into the church, Moseneke paid tribute to Masemola whom he described as "The tiger of Azania who remained uncompromising to the PAC policy until his untimely death on April 17 last year.

Masemola, the longest serving political prisoner, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963 and spent 27 years in jail after being convicted for political offences.

He was unconditionally released in October 1989 after previously rejecting conditional freedom from the State.

Moseneke reiterated the PAC's call for unity among political organisations.

"The PAC wants to unite all Africans to destroy the white minority settler regime," he said.

Other speakers at the service included the organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, the Rev Robert Vithi of the Methodist Church and representatives from Azanyu and Paso.

Fight sex bias, urges Tambo

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday admitted that the organisation had done too little to eradicate sex discrimination within the organisation and society at large.

In a message to the ANC Women's League first national conference which started in Kimberley yesterday, Tambo urged the league to lead the battle for gender equality in South Africa.

Statement

His statement was read out by ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo to more than 1 000 delegates.

Tambo said the league was expected to emerge as the biggest single democratic formation, since women were in the majority in the country.

Sowetan 26/4/91

It was the collective responsibility of all organisations to "discard this archaic mentality" that women were not regarded as potential candidates for high office and therefore should be confined to menial tasks.

Despite the ANC's firm commitment to gender equality the position of women within the democratic movement still left much to be desired.

While the strengthening of the league was the primary responsibility of the league itself, the ANC's national executive committee - the highest decision making body - also had a crucial role to play in this regard.

The league should become an instrument of struggle, not only against apartheid but also against heavy social oppression. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



OLIVER TAMBO

Azapo anniversary is for peace

Sowetan 26/4/91.

11A

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation will celebrate its 13th anniversary tomorrow with a call for the formation of joint peace committees in the townships.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley in a statement yesterday also called on "our people to continue the struggle for liberation and resist all attempts to be co-opted".

"We also wish to call on black people to fight for peace in the townships on the ground by forming joint peace committees in all townships.

"Azapo branches are everywhere and they will assist the black people in keeping the peace," Moodley said.

Azapo country'

Referring to Rhodesia under the Ian Smith rule, Moodley said: "In commemorating our 13th birthday Azapo wishes to urge our people to continue the struggle for liberation on all fronts and to resist all attempts by the regime to co-opt them in a Muzorewa-Smith type govern-

ment."

Moodley also criticised the media.

"Despite attempts by the media to downplay Azapo, it is widely acknowledged that Azapo's membership is well in excess of 250 000.

"The Northern Transvaal is regarded as Azapo 'country'. Its membership in that area alone stands at 70 000 and is still rising with the increased recruitment campaign being launched," he said. - *Sapa*.

Inside the mind of an ANC fighter

Star 27/4/91
FIFTEEN years ago, at the height of the Soweto uprisings, George Molebatsi did not know who Nelson Mandela was. Neither was he aware that the African National Congress existed. The only organisations he knew of were students' representative bodies.

But the one thing that he was conscious of was the soldier inside him, waiting "to come out and fight for the liberation of the black man".

'Politically immature'

"Although I was aware of the kind of conditions that we lived under, I was not politically mature," he admitted. "At that time I somehow felt the only way to fight apartheid was by using weapons that were used against us by the police."

Molebatsi was one of the ANC fighters released from Robben Island two weeks ago. As the commander of the ANC unit responsible for the "Silverton siege", he was sentenced to 20 years in jail.

Talking about the siege, Molebatsi said the Volkskas Bank held up by members of his unit was not the target.

"Our target was the Silverton oil refinery tanks. The decision to go for the bank was taken in my absence and was against the policy of the organisation. We had strict instructions to avoid civilian targets," he said, adding that he was detained a month before the operation was due to take place.

When in 1979 a friend suggested that they leave the country for military training, Molebatsi accepted the idea without thinking twice.

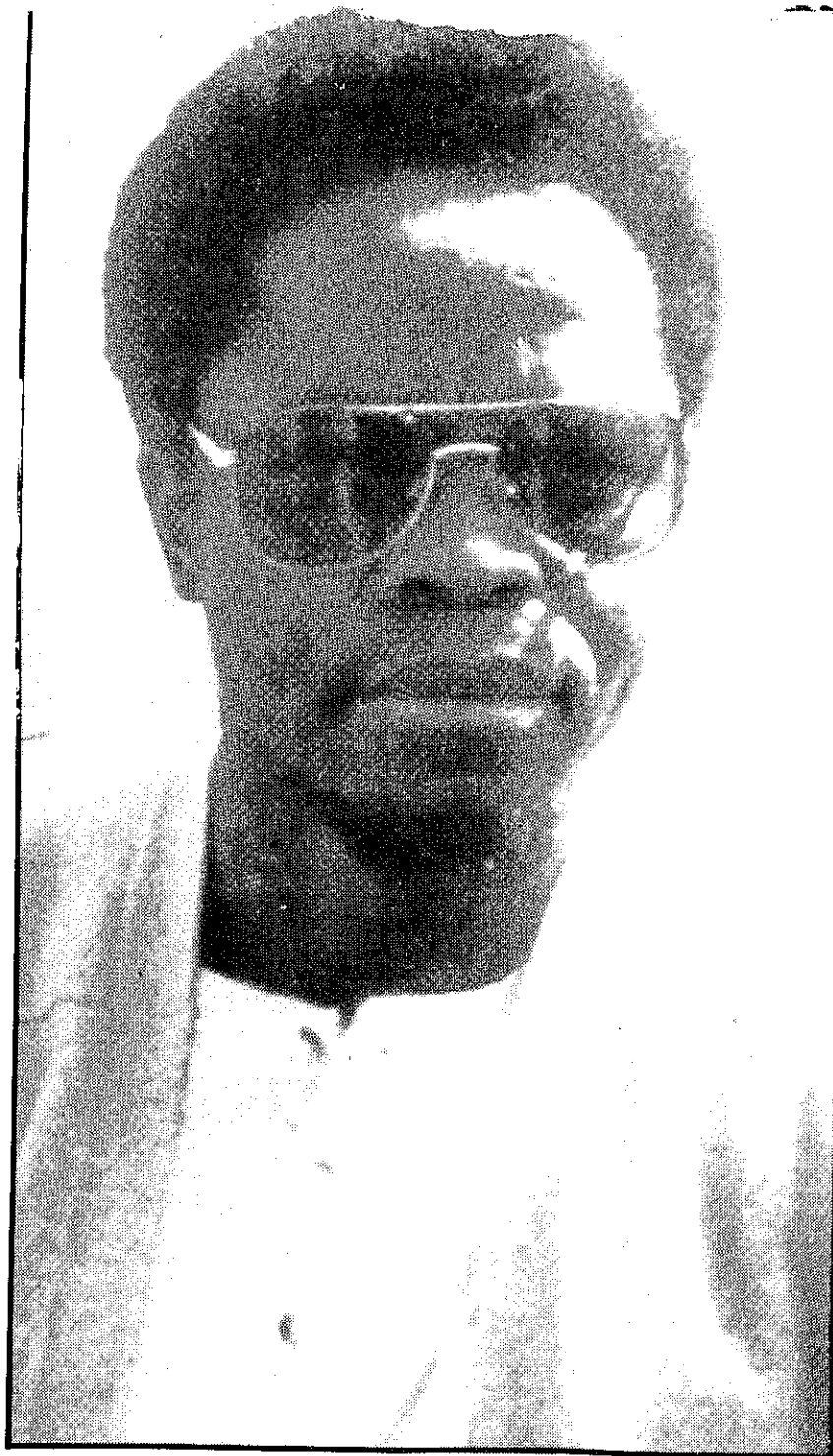
Noting his militancy, his uncle, Velaphi Makhubo, constantly warned him: "If you go on like this, you will end up in Robben Island with the likes of Nelson Mandela ..."

Molebatsi was not deterred by the warning. "I

did not know who Mandela was at that time, so that did not bother me. What I wanted was to fight for freedom of our people," he said.

He underwent military training at the ANC's Kibashe and Funda training camps.

He then took part in "small" operations, such as planting landmines on railway lines and spray-painting ANC slogans on



MILITANT: Although politically immature, George Molebatsi was aware 'of the soldier within him'.

Saturday People

GEORGE MOLEBATSI

Star 27/4/91
Written by **JOVIAL RANTAO**

walls and bridges.

The Silverton operation was scheduled to be his first major one.

A former freelance photo-journalist with The World newspaper, Molebatsi said the decision to go for military training was "foisted on me by the conditions that we lived under".

His involvement with Umkhonto we Sizwe operations and the 12 years

that he spent in prison have thrown his family life into disarray.

The mother of his two children, who are now 17 and 15 years old, married another man while Molebatsi was serving his prison term.

However, he still sees his children.

Despite the fact that members of the SAP had

killed some of his colleagues and, he alleged, severely tortured him during his detention, Molebatsi insisted he did not harbour any resentful feelings against the police.

He said he hoped the SAP felt the same about him and other MK members.

Molebatsi has not made up his mind about what he wants to do for a living.

He is studying towards an honours degree in commerce and is waiting for further instructions from the ANC.

Does ANC really want to govern?

(11A) Star 2-14/91.

HISTORY is inevitable, and more so with hindsight. Why then are the leaders of the ANC being so reluctant to take over the government of this country?

President de Klerk and his ruling National Party are doing much to ease the transition to majority rule. I stress the word "ease".

If they simply quit, clear their desks in Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings, and disappear to their farms and coastal plots, the resulting power vacuum will suck the nation into chaos.

Political prisoners and leaders are free, parties unbanned, legislation is slated for repeal, and the Government is willing to sit down and talk to almost anyone at any time.

Its critics to the right support my contention. They accuse the Government of indecent haste, a desperation to hand over power to the black masses.

Read those history books in 2000. You will see that somewhere between now and then, South Africa changed from being a society ruled by a white minority to one ruled by a black majority.

This is inevitable. The process leading towards this is under way, clear for all to see.

So why are the various opposition leaders making such a desperate haste of getting on with the business of the day? They are being offered, on a plate, the opportunity to run

Notebook

CHRIS GIBBONS



South Africa the way they want.

Yet they dither and pontificate, bicker and squabble, split hairs and trip over political niceties.

All the ANC needs to do is to sit down and hold serious, meaningful talks with the Government and it will wake up in the very near future to find it is the government.

Take, for example, the forthcoming peace conference. That could so easily be transformed into the ANC's own multiparty conference.

In turn, it could quickly change itself into something akin to a constituent assembly.

All it would take is good faith, spiced with determination.

Instead, the ANC's own multiparty conference is in jeopardy, part of a gauntlet thrown down to the Government. Add to this the demands that General Malan and Mr Vlok resign, and you will see that Mr Mandela is busy painting himself into a corner.

There are now so many conditions and pre-conditions that we must ask: Does the ANC really want to form the next government?

This process of repeatedly stating what you won't do also carries inher-

ent danger: Not only do people stop taking you seriously, but your own constituency runs out of control.

Look at education. The pupils and politicised teachers, who for so long have been stating what they won't do, are now beyond reach.

The ANC itself declared this year to be one of education. This call has been ignored.

The culture of "won't do" has swamped the possibility of "will do".

So, Government starts to cast around for partners who want to play. Desperation can set in, producing people like Bishop Muzorewa.

This is why Dr Buthelezi is so popular in certain circles. For all his faults, it's obvious that he wants to be a player.

He is prepared to get on with the negotiation process and does not seem too concerned about whether it's called a multi-party conference or a constituent assembly.

It's noteworthy that many KwaZulu schools are functioning normally. Community leaders are prepared to bang teenage heads together, get the pupils into class and get some education between their ears.

The Zulu children, at least, demonstrate a will to buckle down and work for their futures.

Does Mr Mandela have the same will to buckle down and run a government?

● Chris Gibbons is the presenter of Radio 702's Newstalk.

Winnie fights

to lead ANC Star 27441 (114) women's group

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

KIMBERLEY — A fierce contest between Winnie Mandela and Gerttrude Shope for the presidency of the ANC Women's League has become the focal point at the organisation's four-day national conference.

Delegates say six women have already been nominated for the presidency. Intense lobbying is taking place among the more than 1 000 delegates, mainly for Mrs Mandela, president of the League's PWV region, and Mrs Shope, an ANC executive member and co-convenor of the league, which was relaunched last year.

● **Winnie's court case — Page 2.**
● **ANC leadership struggle**

— Page 6.

The league's other co-convenor, ANC stalwart Albertina Sisulu, is said to be a favourite for the position of deputy-president.

Elections will be held today and the results are expected to be announced tonight.

In a protracted debate on voting procedures, which spanned two days, the conference yesterday decided on a secret ballot and separate elections for the two key jobs. Great care was taken to ensure democratic procedures and an independent presiding body to prevent the possibility of rigged voting processes.

One delegate said the elections were so intensely

● **TO PAGE 2.**

...for its support
...address
...nt said

League contest

Star 27/11/91

FROM PAGE 1.

discussed that little attention was being given to important issues such as gender equality and women's rights in a new constitution.

"No one talks of anything else. The atmosphere is very tense," she said.

But yesterday afternoon conference goers got down to the real issues when they broke up into commissions to discuss the league's structures, organisations, emancipation and development, and a proposed programme of action.

Much of the behind-the-scenes lobbying for candidates centred on which persons would present the best image.

Those who saw the league as a "motherly" supportive organisation argued that Mrs Mandela's militancy made her unsuitable, while her supporters felt that her charisma and leadership qualities would attract wider support among women who wanted the league to play a more decisive political role.

Self-defence

Some delegates argued that the township violence, an issue of grave concern among women, counted in Mrs Mandela's favour. They said women felt a strong need to become actively involved in efforts to stop the violence by participating in township self-defence units.

Mrs Mandela's outspoken criticism of the Government's alleged role in fuelling the violence and her visible presence in battle-torn communities had endeared her to many women who felt they could no longer sit on the sideline.

One delegate noticed that many of the women who wanted the league to retain its traditional role — and were

thus opposed to Mrs Mandela's candidacy — were the ones who could easily be swayed by aggressive lobbying because they were not "independent" thinkers.

Another delegate said many women held Mrs Mandela in high regard but felt she should take a back seat until the outcome of her kidnapping and assault trial had been determined.

The league's draft constitution states that the president and other top officials should work full-time for the league, thus implying that those elected should resign the positions they hold in other progressive formations.

Frene Ginwala, responsible for publicity at the conference, said the feeling was that office bearers should "only wear one hat". If they were to hold more than one position, league matters might receive less attention, she said.

Women still in exile, who have been more exposed to feminism than most of their local counterparts, appear to form a distinctive power-bloc at the conference.

It is not clear who they will support in the election. Some are said to favour Mrs Shope, who has lived in exile for many years, and others Mrs Mandela, who they believe can mobilise support, particularly among younger, more emancipated women.

The exiles, who represent countries around the world, have been lumped together in one voting bloc in addition to the league's 14 regions inside the country.

Ms Ginwala yesterday underlined some of the challenges facing the league.

Among those were the organisation's failure to attract professional women, to gain support among Indian, coloured or white women or to attract younger people, who traditionally had not been allowed to join the same organisations as older, married women, she said.

11A

ANC wants old guard to keep the peace

11A

Star 27/4/91

DRIES VAN HEERDEN

FACED with a potentially divisive leadership struggle, the ANC now seems to have opted for the safe solution: postpone the issue and stick with a geriatric generation at the helm.

It is now almost certain that nothing will come of the expected tussle between Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani for the deputy-presidency at the ANC conference in June.

The job will now in all probability go to tried and trusted stalwart Walter Sisulu (78) when the 73-year-old Nelson Mandela succeeds an ailing Oliver Tambo (74) as the movement's president.

And in another attempt to smooth over schisms in ANC, the movement's national executive is to be enlarged from the present 35 to an unwieldy 105. From this group, the new president will appoint a smaller "shadow cabinet".

This enlargement will probably secure the positions of the majority of the present leadership who have in recent months come under increasing criticism from rank-and-file members for their perceived neglect of the ANC's grass roots.

Most of this criticism has been aimed at secretary-general Alfred Nzo (65) and his right-hand man, treasurer Thomas Nkobi (68) who are blamed for the movement's organisational disarray.

Coalition

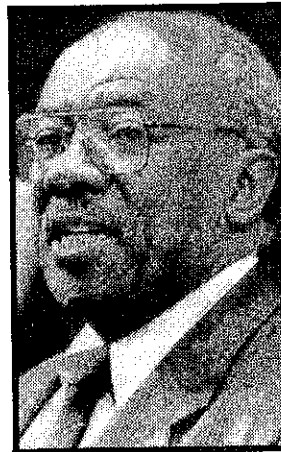
But an enlarged NEC will also provide for the inclusion of representatives



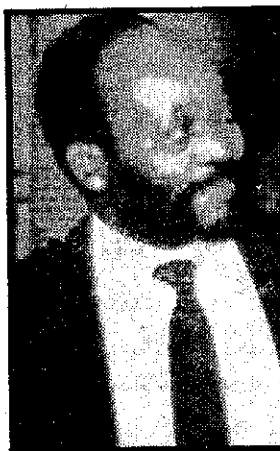
RIVALS: 'Super-hawk' Chris Hani (left) and 'ultra-dove' Thabo Mbeki are really old friends.



WALTER SISULU: Tried and tested stalwart.



ALFRED NZO: Target of sharp criticism.



JACOB ZUMA: 'A man of absolute integrity'.



JOE SLOVO: Seen as hard-liner.

garded as the "voice of moderation" within the ANC leadership. This often goes well at meetings with white businessmen, but is not always popular with his own militant and impatient constituency.

His reputation received a big blow when his proposals on a selective lifting of the sanctions campaign against South Africa was overwhelmingly rejected at the December 16 ANC conference.

However there is a growing lobby within the ANC who now believe that Mr Mbeki possesses the qualities to lead the ANC into the new South Africa and strike "a historic compromise" with white South Africa and the forces of capitalism.

What counts heavily in his favour is his charisma, his intellect and high media profile. In interviews Mr Mbeki often vehemently protests against claims that he is "soft" on the Government or deviates from ANC policies and demands.

If Mr Mbeki is a militant trying to harden his moderate image, Mr Hani may be a moderate out to cultivate a militant image.

For most white South Africans he is the epitome of the hard-liners inside the ANC. His militant speeches and fiery sloganeering place him in the eyes of most on the extreme left of ANC thinking.

Committed

However, in private conversations Mr Hani is often at pains to point out that he — and Umkontho — are fully and wholeheartedly committed to the process of peaceful negotiations on a future South Africa.

But as the second in command of the ANC's

of all the different constituencies making up the ANC "coalition": the exiles, the "islanders", the "internals", the communists, the nationalists, the social democrats, the trade unionists, the comrades, the Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas ...

However, in spite of the obvious attempts recently to postpone any elections, the June conference may provide a platform for three men of the "new generation" to stake their claims for the leadership in the 21st century.

Mr Mbeki, Mr Hani and Jacob Zuma, all 48 years old, are charismatic, highly capable leaders who earned their spurs in Umkhonto we Sizwe before moving rapidly through the ranks to occupy positions of influence.

Much has been written about the supposed friction between "super-hawk" Mr Hani and "ultra-dove" Mr Mbeki. But most of it is grossly exaggerated.

In fact "hawks" such as Mr Hani and South African Communist Party boss Joe Slovo were prime movers in the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle, while some of the "doves" argued strongly

for the ANC's recent ultimatum on violence.

Mr Mbeki and Mr Hani have been close friends for more than four decades. Born less than 10 days apart they grew up in the same area and attended the same high school.

Mr Mbeki, born into a stalwart ANC family, left South Africa at an early age to continue his education at British universities. He then moved into the ANC organisation, received military training in the Soviet Union and served as ANC representative in Nigeria and private secretary to Mr Tambo before being appointed head of the ANC's department of international affairs.

Arrested

Mr Hani graduated from the University of Fort Hare with a degree in Latin, joining Umkhonto's underground structures in the Western Cape soon afterwards. He was arrested on several occasions and left the country in 1963.

In the late 1960s he led the ANC forces fighting alongside Zapu against Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia. After serving as ANC representative in Le-

sotho he was recalled to Zambia in 1982 and appointed to a senior position in Umkhonto.

The proverbial "dark horse" in the leadership stakes is the ebullient Mr Zuma. The senior Zulu in the ANC's executive, he joined the movement at an early age, was arrested for MK activities and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on Robben Island.

He left for exile in 1975, was appointed chief representative in Mozambique and later promoted to chief of security and intelligence.

Since the unbanning of the ANC Mr Zuma has played a pivotal role in the negotiating process, leading most delegations in the technical discussions behind the scenes with government bureaucrats.

Senior government politicians describe him as the most impressive man in the ANC and a person "of absolute integrity".

ANC insiders now say Mr Zuma is more interested in succeeding Mr Nzo as the ANC's secretary-general, because he believes that is where the real power will be wielded in future.

Mr Mbeki is widely re-

army it is also his duty to ensure that "the powder is dry" in case the talks collapse and the ANC may have to resume its armed struggle.

A wild card may be the unpredictable Winnie Mandela. Her bellicose utterances and her involvement in high-profile court cases have won her as many fervent supporters as vociferous opponents.

Her personal dislike for Mr Mbeki is an open secret in ANC circles and she may throw her not inconsiderable influence behind Mr Hani.

But she may even be tempted to aspire to higher office herself — a possibility which has already caused ANC moderates sleepless nights.

Much will depend on tomorrow's election of the leadership of the ANC's Women's League in Kimberley. If elected, Mrs Mandela may well use her position as a platform to further her ambitions.

The decision to enlarge the NEC seems to have breathed new life in the ANC's "old guard". Until recently it was widely predicted that many Lusaka leaders might be purged to make way for men and women involved with the United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement.

Recent months, however, have seen a number of veteran leaders playing a much more visible role in ANC activities — an indication that they have consolidated their positions on the national executive.

Especially noticeable is the return to centre stage of "the president's men" — a small coterie of men deeply loyal to Mr Tambo.

Recent weeks have seen the surprise appointment of a Tambo confidant, Mr Mzwai Piliso, to head the ANC's manpower section, while other Lusaka stalwarts such as Joe Nhlanhla and the very highly regarded Josiah Jele are now prominent at ANC meetings.

MP (270) 318A



AT COURT ... Mrs Winnie Mandela, wearing a turban, appears outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday where she is appearing on charges of kidnapping.

Picture: AP

Winnie defence witness erred in earlier evidence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A defence witness in Mrs Winnie Mandela's trial has said under cross-examination that he made mistakes in his earlier evidence.

The 17-year-old witness, who may be identified only as Youth X because of his age, is the second person to be called by Mrs Mandela's defence to testify that a Methodist minister sexually abused youths staying at a Soweto church manse.

During his evidence, Youth X said the supervisor of the manse, the Rev Paul Verryn, had taken his (Youth X's) hand and masturbated himself (Mr Verryn) in September 1987 and again in June 1988.

He said that after both occasions he had sought help from Mrs Mandela and had stayed in the back room of her home in Diepkloof, Soweto, for a couple of months.

He said he had returned to the manse in March 1988 only because his mother, who knew nothing about Mr Verryn's alleged sexual misconduct, was "pushing me to go to school" and that he was supposed to stay at the manse during school terms.

However, under cross-examination by state advocate Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, yesterday, Youth X said he had made a number of mistakes, including the dates of the sexual assaults, in his evidence-in-chief.

He corrected his earlier testimony,

saying the sexual assaults took place in June 1987 and September 1988.

He also conceded that on the first occasion he left the manse, he stayed at Mrs Mandela's Orlando West home. He had stayed at her new home in Diepkloof only in 1988.

Asked how he could have made such mistakes, Youth X answered that "a person forgets".

Youth X's testimony, coupled with earlier evidence in which Mr Aubrey Nxumalo said he was also sexually abused by Mr Verryn, supports Mrs Mandela's defence that her decision to allow four people to stay in the back rooms of her home was motivated by her being concerned that they were being sexually abused at the manse.

Alibi

State witnesses have testified that on the night of December 29, 1988, Mrs Mandela was one of a group of people who assaulted the former manse residents in the back rooms of the Mandela home.

Mrs Mandela's defence argument that she was concerned about sexual misconduct at the manse is coupled with her alibi that she was travelling to Brandfort at the time of the assaults.

Mrs Mandela, 56, Miss Xoliswa Fahlali, 37, and Mr John Morgan, 61, have all pleaded not guilty to four charges each of kidnap and assault.

The trial continues on Monday.

Fierce battle for head of ANC women's group

W/C. M. S. 27/1/91
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — A fierce contest between Winnie Mandela and Gertrude Shope for the presidency of the ANC Women's League has become the focal point at the organisation's four-day national conference.

Delegates say six women have already been nominated for the presidency. Intense lobbying is taking place among the more than 1 000 delegates for mainly Mrs Mandela, president of the League's PWV region, and Mrs Shope, an ANC executive member and co-convenor of the league which was relaunched last year.

The league's other co-convenor, stalwart Mrs Albertina Sisulu, is said to be a favourite for the position of deputy-president.

Protracted debate

Elections will be held today and the results are expected to be announced tonight.

In a protracted debate on voting procedures, which spanned two days, the conference yesterday decided on a secret ballot and separate elections for the two key jobs. Great care was taken to ensure democratic procedures and an independent presiding body to prevent a possibility of rigged voting processes.

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Mrs Winnie Mandela

cussed that little attention was given to important issues such as gender equality and women's rights in a new constitution.

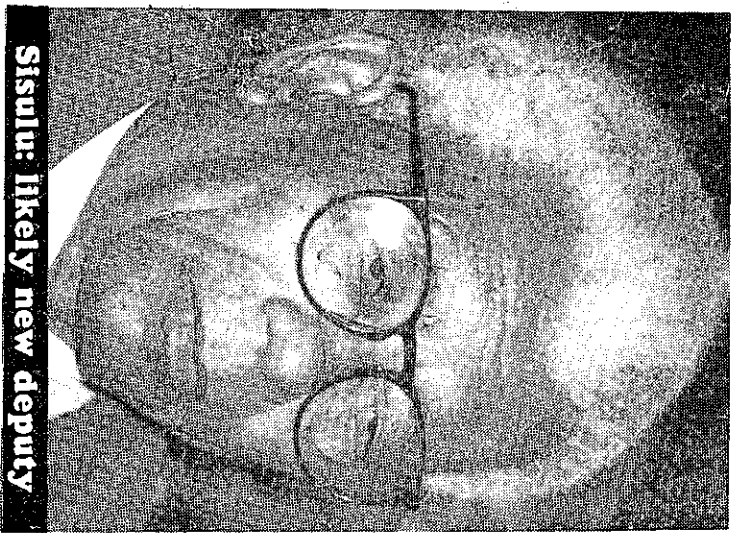
Yet, yesterday afternoon delegates got down to real issues when breaking up into commissions to discuss the league's structures, organisations, emancipation and development, and a proposed programme of action.

Much behind-the-scenes lobbying centred on those best suited to the image of the league's top representatives.

Some delegates want younger candidates to be elected. They believe the old guard should step down, but it seems unlikely that younger women will gain senior positions.

ANC opts for the safe alternative

Weekend FOCUS



Sisulu: likely new deputy

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
Weekend Argus Correspondent

FACED with a potentially divisive leadership struggle the ANC now seems to have opted for the safe solution: postpone the issue and stick with a geriatric generation at the helm.

It is now almost certain that nothing will come of the expected tussle between Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Chris Hanani for the deputy presidency at the coming ANC conference in June.

This job will now, in all probability go to tried and trusted stalwart, Mr Walter Sisulu (78), when the 73-year-old Mr Nelson Mandela succeeds an ailing Mr Oliver Tambo (74) as the movement's president.

And in another attempt to smooth over schisms in the ANC the movement's National Executive is to be enlarged from the present 35 to an unwieldy 105. The new president will then appoint from its ranks a smaller "shadow cabinet".

This move will probably secure the positions of the majority of the present leadership who have in recent months been increasingly under fire from rank-and-file members for their perceived inattentiveness to the needs of grassroots supporters.

Most of the criticism has been aimed at secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, 65, and his right-hand man, treasurer, Mr Thomas Nkobi, 68, who are blamed for the movement's organisational disarray.

But an enlarged NEC will also provide for the inclusion of representatives of all the different constituencies making up the ANC "coalition": the exiles, the "islanders", the "internals", the communists, the nationalists, the social democrats, the trade unionists, the comrades, the MK's ...

HOWEVER, in spite of the obvious attempts to postpone any elections the June conference may provide the platform to three men of the "new generation" to stake their claims for the leadership in the 21st century.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Chris Hanani and Mr Jacob Zuma are all 48-years-old. They are all charismatic and highly capable leaders who have earned their spurs in Umkhonto we Sizwe and then more rapidly through the ranks of the organisation to occupy positions of considerable influence.

ANC opts for the safe alternative

visions between hawks and doves or communists and nationalists.

In fact "hawks" such as Mr Hanani and SACP boss, Mr Joe Slovo, were prime movers behind the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle while some of the "doves" argued strongly in favour of the ANC's recent ultimatum on violence and the continuation of negotiations.

Mr Mbeki and Mr Hanani have been close friends for more than four decades. Born less than 10 days apart they grew up in the same area and attended the same high school.

Mr Mbeki, born into a stalwart ANC family left South Africa at an early age to continue his education at British universities. He then moved into the ANC organisation, received military training in the Soviet Union and served as ANC representative in Nigeria before being appointed head of the ANC's department of international affairs.

Mr Hanani graduated from the University of Fort Hare with a degree in Latin, joining Umkhonto's underground structures in the Western Cape soon afterwards. He was arrested on several occasions for political activities and eventually left the country in 1963.

In the late Sixties he led the ANC forces fighting alongside Zapu against the Ian Smith government in Rhodesia. After serving as ANC representative in Lesotho he was recalled to Zambia in 1982 and appointed to a senior position in Umkhonto.

THE proverbial "dark horse" in the leadership stakes is the ebullient Mr Zuma. The senior Zulu in the ANC's executive he joined the movement at an early age, was arrested for MK activities and sentenced to ten years imprisonment on Robben Island.

He left for exile in 1975, was appointed chief representative in Mozambique and later promoted to chief of security and intelligence.

Since the unbaning of the ANC Mr Zuma has played a pivotal role in the negotiating process leading most delegations in the technical discussions behind the scenes with government bureaucrats.

Senior government politicians have described him as "the most impressive man" in the ANC and "a man of absolute integrity."



Nzo: blamed for disarray

ANC insiders now say that Mr Zuma is more interested in succeeding Mr Nzo as the ANC's secretary general, because he believes that is where the real power in the new South Africa will be wielded.

Whoever's star is on the rise after June will largely determine the political route the ANC takes in the foreseeable future.

Mr Mbeki is widely regarded as the "voice of moderation" within the ANC leadership. This often goes well at meetings with white businessmen but is not always popular with his own militant and impatient constituency.

He received a big blow to his reputation when his proposals on a selective lifting of the sanctions campaign against South Africa was overwhelmingly rejected at the December 16 ANC conference.

However there is a growing lobby within the ANC who now believe that Mr Mbeki possesses the qualities to lead the ANC into the new South Africa and strike "a historic compromise" with white South Africa and the forces of capitalism.



Nkobi: highly criticised

What counts heavily in his favour is his charisma, his intellect and high media profile. In interviews Mr Mbeki often vehemently protests the label of him being "soft" on the government or deviating from ANC policies and demands.

If Mr Mbeki is a militant trying to harden his moderate image, Mr Hanani may be a moderate out to cultivate a militant image.

For most white South Africans he is the epitome of the hardliners inside the ANC. His militant speeches and fiery sloganeering place him in the eyes of most on the extreme left of ANC thinking.

However, in private conversations Mr Hanani is often at pains to point out that he — and Umkhonto — are fully and wholeheartedly committed to the process of peaceful negotiations on a future South Africa.

But as the second in command of the ANC's army it is also his duty to ensure that "the powder is dry" in case the talks collapse and the ANC may have to resume its armed struggle.

THE decision to enlarge the NEC seems to have breathed new life in the ANC's "Old Guard". Until recently it was widely predicted that a large selection of the Lusaka leadership may be purged to make way for men and women who kept the homefires burning through their involvement with the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement.

Recent months, however, have seen a number of veteran leaders playing a much more visible role in ANC activities — an indication that they have consolidated their positions on the National Executive.

Especially noticeable is the return to centre stage of "the president's men" — a small coterie of men deeply loyal to Mr Tambo.

Recent weeks have seen the surprise appointment of a Tambo confidante, Mr Mzwai Piliso to head the ANC's manpower section while other Lusaka stalwarts such as Mr Joe Nkhanhla and the very highly regarded Mr Josiah Jele, are now seen prominently at ANC meetings.

This may be good news for Mr Mbeki who has always been part of the Tambo-group of ANC insiders. Although Mr Tambo is expected to resign from the ANC presidency because of health reasons his experience and strong personality will enable him to be somewhat of a "kingmaker".



Mbeki: denies being 'soft'

Much has been written about the supposed friction between "super hawk" Mr Hanani and "ultra dove" Mr Mbeki — most of it grossly exaggerated.

As can be expected of an organisation as huge and disparate as the ANC differences of opinion often arise. But more often than not these differences cut across the perceived di-

Call from supporters for protection ANC's self-defence units will be armed

w/f Mbus 27/4/91

11A

By DENNIS
CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC's controversial self-defence units, some of which have already been formed, will be armed with rudimentary weapons and automatic rifles — and trained by black policemen, soldiers and Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The structure and rationale behind the units was sketched this week in an interview with senior ANC member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Before December's consultative conference, the ANC leadership had calls from supporters for protection against the violence ripping across the Reef.

Emasculated

But the ANC — or at least its military wing — had been emasculated by the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

As one senior MK member said: "In the past people knew we would retaliate if they were attacked. In a sense we have been grounded by the suspension of the armed struggle."

The response from the consultative conference was a well-supported initiative that the ANC should start a well-supported national self-defence structure, Mr Cronin said.

This was a month after the ANC, South African Communist Party and Cosatu alliance had produced a 35-page document called *For The Sake Of Our Lives*, a publication which has since been sent to townships.

"It is not a set of orders or a blueprint; it offers advice for people on the ground on how to set up self-defence units."

According to the document, a township of some 20 000 residents should have a command structure of eight people, elected or selected by organisations on the ground.

This command would comprise a commander, deputy commander, first aid and communications specialists, company commanders and platoon and section leaders.

Times of crisis

In times of crisis, according to the document, the command structure would assume control.

"But only then. At all other times the command is answerable to the community. It is not a military elite," Mr Cronin said.

A company would be 500-strong and could be sub-divided into five platoons of 100 each which could be further broken down into sections of 20.

Mr Cronin said uniforms had not been mooted because "we are talking of a civilian structure".

However, it was likely that units would wear uniforms to boost morale, bolster discipline and make members visible.

All residents, irrespective of sex or political affiliation, could serve in a self-defence unit if they so wished.

"These units must not become the private armies of the ANC, SACP or whoever. They must be structures answerable to the community and their objective must be to defend residents and the community."

If self-defence units were to be effective and serious, they had to be organised on para-military lines, he said.

"Some people may balk, but the answer is simply that the fire-brigade

and ambulance service operate on para-military lines. When there is a crisis, such as a township being invaded by some 5 000 men under escort from people in uniform, no domestic civic organisation, ANC or SACP branch can defend them.

"They must have a command structure, people who have been drilled, trained and equipped to defend them."

He said the greatest victory for any unit would be forcing an advancing party to retreat without a single shot fired or anyone being injured or killed.

Asked if the self-defence units would not plunge South Africa into a Lebanon-like situation, he said they were necessary to bring an end to the violence.

"Some people may reap short term gains from the violence, but in the end all South Africans will be losers. We want to stop the violence."

The ANC and SACP had not given up on negotiations, he said.

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for South African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said having all kinds of militia around would create a danger of conflict.

There was an added danger of the "emergence of a warlord situation where armed bandits become the propelling force in society".

However, this had to be offset against the fact that the SADF, police and "murky people, who have not been called to heel are protecting, whether overtly or covertly, a political system and an ancient regime".

The response of whites was to hire security firms which were militias or armed men riding around. "They, too,

are unaccountable."
His own response had been to put a fence around his home, he said.

"What are the people in the townships supposed to do? That seems to me to be the heart of the matter: how are people going to get security when there is no intrinsic security in society?"

It would be ill-advised "if you are arming your way to security. I can arm myself to the teeth and be as insecure as the man who leaves his window open at night."

He said there was no substitute for a political settlement of which all South Africans could be part. "That's the greatest security all of us could have."

Speaking in her personal capacity Ms Hilary Elliott, of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, said that seen from the ANC's perspective, establishing self-defence units was a "natural thing to do."

Vigilante groups

"Where the fear comes in is in terms of the violence that is happening and the question of arms. If we are talking about vigilante groups, whichever part of the community they come from."

It was not a question of colour, but a question of whether self-defence units were desirable.

"If they are, it is a sad commentary on the state of our society."
Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were completely opposed to private armies such as self-defence units, so-called *wenkommansos* or vigilante groups.

'Assassination plot to scuttle peace process'

STIMES 28/4/91

ANC says 'third force' is out to sow destruction

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE ANC claimed yesterday that destructive plans were afoot to scuttle the peace process in South Africa.

In a startling claim, the organisation said these included the assassination of its key officials and large-scale distribution of arms.

And ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo was adamant that his organisation would not attend the government's May 24-25 summit on violence.

The organisation also reiterated its controversial demands made in an open letter to the government

two weeks ago. It repeated that if the government failed to respond to these demands by May 9 it would pull out of all peace negotiations.

Mr Nzo said the ANC had information of an offensive by perpetrators of violence aimed at halt-

ing the peace process.

These perpetrators, among them "state agencies", were out to scotch the peace accord between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and were also out to undermine the ANC.

These plans included:

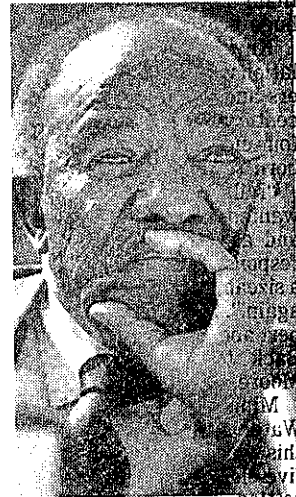
- The assassination of prominent ANC members.
- Increased attacks in factories, townships and on trains targeting weekend and May Day rallies by the National Union of Mine-workers.

Opposed

- Increased vigilante mobilisation. This included a terror campaign forcing hostel dwellers to pay levies to buy weapons and training of Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives by the SADF in camps in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal.

The ANC said it had information that most *indunas* (leaders) in hostels opposed the ANC-Inkatha peace accord and were actively attempting to sabotage it.

The ANC accused a "third force" of being responsible for the recent assassination of Maritzburg Inkatha leader David Ntombela.



ALFRED NZO
ANC knows

Mr Nzo said: "These facts clearly indicate that there are organised forces within and outside the state bent on sowing fear, death and destruction within African communities."

"Though the primary aim is to discredit and weaken the ANC, it is also aimed at proving the racist notion that black people are not yet fit to rule."

"The fact that the state refuses to uncover and act against these bandits reinforces our assertion that they are involved in these acts of destabilisation."

SAP spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that a senior police officer would contact the ANC on its allegations.

- A Ministry of Defence spokesman, Dr Das Herbst, said last night: "Mr Malane has repeatedly denied claims of a 'third force' and so-called 'secret agencies' in the SADF intent on destabilising the country."

Breyten, be fair to Inkatha

SITimes 28/4/91.

11A (WB)

Dear Mr Breytenbach,

WHEN I saw you had written an open letter to Dr Nelson Mandela last week, my mind flashed back to the time, some years ago, when you and your beautiful wife, Yolande, entertained me in your apartment in Paris.

The South African government had withdrawn my passport for nine years and, after it had been returned, at long last I could visit Europe and talk of our struggle.

We spoke about our love of our country, our commitment to freedom and a non-racial democracy. We shared stories of friends and what we both were doing.

Your embrace was warm. I valued our friendship. I admired your considerable talent.

Then I read your letter. I was flummoxed.

I am the same man who shared noble dreams with you then.

I am still committed to the same ideals. The image you portrayed last week of me and the people I have the privilege to lead was vicious and untruthful. Why?

You travelled through Natal/KwaZulu. You talked to ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and his comrades. Who did you talk to from the Inkatha Freedom Party?

Where, as a writer of renown, was your attempt to see all sides of the tragic story?

I write now with a heavy heart.

You wrote of me as a man who is impervious to the hideous death and destruction in South Africa.

Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI responds to Breyten Breytenbach's open letter last week to Nelson Mandela

A man, you insinuate, who sits in a helicopter above battlefields, far removed from the carnage, while aiding and abetting "state apparatus practising a scorched-earth policy in moral, political and human terms ..."

I was shocked, and, yes, hurt.

Can you say why it is wrong for me to share a helicopter with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in order to see the destruction of homes in Maritzburg and why it is not wrong for the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela to do so?

You know of my long-standing opposition to racist rule in this country. You must know how I fought for many years for the unbanning of political parties and the release of political prisoners because I knew this to be right.

Democracy means freedom to choose, and I am determined there will be freedom of political choice in South Africa.

You give your political backing to the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, which I consider to be your God-given right.

I disagree with various of their tactics and strategies, which is surely my right. Last week, you used your skills as an author to paint a picture far removed from reality.

I must now speak for the millions of members of the Inkatha

Freedom Party and my other supporters, who you claim are part of a ghastly government plot.

You imply they are partners in a "war of attrition against the population of South Africa".

Inkatha, you say, was "from the outset intended as a national vigilante force".

ANC leaders who know the truth know differently, and should be prepared to admit it.

I say you are very wrong. Today, your words are propaganda manna from heaven for the ANC/SACP alliance.

Will they conveniently forget that at an ANC/Inkatha meeting in London in 1979 they wanted me to hand over the organisation to them — this so-called "vigilante force"?

You allege "the Broeders" have stretched out "red hands" to me. That they, covered in blood, wish to "hoist" me to a position of "national eminence".

Amazingly, you appear to be unaware that National Intelligence (then the Bureau of State Security) and an infamous past SA government Department of Information secretly funded and organised opposition parties — Shaka Spear and Inala — to oppose me and Inkatha. They wanted to get rid of me.

You damn us, and again I ask, why?

Do you really believe the millions of people who are members of Inkatha are so blind: that they deserve such contempt from you?

That they have "joined up", as that millions who were stuck with fighting for survival for decades in apartheid South Africa are so stupid, so dehumanised?

That they have "joined up", as you wrote, with the government and "dissident or corrupt black community leaders"?

Should they have gone to Paris, as you did, or to other capitals of the world in exile instead of fighting apartheid within the country, as they did?

I will show you our membership records. Will you then personally, on public platforms, tell each and every one of them, of all race groups, that you believe they are traitors to their country and fellow citizens?

Please don't create more cleavages with such one-sided zealotry. We must talk, not fight. Your references to me can only stir the pot of disunity and conflict.

It is black South Africans, who are dying in their thousands, that I weep for.

Do you write as you do because they are not your people? Is this the only contribution you can make? The key word today is reconciliation.

You have a right to your views, to criticise, but be fair.

Yours sincerely,

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Is the ANC fighting a losing battle to win the hearts and minds of the international community as it enters the last mile on the road to a new South Africa?

This week's events exposed the ANC's apparent lack of strategy in international relations, especially in dealing with the West.

Firstly, any politician worth their salt will tell you communism is a swear word in the US. Why, then, send ANC military supremo Chris Hani – also a communist – to address Americans?

Hani's visit negated all Nelson Mandela's good work for the ANC cause during his visit to the US in June last year.

Even if Hani was invited by the American Communist Party, the timing of the visit was wrong, especially when the ANC desperately needs US dollars to assist with the return of exiles.

In future the ANC should send Hani to the East and foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki to the West.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Wrong way to woo the West

9/Pres 28/4/91 (11A)



Secondly, why allow Mandela to follow in the footsteps of FW de Klerk in Europe? The ANC leader was made to play second fiddle to the State President.

De Klerk spoke about the need to invest in South Africa in order to assist with education, housing, health and finance, while Mandela remained steadfast on maintaining sanctions.

That De Klerk did his homework well in appealing for help cannot be disputed.

Thirdly, the ANC missed a golden opportunity in its December

consultative conference by not addressing the sanctions issue. It was then it should have taken the lead in reviewing the need for sanctions. Instead, it said sanctions should be maintained.

The world is getting impatient with political rhetoric. It expects liberation movements to offer alternatives. De Klerk has opened his heart and mind to the world and is respected for it.

Fourthly, the ANC must now realise it cannot go it alone in shaping the future of this country.

Neither can it bask any longer in an assumed international sympathy for its cause. It now needs the support of like-minded organisations if it is ever to topple the National Party.

The much talked-about ANC defence units, for example, should involve every black person living in the townships. The PAC and the BCM military wings are equally as capable as Umkhonto weSizwe – the ANC military wing – of operating defence units.

Fifthly, is it not about time we put our own house

in order before rushing to the international community to assist us in our struggle?

The world would like to know why there is so much violence in our townships and our timid answer of blaming a 'third force' is now met with some scepticism.

The world did not assist Zimbabwe when Zanu and Zapu were at each other's throats. It did not assist Mozambique when Renamo destabilised the Frelimo government, nor did it come to the aid of Dos Santos' Angolan government against Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

Differences of opinion there always will be, and a fight for political supremacy is to be expected – especially during the last mile of the struggle.

But this should not take precedence over the ultimate goal of true liberation for blacks in South Africa.

De Klerk and the National Party are busy scoring dramatic goals, while we are conceding them at an alarming rate.

'Imam' book unbanned

CP Correspondent CIP/MS 28/4/91

(11A) ~~(S)~~

THE Publications Appeal Board has unbanned *The Killing of the Imam*, by PAC national spokesman Barney Desai.

The book – which probes the death in detention of Imam Abdullah Haroon 22 years ago – was written in the late 70s, together with fellow PAC member Cardiff Marney.

The prominent Muslim leader died in detention in 1969. Police said he fell to his death down a stairwell at a Cape Town police station after being held for 133 days under Section Six of the now defunct Terrorism Act.

A post-mortem examination revealed massive bruising – some of it more than a week old – a broken rib and a blood clot at the base of the spine.

The inquest found “a substantial part” of the injuries leading to his death were caused by an “accidental” fall.

The magistrate was unable to determine how the other injuries occurred.

The Imam's widow was paid R5 000 by the Minister of Police five years later without police admitting guilt.

Desai said it was disgraceful that the book had been banned.

“I understood that they wanted to keep things quiet.”

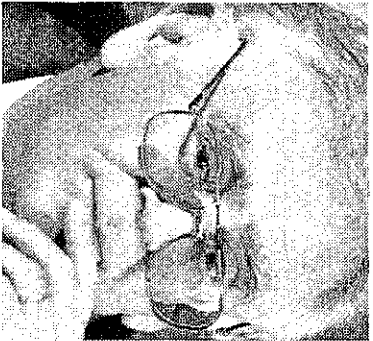
The book was banned when it was first published in 1978.



Barney Desai

(11A) 28/4/91

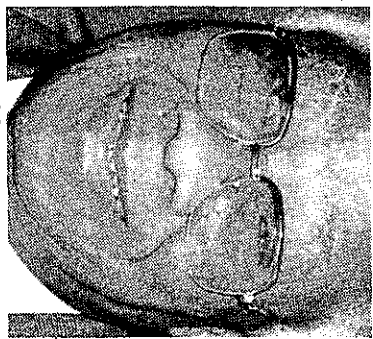
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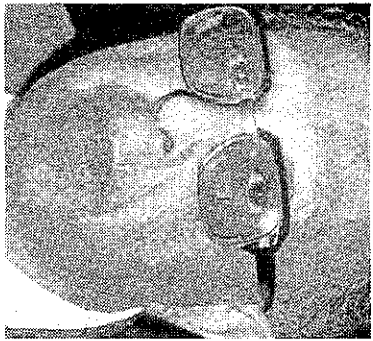
JOE SLOVO



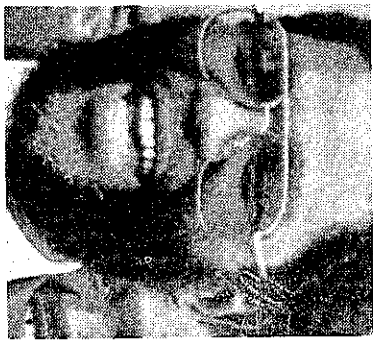
RAYMOND SUTTNER



GOVAN MBEKI



AHMED KATHRADA



MOSES MAVEKISO

THE SA Communist Party has secured top places for its members in the other two parties in the tripartite alliance — the ANC and the trade union movement. The party — it boasts no more than 10 000 members — already holds high positions in the ANC bureaucracy and dominates some of the crucial working groups now negotiating with the government.

Members of the party are in positions of influence in the ANC in political education, military matters and "transition issues" — prisoner and exile returns. Some examples: ● A quarter of the National Executive Committee and a third of the Political Military Council of the ANC are members of the SA Communist Party; ● SACP members head the ANC delegations to two of the most important joint working groups dealing with the government — those on exile return and suspension of violence; ● The SACP has taken almost complete control of the efforts by the resistance groups to establish self-defence units in the black townships;

● Three of the four members of the National Preparatory Committee, charged with preparing for the crucial July leadership congress of the ANC, are SACP members; ● Many in the top leadership of the trade union movement belong to the Communist Party. Identifying SACP members is not that easy, for "tactical" reasons the party has released the names of only some members. SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin also claims that the party is not sure how many communist exiles are still members of the party. Requests to identify top ANC members as SACP members met with a string of "don't know's". The ANC, too, has been unable to provide a list of its own office bearers even after repeated requests. Despite this, the Sunday Times has been able to piece together a picture of the "vanguard" party's influence in the much larger ANC and trade union movement. The most important executive arm of the ANC is the National

The SACP's influence in the ANC and the unions

Executive Committee. This is the body that formulates policy and, in the absence of the national consultative conference, is responsible for the day-to-day running of the movement. The NEC has 36 members. Nine are members of the SACP.

- Joe Slovo**
- Dan Tloome**
- Chris Hani**
- Ronnie Kasrils**
- James Stuart**
- Govan Mbeki**
- John Nkadimeng**
- Reg September**
- Sizakele Sigxashe**

SACP member Mac Maharaj resigned last year from the NEC and another SACP member on the NEC, Francis Meli, died.

The most prominent Communist Party member on the NEC is Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP and a central figure in determining ANC negotiation strategy. Mr Slovo was chosen by the ANC to make its keynote address at the historic Groote Schuur meeting with the government last year.

Dan Tloome, who is both ANC auditor general and SACP national chairman, is one of the SACP's old guard, tracing his party roots back to 1936. He was active in the union movement in the 40s and in the ANC's Youth League.

Chris Hani represents the "new communist" generation. He is positioned to take a senior ANC post in the July leadership elections and already has considerable support among the youth. There are two important committees which serve the NEC. The first is the External Coordinating Committee headed by Thabo Mbeki — widely regarded as a moderate within the organisation. One of the committee

members, Simon Makana, is a member of the SACP. The Political Military Council (PMC), the other group, consists of twelve members. A third are SACP members. They are:

- Chris Hani**
- Reg September**
- Ronnie Kasrils**
- Joe Slovo**

Mac Maharaj also served on this council until his resignation. The ANC bureaucracy is divided into at least 13 departments. Two of the most important are Political Education and Publicity and Information. SACP member Raymond Suttner, who served a long sentence on Robben Island, heads this department, which is responsible for all ideological and tactical propaganda among the ANC faithful. Two other prominent SACP members, Stanley Nkosi and Mandla Nkomfe, have been

active in Political Education. The head of the Department of Information and Publicity is Dr Palo Jordan. He is a confirmed Marxist but has never joined the SACP — indeed, he and Joe Slovo have clashed strongly over the slavishly pro-Soviet history of the SACP.

Gill Marcus, one of the key people in the department and the movement's chief spokesman, is, however, a member of the SACP. Another important bureaucrat in position held by an SACP member is that of Ahmed Kathrada, who is administration head. SACP member Mike Roussos is head of Logistics.

After February 2 last year, the Internal Leadership Core assumed some importance in running the organisation. Most of its functions have since become dissipated but it was crucial in setting the pace and atmosphere of negotiations in the early months after unbanning. Of the 10 members of this body, five are SACP members.

- Ahmed Kathrada**
- Raymond Suttner**
- Govan Mbeki**
- Raymond Mhlaba**
- Elias Motsaledi**

At the regional level, the SACP

Members of the small and disciplined SA Communist Party have emerged as kingpins in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance — but the party remains remarkably shy about its successes. A Sunday Times investigation now reveals the extent of that triumph

influence is more difficult to discern. It has a strong presence in Natal where both the convenor and an important member of the committee are SACP members — Harry Gwala and Billy Nair. In the Western Cape, Cheryl Carolus is an active member of the SACP's interim leadership committee and was a member of the ANC delegation at the Groote Schuur talks.

The most important work, however, is not done by the bureaucracies but in groups set up to deal with specific issues or to negotiate with the government in the "pre-talks" phase. Here, too, the SACP is well represented. Of the six members of the committee dealing with the release of prisoners in terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, at least one is a member of the SACP. He is Perwell Maduna.

Jackie Selebi, another SACP member, heads the committee handling the return of exiles. The important "Paragraph Three" group negotiating on the conditions for the suspension of the armed struggle is headed by SACP central committee member Chris Hani.

It is the issues dealt with by these committees — prisoners, exiles and the position of MK cadres — that have been at the centre of the most acrimonious exchanges between the ANC and government. They have also invoked ultimatum on the part

of the ANC. In October last year a group was formed to create strategies to counter township violence. It came up with the idea of self-defence units. The six-member group has five SACP members on it. They are:

- Sydney Matumadi**
- Chris Dlamini**
- Moses Mayekiso**
- Stanley Nkosi**
- Geraldine Fraser**

In July this year the ANC will be having its critical leadership elections. The four-man committee handling the arrangements for the conference comprises three communists. They are:

- Simon Makana**
- James Stuart**
- Mohammed Valli**
- Moosa**

The role of this committee could be critical. It is charged with organising the conference in July which will elect the new crop of ANC leadership. The influence of the SACP is even more noticeable in the trade union movement. Among top

SACP members represented in the unions are:

- Chris Dlamini** Cosatu vice-president
- John Gomomo** Second deputy president of Cosatu
- Sydney Matumadi** Cosatu assistant secretary-general
- Moses Mayekiso** General secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers
- Jerry Majatkladi** National Union of Mineworkers' publicity secretary
- Gwide Mantashe** NUM national organiser
- Bob Mabaso** Posts and Telecommunications Workers' Union vice-president
- Lisa Seftel** Cosatu campaigns manager
- Andrew Zulu** Numsa and Cosatu Witwatersrand chairman

A WORM of doubt gnaws at the mind as obstacles pile up in the path of negotiations and as the atmosphere becomes clouded by threats, deadlines, ultimatums and an array of tactics that seem to put the very process of negotiation at risk.

The doubt is whether the ANC, politically outmanoeuvred by President De Klerk and abandoned by foreign allies, still has the confidence to negotiate — or whether, in desperation, it is reverting to the more familiar terrain of revolutionary myth and violent method.

Four sets of obstacles to negotiations have recently arisen: the release of prisoners and the return of exiles; the ultimatum on the question of violence; the unreadiness of the ANC; and the proposal to form a common front with the PAC.

These adverse factors have coincided with an alarming deterioration in the tone of discourse, so that even the relationship between Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk is showing strain. The air is filled with tension-raising talk of mass action and land invasions, and by demands for sanctions. The creation of township self-defence units, while understandable, has raised a spectre of private armies.

The most immediate of these problems is the dispute which erupted here (with predictable, well-timed support in London) over the release of the remaining ANC prisoners by next Tuesday, the deadline set by the Pretoria Minute. In the event, the dispute was defused by the creation of a new category of prisoners entitled to release, leaving only about 200 cases unsettled.

The dispute itself was not surprising. The Pretoria Minute envisaged the release of all "categories" of prisoners by the end of 1990, leaving only individual cases to be settled by April 30; but the process has not gone badly, considering the difficulties — bureaucratic and legal.

The troubling question is why the issue has had to be elevated to the level of a threat to negotiations. Why was it internationalised, and why was it pursued most vociferously by people who were party to the negotiations? If nothing else, it suggests the existence on the ANC side of a lobby that seizes on every pretext to discredit negotiations or to make the process difficult.

The dispute over the return of the exiles is hardly different. The number of exiles abroad is uncertain — figures of 40 000 or more are banded about — but so far fewer than 6 000

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

have actually applied for indemnity in order to return.

Here, too, the government is accused of foot-dragging and excessive bureaucracy, and I suppose the accusation is valid. Why, after all, should a government which is inept and overbearing at everything else suddenly become efficient in processing exile applications?

But it is hard to know whether the exiles actually exist in any numbers. ALL attempts to send independent journalists to the ANC camps to verify those numbers have been blocked and the air is filled with suggestions that the ANC itself is reluctant to bring back victims of its none-too-tender "discipline". Some "exiles" have simply come home by themselves and

others clearly intend never to return. Whatever the truth, the issue need not delay negotiations unless the ANC is actually looking for pretexts to do so. After all, the people who matter are here, and free to come and go as they please.

As the April 30 deadline passes, the government in any event faces the more serious deadline of May 9. By then, the government must have yielded to various demands, or see negotiations come to an end.

Since the ANC demands include the firing of Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok, as well as a purge of counter-insurgency units, suspension of police implicated in various killings, and a legislative ban on so-called "cultural weapons", it will require ingenuity to resolve the deadlock without making



the ANC leaders look like windbags. A climb-down looks almost inevitable.

This ultimatum has been defended as the ANC's way of dramatising its concern over violence. If so, it has made its point, but at a high price. Anyway, it is distinctly odd that the need to "dramatise violence" came not at the height of the trouble but after a steady, month-by-month decline in violence.

LIKE the questions of prisoners and exiles, the ultimatum on violence smells of a manufactured grievance, intended to delay, if not to stop, the process of negotiation. Assuming, however, that political ingenuity can overcome this obstacle, President De Klerk faces another.

The ANC leadership elections, originally intended for last December, were postponed until late June, and have now been shifted to July. There has been no formal threat to suspend negotiations until the new leaders are in position, but pre-election posturing and the manoeuvring already beggar negotiations.

The leadership contest is bound to beggar the talks until the new leaders are in place. They may then need time to settle in.

Meanwhile, the attempt to form a common front with the PAC raises another set of problems. Like the leadership elections, the unity talks will complicate the negotiations, especially as the first step is to prepare for a multi-party conference where the status of the PAC — as independent body or as a component of the common front — will be an issue.

All these obstacles are surmountable, given mutual goodwill but it is not so easy to ignore the deteriorating tone of public discourse: the revival of the rhetoric of revolution, and of the methods of revolution, and of

Mr Mandela continues, in the face of the massive unemployment that (he must know) feeds the violence of which he complains, to call for the economic strangulation of the coun-

try he hopes to lead. Both "mass action" and "armed struggle" have come back into vogue (and it is worth recalling the court cases in which learned counsel sought to excuse the filthiest deeds on the grounds that individuals were swept along by the passions of the mob).

Why should the ANC, standing at the threshold of negotiations which offer its easiest and fastest path to power, revert to sanctions, to mass action with its concomitant mob violence, and to all the tactics of confrontation?

THE worm of doubt suggests one answer: the ANC, schooled in the obsolete assumptions of socialist revolution and engaged for 30 years in the secret processes of conspiracy, has now found itself deficient in the political skills needed to engage President De Klerk in the political arena.

Abroad, the sanctions battle has been all but lost, and the anti-apartheid movement is disbanding. At home, where the ANC expected merely to negotiate the modalities of white surrender, it is engaged in a complex, confusing political process. It flounders in disorganisation and confusion.

It is weak, demoralised, and fighting for time.

11A

11A

S Times 28/4/91

League is split over Winnie ^(11A)

Sunday Times Reporter

THE ANC Women's League conference in Kimberley was deadlocked last night over the election of its new president.

Winnie Mandela was a favourite for the position.

But bitter lobbying went on yesterday among 1 000 deeply divided delegates, who were to vote by secret ballot. (Times 2/1/79)

Others in the running for the job were present incumbent, Gertrude Shope and Albertina Sisulu.

Delegates said Mrs Mandela's militancy, charisma and leadership qualities made her a must. Others were worried about the effect a conviction on kidnapping and assault charges could have on the organisation.

By CAS ST LEGER

WHEN Lawrence Makhanya fled South Africa 10 years ago, he feared being arrested by the SA Police. Now he is afraid of his former comrades in the ANC.

Mr Makhanya, 33, arrived back in South Africa last week after escaping from ANC custody in Uganda and crossing borders illegally hidden in a container on a lorry.

His body is scarred and painful from the torture he has undergone. He has come home to find that his parents have died and his girlfriend has married, taking his child with her. He has been threatened with being necklaced or shot.



Lawrence Makhanya, who lives in fear of his former comrades

Rotten

Yet he says, "It is more than happiness to be home."

His involvement with the ANC began almost accidentally when he was a student in Meadowlands, Soweto, in February 1981.

"I had a friend who was an ANC member. I was harbouring this guy who was on the run. Then the police were looking for me, too. I was going to be arrested.

his autobiography to prove his credentials. He was then allowed to join the ANC.

In September, he was taken to Maputo, again crossing the border illegally. There he was interrogated until December on suspicion of being an enemy agent. He was taken to Nampula prison camp where 47 ANC members were guarded by five trained men.

"Conditions were very bad. We had one meal a day — rotten beans. We were woken up at 5am and told to take the worms out of the beans. The only water we had to drink was half a cupful from the slimy river. Many fell ill," said Mr Makhanya.

Burnt

In 1983, under threat from rebel forces, the camp inmates were moved back to Maputo.

"I wanted to go home because of the ill treatment. I was told that the leadership of the ANC was waiting in Angola."

Mr Makhanya was flown to Angola where he was kept under guard at Vian camp, again in poor conditions. Then he was given six

Torture victim who escaped and fled home faces necklace threat

SITIMES 28/4/91

months' basic military training.

"They were pleased with me. I was selected to go to the Soviet Union. In November 1983, 10 of us flew from Luanda to Moscow."

The party was met at Moscow airport by a KGB agent, given fur coats against the cold and driven to a house in the Moscow suburb of Sgodnia. Here they were told they were communists — and Mr Makhanya doubts about the course of his life were renewed.

"I was frightened," he said.

Then followed 10 months of theoretical and practical combat and military intelligence training, which took place some 10km from the Kremlin.

The recruits graduated in Leningrad as trained revolutionary

commandos. Present ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo was there "with high-ranking officers of the Soviet Army".

Mr Makhanya flew back to Angola and was eventually asked by the then ANC security head, Mzwai Philiso, to work with him at intelligence headquarters — the Green House in Lusaka.

"I was involved with screening people from home," said Mr Makhanya.

In 1985, on the farm Chongela near Lusaka, he claims he witnessed the burial of the bodies of six people who had undergone interrogation.

In 1986, four AK-47 rifles went missing and Mr Makhanya was accused of having sold them.

"I was forced to admit the theft. I was interrogated and tortured. I was burned with a hot poker and beaten with a plank until my kidneys were damaged," he said.

After five months of such treatment, he was left in a cell with no blanket and no food for three days and then taken to Quatro camp in Angola, where he was beaten until he fainted.

Chained

He was in Quatro — first in Angola and then, when the camp was moved, in Uganda — until February 24 this year.

In 1989, 69 Quatro prisoners were "smuggled" out of Angola into Uganda and Chris Hani was

on board the plane, Mr Makhanya said.

He added that the 69 were taken to a new "Quatro" in Ginja province, where Mr Hani addressed the prisoners on several occasions.

When Mr Makhanya was released from Quatro he was taken to Tanzania where he was kept under guard and was at first chained at the ankles. He was warned that if he caused problems he would be "camouflaged" (killed secretly). He escaped and went to the Tanzania/Zambia border post at Tunduma where he met a South African PAC member who arranged for him to hide in a lorry to cross the border into Zimbabwe.

The truck driver gave him R21 for food in Harare and pointed out

the South African mission.

"I ran straight there at 7am. Mr Makhanya was flown back to South Africa on Tuesday last week.

"It is still like a dream. Outside the country, there is a struggle. We've all been told we'll get a bullet or a necklace. But so far, we have survived. I cannot be so selfish as to forget those who are still in prison. Four more people were arrested before I left.

"That is what I don't understand: Chris Hani said he would release prisoners before December. Why can't they come home now?"

Tired

ANC information spokesman Saki Macozoma said it would be possible to verify Mr Makhanya's story by finding someone who knew him.

Of the alleged threats to Makhanya's life, Mr Macozoma said: "We're getting a bit tired of this kind of thing. We have policy or intent of harassing a body. People are free to choose their own politics."

11A

OLD FRIENDS FROM A TRYING TIME

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO
London

THE last time they met was in court three decades ago. He was in the dock and she was in the public gallery. *SI Times 28/4/91*

This week Nelson Mandela again met Adelaine Hain, mother of anti-apartheid campaigner and Labour MP Peter Hain.

For both mother and son, meeting the man whose cause they have championed before and since his imprisonment will always be a cherished memory.

"It was lovely, for me and my mum," Peter Hain said.

Mrs Hain, who has lived with her family in London since 1966, said it was a very special moment.

"I said I didn't suppose he'd remember me and he said: 'How could I forget?' He's looking so good, fit and healthy.

"He gave me a huge bear hug. I was delighted."

Mrs Hain, now grey-haired, attended Mr Mandela's trial at the Old Synagogue in Pretoria.

"His white supporters would come over when they could from Johannesburg. I went to court often and was the only white woman in the gallery.

"In those days of segregation Mr Mandela would turn to the packed black section of the gallery and



HELLO AGAIN ... nearly 30 years later Adelaine Hain and son Peter meet up with Nelson Mandela

give the power salute. *SI Times 28/4/91*

"Then he'd turn to me, sitting all by myself in the white section and raise his fist in the air and salute me, too."

Mrs Hain and her husband Walter were the first white couple to be banned in South Africa, she in 1963, he in 1964.

She said: "I was warned that if I did not stop my court work — I observed court cases that needed

to be monitored — I would be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

"I continued to go to Nelson Mandela's trial, though, and other court cases, and was duly banned — which stopped me from going to other trials.

"My husband and I had to get special permission to speak to each other because in those days banned people were not allowed to

communicate with anyone."

The Hain family decided to leave South Africa after Walter, who worked as an architect on government contracts, was dismissed from his job when he was restricted.

The couple were able to get British citizenship because (the senior) Mr Hain's father was British. They left South Africa by ship in April 1966, never to return.

THE ANC's May 9 deadline for the government to meet its demands remained firm, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said after flying in from his visits to England and Japan on Friday.

"Unless the government addresses our demands before May 9, there will be no discussions with them on an all-party conference or a future constitution," he said at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport.

Mandela had "cordial and very constructive" talks with British premier John Major, on whose invitation he had visited England - but the two disagreed on sanctions. British Conservative Party governments have opposed sanctions as a means of promoting reform in South Africa for the past 12 years.

However, British officials, who described the meeting as "friendly and energetic", said Major and Mandela agreed on a common objective - a need to end apartheid and introduce a non-racial democratic system of government in South Africa.

Mandela said they took a common position on several issues and agreed to "keep in touch and to meet from time to time".

He later told newsmen sanctions had been imposed "to give the vote to all the people of South Africa and to scrap apartheid" and that sanctions had to be maintained because neither of these ob-

ANC stands firm on its deadline for demands to be met

AP Press 28/4/91

jectives had been achieved.

Officials said Major's response was that the British and European Community (EC) position was that the lifting of sanctions was not designed to favour the South African Government, but to encourage the reform process.

"Britain remains committed to securing the dismantling of apartheid at the earliest possible date, but it also believes that Pretoria now deserves to be encouraged to press on with its reforms," said one official.

Last week, the EC said bans on imports of gold coins, iron and steel from South Africa would be lifted.

But Mandela had won support from British opposition leader Neil Kinnock on Thursday for keeping up sanctions pressure against the South African Government. Mandela held talks with Kinnock and other top Labour Party officials.

The main purpose of Mandela's trip to Britain was to brief ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is currently recuperating

in Britain from his earlier partial stroke.

ANC officials said the two leaders discussed developments in South Africa ahead of the movement's congress in late June - its first annual congress in the country since its unbanning.

His plane from Japan had touched down at Heathrow on Wednesday one hour after State President FW de Klerk flew out for Copenhagen after two days of talks, which also included a meeting with Major and appeals for new British investments in South Africa. Major had told De Klerk he would continue pushing within the EC and the Commonwealth for the remaining sanctions to be lifted.

Back home, Mandela said he might meet De Klerk again, but stressed he would definitely not meet him after May 9 if the government did not address the ANC's recent demands, which included that he sack Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and bring an end to the township violence, which has

led to the death of at least 600 people this year.

"We have made these demands in order to induce the government to end the violence that is raging in the country and, equally importantly, to save the peace process. Therefore we insist on them being addressed before May 9," he had earlier told journalists at a London press conference.

■ Meanwhile, it is reported from Buenos Aires that Argentina plans to restore diplomatic relations with South Africa after Mandela has visited the country in July.

"Argentina started to consider resuming diplomatic links late in 1989 after South African President Frederik de Klerk announced he would dismantle apartheid's legal structure," said a senior Foreign Affairs official, who asked not to be identified.

The Argentine official said his country would seek to boost bilateral trade once full diplomatic ties resumed.

■ Also on Friday, Mandela hit at an exploratory visit by Japanese businessmen to South Africa,

saying: "The Japanese must not act prematurely on the lifting of sanctions."

He was speaking after meeting the high-powered delegation headed by Bank of Tokyo deputy president Otsu Yamaguchi. Yamaguchi said Mandela had repeated sentiments he had earlier expressed in Japan. The delegation left yesterday.

■ Governments which wished to re-establish relations with South Africa should follow the example of the US and speak to both South Africa's government and its black residents on the handling of sanctions, Mandela told an international conference of journalists in Kyoto, Japan, on Monday evening.

"While we do appreciate the concerns of foreign governments and business people who wish to re-establish relations with South Africa, we still insist that it would improve matters greatly if the victims of apartheid were consulted before such precipitate steps were taken," he said.

Mandela lauded "the exemplary attitude displayed by the USA."

He said the US "has been in regular contact with us from the highest quarters in the administration" and had not treated "the issue of sanctions as if the only people who matter are the South African government." - Sapa-Reuter.

'Plan to wipe out ANC men'

THE ANC yesterday released details of what it called an elaborate plan to cripple the organisation between April 30 and May 9 - the deadline it has set for the government to deal with the internecine violence or face a suspension of constitutional negotiations.

Part of this strategy, according to a statement read by the organisation's secretary-general Alfred Nzo, was the assassination of key regional and branch officials.

"Information gathered indicates there are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV region. The offensive is planned for the period leading up to May 9. Among others, this is aimed at scuttling the January 29 ANC/IFP peace accord

■ To Page 2

'Plan to wipe out ANC men'

■ From Page 1
and undermining the ANC's open letter to the government," Nzo told a media conference at the Mandela home in Soweto.

By late afternoon yesterday police announced that immediate arrangements have been made for a senior police officer to contact the ANC about the alleged plan.

Captain Craig Kotze, speaking on behalf of Law and Order Minister

Adriaan Vlok, urged the ANC to provide police with all relevant information at their disposal so they could investigate and, if necessary, take preventive steps.

Nzo earlier said his organisation, after lengthy investigations, had discovered that Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives had been specifically deployed in Reef townships since the ANC's public ultimatum to the government.

"This occurs after completion of military training in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. These bases are manned and the training done by members of Koevoet, 101 Battalion and other arms of the SADF.

"The hostels are divided into regiments, with trained IFP Youth Brigade members allocated to the various hostels to keep control and lead attacks. Both in the PWV area and Natal, a campaign of eliminating ANC members has been set in motion," Nzo alleged.

He also said the ANC was aware of a massive delivery of weapons to various places in the Witwatersrand.

To prevent the carnage before May 9, the ANC had alerted the government about the planned attacks and was in the process of briefing its structures. It had also contacted the IFP. - Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by
K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing
by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street,
Johannesburg.

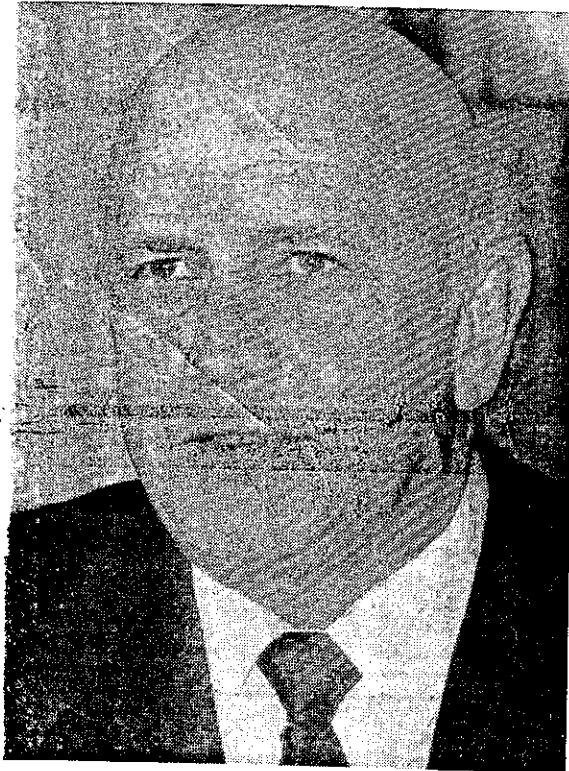
ANC deadline approaches

by SEKOLA SELLO

WITH just two days before the April 30 deadline for the release of political prisoners and return of exiles, President FW de Klerk insisted the government was "on schedule in terms of the agreements with the ANC".

He was speaking yesterday morning at Jan Smuts Airport after arriving home from a week-long visit to England, Ireland and Denmark.

He criticised those promoting the 'propaganda image' of the government not moving fast enough to meet the deadline.



De Klerk ... criticised "propaganda image"

Although De Klerk says the government is on schedule, it seems unlikely the process for the return of exiles will be completed by Tuesday.

There are about 20 000 to 40 000 people still in exile.

De Klerk is expected to make an announcement in Parliament this week on the ANC's May 9 ultimatum. At the airport yesterday he refused to say whether the government would be able to meet the ANC's demands.

The ANC has said negotiations with the government may be derailed if Pretoria does not meet the April 30 deadline for exiles and amnesty for political

prisoners and fails to respond positively to its May 9 ultimatum.

The ultimatum demands include the dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

There is a discrepancy between the number of political prisoners the government says are still incarcerated and the figure given by the Human Rights Commission.

De Klerk said in London there were less than 200, while the HRC puts the figure at 1 146.

This is because some political prisoners are regarded by the government as "common law criminals".

The State President said he was warmly received in Ireland and Denmark, countries which in the past were vehement opponents of South Africa.

Although De Klerk denied he had gone to Europe with a "shopping list", he said trade with overseas countries was opening up and there was an inflow of capital, even if this was not on a large scale.

See reports on Page 10.

De Klerk ^{flows 28/4/91} confident as Amnesty 'on schedule'

Police investigating 'assassination plot'

The Argus Correspondent

ARGUS 29/4/91 (11A) (S) (S)

JOHANNESBURG. — The police have begun an investigation into claims made by the ANC of a sophisticated assassination plot against its PWV leadership, allegedly to be put into effect between tomorrow and May 9.

This and other claims by the ANC have plunged relations between the organisation and the security forces into a crisis.

The claims included allegations that:

- Inkatha Youth Brigade members have been trained by the SADF and deployed in the PWV area;

- The government was waging war on the ANC while talking peace; and

- A man claiming to be a Defence Force intelligence operative helped assassinate Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa president Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo in February.

MASSIVE PLANS

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said: "There are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV area.

"The offensive is aimed at scuttling the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party peace accord and undermining the ANC's open letter.

"Another trend which has emerged is the reported deployment of Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives in the violence-torn areas of the PWV after military training by members of the SADF.

In his reaction, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said: "We urgently appeal to the ANC to provide us with all the information at their disposal to enable the police to investigate and take preventive steps if necessary."

The SADF denied the existence of any "third force" and rejected the ANC allegations "with contempt".

11A
Star 29/4/91

ANC women welcome freed Sparg

KIMBERLEY — Marion Sparg, the Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier freed on Saturday, was warmly welcomed at the ANC Women's League national conference yesterday.

Miss Sparg was hesitant to be interviewed, saying she still felt "bombed out".

She would continue to work for the ANC and would at some stage like to resume her career in journalism, she said.

Miss Sparg was sentenced to an effective 25 years' jail in 1986 for planting bombs in police stations. — Staff Reporter.

Winnie fails in bid for second top post

6/10/81 21/4/71 DARIUS SANAI (11A)

KIMBERLEY — Winnie Mandela yesterday failed in her attempt to be elected to the second top position in the ANC Women's League after earlier being outvoted in the election for the league presidency.

Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and a UDF co-president, was yesterday elected vice-president. Mandela had to settle for membership of the national executive committee.

Gertrude Shope was re-elected president on Saturday by an undisclosed margin. It is believed, however, that she polled 400 votes to about 200 for Mandela.

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, Shope denied suggestions of a rift in the movement following her win.

Shope, a veteran ANC member who returned from 24 years in exile last June, said the four-day conference was "momentous and full of passion".

Some of the 663 voting delegates talked of a rift in the league between those favouring Mandela's more militant profile and Shope's more "motherly" style.

Mandela said she was "mystified" by a suggestion that her current trial on charges of kidnapping and assault had had any bearing on her failure to be elected president or vice-president.

The congress proposed a resolution to be debated at the ANC's national consultative conference in June that at least 30% of the ANC's national executive committee members should be women.

ANC to host Kaunda and Nyerere in SA

The Argus Correspondent *Argus 29/4/91*

DURBAN.— Two arch enemies of apartheid, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and former Tanzanian president Mr Julius Nyerere, will visit Durban in July as guests of the African National Congress.

Hardliner President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Mr Sam Nujoma, who has just completed his first year as president of independent Namibia, have also been invited to the ANC's historic national conference, the first since the organisation was unbanned on February 2 last year.

Sources close to the ANC confirmed yesterday that Dr Kaunda and Mr Nyerere had accepted the invitation, along with other prominent members of the Organisation of African Unity.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The conference will take place at the University of Durban-Westville from July 1 to 7.

More than 2 500 delegates are expected to attend the meeting, the first inside the country in 33 years.

The ANC's last national conference in South Africa was held in Durban, in December 1958.

However, top ANC officials at national level would not comment on the visits.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's Press spokesman, Mr Sakhumuzi Macozoma, said: "I am not going to deny or confirm the visits at this stage. We will divulge all our plans at a Press conference next week."

This was echoed by ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus, who told a Sunday newspaper that they had strict orders not to discuss details with the media, until the Johannesburg briefing.

The Zambian president's Press spokesman, Mr Puna Bantu, also refused to shed light on the visit and said President Kaunda would prefer the ANC to make any announcement public, "if there is any announcement to make".

Natal ANC sources said they had been notified by head office that Dr Kaunda and Mr Nyerere had accepted invitations to attend.

"We were told that Kaunda and Nyerere are in the bag. The national preparatory committee is now waiting for Mugabe and Nujoma to respond."

The sources said the two leaders had been billed as VIP guest speakers, possibly at the opening and closing sessions.

POLITICAL COUP

The presence of the influential frontline state leaders on South African soil will be a major political coup for the ANC, and observers say it will show the world and the rest of Africa clearly how far the country has moved since the coming to power of President De Klerk.

Foreign policy analysts said it was unlikely the African leaders would miss the chance of meeting President De Klerk while here.

Mr Rusty Evans, Foreign Affairs deputy director-general for Africa, said the government was in the dark about the visits.

ANC women demand greater authority

AK645 29/4/91 11R

The Argus Correspondent, Johannesburg, reports

ORGANISED and determined, ANC women are staking a claim for greater authority in their political and private lives.

When hundreds of women met for the

WOMEN

first national conference of the ANC Women's League in more than 30 years — at which Mrs Winnie Mandela was defeated in an election for the leadership of the league by ANC veteran Mrs Gertrude Shope — they agreed that their needs had to be addressed now, not after black liberation.

Delegates to the four-day conference, held in Kimberly, made clear that they knew themselves to be oppressed.

"Literally, even to this day, women are like slaves," said

ANC cultural officer Barbara Masekela.

Conference spokeswoman Frene Ginwala described the discussion on women's emancipation.

"When the time came for women to talk about their own experiences, there were five microphones.

"And women were queuing up like mad at each one."

Their complaints were far-ranging, including discrimination at the workplace, rape and domestic abuse, repressive laws and sexist behaviour by their husbands.

Rural women voiced anguish at the oppression they faced in going about day to day life: the difficulties in securing food and water for their families and the lack of access to the land.

The delegates put the responsibility for women's emancipation on the state, whether the present govern-

ment or a future black government.

They formulated a programme of action which challenged male domination, even inside the ANC.

The programme demands greater representation in ANC leadership.

Seventeen seats out of an expanded 105-person national executive should be reserved for women, the delegates determined.

They also called for 30 per cent female representation in all groups within the ANC.

To monitor discrimination and these proposed affirmative action policies, the programme calls on the ANC's national executive to set up a women's commission.

It would be chaired by a woman and have a majority of female members.

Delegates are also determined that women not be left out of the constitutional process.

A campaign to ensure that women are represented in a future constituent assembly, or any group charged with drawing up the new law of the land, is to start on August 9.

In order to promote women's equality, delegates resolved to encourage the recruitment of more women into Unkonto we Sizwe.

Other resolutions of the programme of actions include:

- Sending a memorandum to State President FW de Klerk demanding him to put a stop to township violence.

- On the day that the memorandum is set, a mass action will be carried out, with women dressed in mourning clothes to represent the huge death toll of the violence.

- Calling for a national women's peace conference involving women of all political persuasions.

- Setting up a women's al-

liance of all groups concerned with the advancement of women, again not just comprised of women within the ANC.

- Establishing crisis centres to help victims of rape, battery and sexual harassment.

- Calling upon schools to address gender issues in their formal curriculum.

- Launching a campaign for one affordable health and welfare system.

- Mobilising around the issue of Aids, with support given to families of Aids patients.

- Pushing for the formation of a commission to tackle children's health and education problems.

- Spearheading a drive to fight illiteracy.

The programme also resolved to pay attention to the needs of rural women, farm employees and domestic workers.

In addition to these issues, the conference devoted much time to hashing out the structure of the league.

After a 30-year banning, the league is starting anew inside the country and many feel that a different type of organisation is called for.

"This is a new sort of league to the one we had before," says league financial administrator Thembie Majola.

Formed originally to support the overall cause of black liberation, many feel the league should now focus primarily on women's issues.

Consequently, delegates felt it essential that the league be autonomous, financially and otherwise.

In the past, delegates felt, the league was sometimes given short shrift by the central ANC leadership.

"The ANC body would take a long time to approve funds

or funds would be diverted," recalled Mrs Majola.

"We need to be able to control our own organisation and determine its direction, to control its human as well as material resources," said Lidwe Mbuzza, ANC chief representative to the United States.

In other structural decisions, the delegates determined that league office bearers would hold no other office within the ANC.

"You find that when women wear too many hats, the women's work suffers.

"People put the women's work at the bottom of the list," said Mrs Ginwala.

The league will have a national executive of its own, comprising five office bearers, six women elected at the conference and 15 regional representatives.

Despite the unified stance

taken by the delegates, there were also problems that reflected the diverse backgrounds of the delegates.

There were divisions along age lines, with the older women voicing dissatisfaction with being in the same organisation with their youngsters.

"Culturally, my grandmother would not want to be in the same organisation as me," said ANC spokeswoman Terry Matuola.

There was also some resentment expressed against intellectuals, felt to be assertive in discussions but hesitant to participate in league work.

Nonetheless, there was an optimistic mood at the conference, generated by the feeling that women were finally speaking up for themselves and working together to solve their own problems.

and power



Ma as Winnie defeated

erupts after Mrs Sisulu accused of 'stabbing Mrs Mandela in back'

Political Staff and
The Independent

ANC 29/4/91
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KIMBERLEY. — High drama surrounded the election defeat of Mrs Winnie Mandela to Mrs Gertrude Shope, who on Saturday was elected ANC Women's League president by an overwhelming majority.

After a tough contest which lasted for three hours, Mrs Shope — an ANC executive member who headed the women's section in exile — emerged as the winner. She received 633 votes against Mrs Mandela's 196 votes, sources said.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the other person nominated for the presidency, stepped down at the last minute and, in a controversial move, publicly asked her supporters to vote for Mrs Shope.

This led to much bitterness among Mrs Mandela's supporters, who accused Mrs Sisulu — eventually elected as deputy president — of "stabbing Mrs Mandela in the back".

Long-standing feud

The long-standing feud between Mrs Mandela and Mrs Sisulu is well-known.

When Mrs Mandela arrived at the conference hall on Friday night, not a word was spoken between them although at one stage they sat next to each other.

Mrs Mandela was said to be very upset by her defeat, but did not contest the deputy presidency. She was elected as one of six additional members of the executive.

The media were barred from the De Beers Stadium grounds during the heated debate on the presidential election on Saturday night. Insiders said many delegates left before the voting because the procedure was drawn out.

It was heard that Western Cape delegates, leading the strong anti-Mandela lobby, threatened to close down their branches if Mrs Mandela was elected.

'Happy with result'

Interviewed in Kimberley yesterday, Mrs Mandela declared that she was "absolutely happy with the result", and proceeded to suggest that she had not lost the election because she had rejected the offer of the Women's League presidency.

"It is ridiculous to suggest that I would have had any interest there," she said, adding: "I had to turn this down in the conference itself. I'm not looking for any position whatsoever, let us get this clear."

But Mr Nelson Mandela, who addressed the Women's League yesterday, warmly congratulated Mrs Shope, and said: "Those who have lost should not be disappointed. There should be no need for bitterness or regret."

Mrs Mandela was repeatedly asked whether her assault and kidnapping trial had cost her the presidency. She said the questions mystified her: "I don't know what the trial has got to do with the election."

● See page 11.

Mbeki's compassion veiled by the echoes of Lenin

LEARNING FROM ROBBERN ISLAND — THE PRISON WRITINGS OF GOVAN MBEKI (David Phillip, R29,95)

ONE thing you have to appreciate about people like Govan Mbeki is their sheer temerity in achieving what they have done, given the circumstances they were in.

If you or I were thrust into prison for 24 years for dubious reasons, we would probably not sit down and come out with a rational, learned and carefully analysed "education programme" for the benefit of our fellow prisoners. Even ideologues like Piet "Skiet" Rudolph can manage no more than a hoax hunger strike.

But Mbeki, now 82 and long one of the leading lights in the ANC-SACP alliance, was determined, like a true Marxist-Leninist, to spread the Word around his fellow prisoners.

This involved everything from teaching people how to write while smashing rocks in a quarry, to the comprehensive programme of political education which is partially documented (the rest was confiscated) in Learning from Robben Island.

But the book fails the great purpose of the

man. It fails not because of its range of content, which runs from exacting analyses of the wealthy history of evil and greed in SA to lucid and remarkably up-to-date commentaries on the political situation.

But the pervading theme echoes — quite unapologetically — one of the most famous pamphlets in the history of political agitation, published five years before Mbeki was born: Lenin's What is to be done?. And this is the author's failing. In following a stringent Marxist-Leninist analysis, he exposes a dull and dated narrowness — giving few hints of the humour and compassion that decorate his soul.

It is not the gratuitous references to "fascist dictatorships" that rile so — although one is left wondering how someone so evidently well-read as Mbeki can confuse the oligopolistic bureaucracy that has ruled apartheid with the histrionics of a fascist dictatorship.

But his whole line of thinking is tainted by unveiled communism. From references to "cadres" and "recruitment units" (cells) to the role of the "Organisation" in leading the working classes to revolution (see Lenin's Leading Role of the Communist Party), such terminology

abounds.

Mbeki's concluding reference to the establishment of a "National Democratic Republic" instead of a "bourgeois democracy" is frightening given standard communist definitions of "democracy" — remember the German Democratic Republic? Or the People's Republic of China? As much of a fallacy as the Republic of South Africa, I would suggest.

Of course, written in the conditions that they were, these reactions of extremism to extremism are more understandable. And like Marx, like Lenin, even like Mao and Khrushchev, Mbeki makes valid points about the economic unfairness and flaws of the capitalist state.

And denouncements of "monopoly capitalism" and "exploitation" are far more valid in corporation-dominated, labour-rich SA than when bleated in 1990s Europe, for example.

But Learning from Robben Island just leaves you wishing that Mbeki, after giving fellow prisoners such a comprehensive and readable historical analysis, could have come up with a more original conclusion than an endorsement of the same, dishevelled Workers' Revolution.

DARIUS SANAI



□ MBEKI . . . spreading the Word

PATRICK BULGER

INFORMANTS in township hostels were the ANC's source of information on alleged plans to attack top ANC figures and launch a campaign of violence leading up to the May 9 ultimatum, senior ANC sources said.

Allegations of a plot to kill ANC leaders and spark tensions between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party were made public by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo at the weekend. *Blomay 29/4/91*

The informants at the hostels — traditionally seen as anti-ANC strongholds — appear to be part of a well-established network built up over the past few months in the wake of clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents.

ANC national executive committee

118 *278*
**ANC 'spy' system
behind plot claims**

member Aziz Pahad said yesterday there was a growing concern in the hostels about violence, and that hostel dwellers were coming forward to provide details of planned attacks. ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu confirmed the existence of a network of hostel informants.

An ANC informant apparently attended a meeting of hostel representatives from the PWV region at which they were told Inkatha was to go on the offensive because the ANC was not interested in peace.

The ANC added hostel informants had

To Page 2

ANC *Blomay 29/4/91*

also told the ANC they were being terrorised into paying a tax to buy firearms and were forced to take part in attacks.

The ANC claimed Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives were being deployed in the PWV after training in the eastern Transvaal and Natal. Nzo said part of their role was to suppress the anti-violence feeling among some hostel dwellers.

He alleged that squads had been formed to attack leaders and May Day rallies and that intelligence units had passed on information about these attacks to the squads.

The ANC alleged that a "Third Force" was trying to cause tension between its members and those of Inkatha. It alleged the "Third Force" was drawn from elements of the security forces and Inkatha.

The ANC said the assassination in February of Mhlabuzima Maphumulo — who headed a coalition of Natal chiefs aligned to the ANC — was carried out to provoke

118 *278*
the ANC into a counterattack against Inkatha. In affidavits presented to City Press newspaper, Siphso Madlala who claimed to be a Military Intelligence agent said he committed the killing on instructions from the Security Branch of the SA Police.

The SADF has denied the claim and allegations that it is involved in "Third Force" violence.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze called on the ANC to produce Madlala who would be questioned in the presence of an ANC lawyer. He also said arrangements were being made to have a senior police officer contact the ANC to investigate its claims.

The ANC said it had informed government of the impending attacks and that it had stepped up security to protect ANC and community leaders. The ANC said it was working on a Peace Charter to attain peace in the townships.

From Page 1

Out-voted for top ANC post

Winnie

CAPE TIMES 29/4/91

1A

defeated

KIMBERLEY. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been defeated in an election for the leadership of the ANC's Women's League — a serious blow to her political aspirations.

In a five-hour tussle, ANC veteran Ms Gertrude Shope was re-elected by an undisclosed margin.

It is believed, however, that she polled about 400 votes to Mrs Mandela's 200.

Mrs Mandela, the ANC's head of welfare, also failed in her bid to be elected vice-president — she was beaten by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, United Democratic Front president and wife of ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

She had to settle for a position on the national executive committee.

The bitter race for the presidency forced several ballots. It remained in a deadlock until Mrs Sisulu withdrew her candidacy and threw her support behind Ms Shope.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, Ms Shope — who was in exile for 24 years before returning in June last year — denied suggestions of a rift in the movement following her win.

She said the four-day conference, which was the first since the league was unbanned in February 1990, was "momentous and full of passion".

Some of the 663 voting delegates talked of a rift between those favouring Mrs Mandela's militant profile as opposed to Ms Shope's more "motherly" style.



DEFEATED ... Mrs Winnie Mandela

Picture: AP

Mrs Mandela said she was "mystified" by a suggestion that her current trial on charges of kidnapping and assault had had any bearing on her failure to be elected president or vice-president.

She said she was "extremely proud" of the

league's new executive and happy with the election of Ms Shope and Mrs Sisulu.

She said she was happy that people who had spent years in exile and prison were home to assume their rightful places in the struggle for liberation.

"However, they are taking up the mantle at a difficult time in the history of our country, as we are nearing May 9 — a date we dislike for the future of our country."

May 9 is the expiry date for the ANC ultimatum to the government to end violence and sack the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan — or jeopardise the future of talks with the organisation.

Other members elected to the executive committee are: Secretary-general Ms Baleka Kgositsile, treasurer Ms Makho Njobe and national organiser Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa.

The congress proposed a resolution to be debated at the ANC's national consultative conference in June that at least 30% of the ANC's national executive committee members should be women.

Mr Nelson Mandela congratulated the new executive, saying those who had lost should not be disappointed.

There was no need for bitterness or regret. Those who had lost the leadership contest, he said, should give the successful candidates their full support.

Two recently released ANC members, Ms Marion Sparg and Ms Pumla Williams, were at the conference. — Own Correspondent, UPI, Sapa

● Mandela: Govt must keep word — Page 2

ANC claims hit squads are to strike

THE ANC has exposed what it called was a covert assassination plot against ANC leaders in the run-up to its May 9 deadline for the Government to halt the bloody violence in the country.

Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary general, told a news conference at deputy president Nelson Mandela's Soweto home that assassins had been trained at bases run by members of the counter-insurgency unit Koevoet, the 101 Battalion and "the arms" of the SA Defence Force.

"Information gathered indicates there are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV region," he said.

As part of the April 30 to May 9 plot, Nzo alleged, weapons had already been moved to the Witwatersrand.

But, the SADF dismissed the allegations, saying it was a bid by the ANC to justify the violence it planned to commit during this period.

"This is an attempt by the ANC to create a



ALFRED NZO

climate to justify whatever violence they may be planning over the period leading up to their so-called deadline of May 9," they said in a statement.

The ANC did not mention any leaders on the hit-list, but said security had been stepped up to protect probable targets in the organisation.

In further moves, the organisation had initiated discussions with other political organisations, including Inkatha.

Nzo told the news conference Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives had

been deployed in Reef townships to carry out the killings.

The deployment had started soon after the ANC gave the Government an ultimatum to quell the violence, he added.

He said assassins were trained at bases in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal and were given employment through security forces when they reached the Transvaal.

"The hostels are divided into regiments, with trained IFP Brigade members allocated to the various hostels to keep control and lead attacks," Nzo said.

There was no immediate comment from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Nzo said while the main design was to weaken the ANC, the plot was also aimed at eroding gains achieved in peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha to halt the violence which has killed

5 000 people in five years.

Nzo said it had informed the Government of the plans, but Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze effectively denied this.

"We urgently appeal

to the ANC to provide us with all the relevant information at their disposal to enable the South African police to investigate the claims and if necessary take preventive

measures."

The ANC secretary

general reiterated his organisation's position it was firm on its May deadline.

He added there had not been any discussions with the Government to discuss the ultimatum. The ANC has told the Govern-

ment it wants Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok fired, among other demands.

"The deadline and conditions of May 9 stand," Nzo said. - Sapa.

119
27/4/91

Winnie fails in bid to lead ANC's women

Sowetan 29/4/91.

11A

SOUTH Africa's most controversial woman, Mrs Winnie Mandela, suffered a major blow at the weekend when she was rejected by the ANC Women's League for the presidency of the organisation.

Mandela was soundly defeated by Mrs Gertrude Shope, who had been head of the league in exile.

Shope won more than 400 votes against Mandela's 196.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, one of two league co-conveners prior to the election, was initially also a contender for the post. However, she gave her support to Shope just before the voting.

Insiders at the four-day conference of the league, held in Kimberley, said opposition to Mandela centred less on the criminal charges she is facing than her perceived militancy.

Mandela was said to have been keen on the position. Had she won it would have been a significant sign of support amid mounting criticism of her inside and outside the libera-

Women are now pushing for more power within the ANC's structures. They feel their needs are not properly addressed because men dominate the decision-making bodies. What do you think? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise today and tell him live between 4.30 and 5pm. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

tion movement.

Voters used coloured pieces of paper to choose their candidate. This was done to avoid problems stemming from illiteracy and the voting was monitored by a 10-person team consisting of representatives of the ANC, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

There was an air of secrecy at the conference, the league's first inside the country in

● To Page 2

ANC women reject Winnie

11A

Sowetan 29/4/91.

From Page 1

more than 30 years. It was closed to the Press and delegates were warned not to speak to journalists.

The league's president is entitled to a seat on the ANC's national executive committee. Shope, however, is already on the NEC.

In addition to electing office-bearers, delegates drew up a programme of action on the emancipation of women.

The programme addressed discrimination inside the ANC itself as well as in the society at large.

It called for greater representation on the ANC NEC and a voice in the drawing up of a new constitution.

It also resolved to spearhead the formation of an alliance of women's groups across the country. - Sowetan Reporter.

Women staking claim for greater authority

11A

So vefan 29/4/91

ORGANISED and determined ANC women are staking a claim for greater authority in their political and private lives.

When hundreds of women met in Kimberley last week for the first national conference of the ANC Women's League in more than 30 years, they agreed that their needs must be addressed now, not after black liberation.

Delegates to the four-day conference made it clear they regarded themselves as being oppressed.

"Literally, even to this day, women are like slaves," said ANC cultural officer Barbara Masekela.

Conference spokeswoman Frene Ginwala described the discussion on women's emancipation.

"When the time came for women to talk about their own experiences, there were five microphones. And women were queuing up like mad at each one."

Complaints

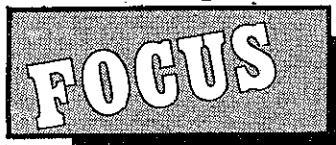
Their complaints were wide-ranging, including discrimination at the workplace, rape and domestic abuse, repressive laws and sexist behaviour by their husbands.

Rural women voiced anguish at the oppression they faced in their day-to-day life: the difficulties in securing food and water for their families and the lack of access to the land.

The delegates put the responsibility for women's emancipation on the State, whether the current Government or a future black-dominated government.

They formulated a programme of action which challenged male domination, even inside the ANC.

The programme demands greater representation in ANC



Sowetan Reporter

leadership. Seventeen seats out of an expanded 105-person national executive should be reserved for women, the delegates determined.

They also called for 30 percent female representation in all groups within the ANC.

To monitor discrimination and these proposed affirmative action policies, the programme calls on the ANC's national executive to set up a women's commission.

Constitution

It would be chaired by a woman and have a majority of female members.

Delegates are also determined that women should not be left out of the constitutional process.

A campaign to ensure that women are represented in a future constituent assembly, or any group charged with drawing up the new law of the land, is to start on August 9.

In order to promote women's equality, delegates resolved to encourage the recruitment of more women into the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Other resolutions of the programme of action include:

- * Sending a memorandum to President FW de Klerk demanding that he end township violence. On the day that the memorandum is sent mass action will be carried out, with women dressing in mourning clothes to represent the huge death toll of the violence;

- * Calling for a national women's peace conference involving women of all political persuasions;

- * Setting up a women's al-

liance of all groups concerned with the advancement of women, again not just consisting of women within the ANC;

- * Establishing crisis centres to help victims of rape, assaults and sexual harassment;

- * Calling on schools to address gender issues in their formal curricula;

- * Launching a campaign for one affordable health and welfare system;

- * Mobilising around the issue of Aids, with support given to families of Aids patients;

- * Pushing for the formation of a commission to tackle children's health and education problems; and

- * Spearheading a drive to fight illiteracy.

The programme also resolved to pay attention to the needs of rural women, farm employees and domestic workers.

In addition to these issues, the conference devoted much time to formulating the structure of the league.

Banning

After a 30-year banning, the league is starting anew inside the country and many feel that a different type of organisation is called for.

"This is a new sort of league (compared) to the one we had before," said the league's financial administrator Thembi Majola.

Formed originally to support the overall cause of black liberation, many feel the league should now focus primarily on women's issues.

Consequently, delegates felt it essential that it should be autonomous, financially and otherwise.

In the past, delegates felt, the league was sometimes given short shrift by the central ANC leadership.

"The ANC body would take a long time to approve funds or funds would be diverted," recalled Majola.

"We need to be able to control our own organisation and determine its direction, to control its human as well as material resources," said Lindiwe Mabuza, the ANC's chief representative in the United States.

In other structural decisions, the delegates determined that league office-bearers would hold no other office within the ANC.

"You find that when women wear too many hats, the women's work suffers. People put the women's work at the bottom of the list," said Ginwala.

Problems

The league will have a national executive of its own, comprising five office-bearers, six women elected at the conference and 15 regional representatives.

Despite the unified stance taken by the delegates, there were also problems that reflected the diverse backgrounds of the delegates.

There were divisions along age lines, with the older women voicing dissatisfaction with being in the same organisation with their juniors.

"Culturally, my grandmother would not want to be in the same organisation as me," said Terry Matuala.

There was also some resentment expressed against intellectuals, felt to be assertive in discussions but hesitant to participate in league work.

Nonetheless, there was an optimistic mood at the conference, generated by the feeling that women were finally speaking up for themselves and working together to solve their own problems.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Mathaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978. * Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Azapo pledges help to reclaim land

By RUSSEL MOLEFE
POLITICAL solutions that did not make the return of land to its historical owners the central theme would fail, the Azanian Peoples Organisation has said.

In a statement by Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadameng, the organisation pledged solidarity with the six black communities who have reoccupied land previously expropriated by the Government.

Azapo said it was land occupation and ownership that would address poverty and deprivation.

The communities of Mogopa, Goedgevonden, Machaviestad, Roosboom, MacLeantown and Crimen were forced out after their areas were declared "white" by the Government 25 years ago.

Now moves are under way by the Government to evict these people. Some have been arrested and charged with trespassing.

Azapo said the campaign to repossess expropriated land should be seen in the context of the broad liberation struggle, the chief objective of which was the return of land to its rightful owners.

The salvation of black people did not depend on jobs offered by capitalism and imperialism, but on black people working their own land.

"Not only those who were forcibly removed during the past 25 years, but all communities dispossessed of their ancestral land at any time in history have a revolutionary claim to the land," Nkadameng said.

Calling on all liberation movements who make land repossession a central theme of their programmes to support the six communities, Nkadameng said Azapo had already identified a dozen other communities who would reclaim their ancestral land soon as part of the national liberation.

The organisation has pledged legal assistance to affected communities and has called on those seeking help to contact their nearest Azapo branch or the head office at (011) 29-9055/6.



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Buthelezi: ANC out to kill my kids

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15/2/76 27/6
CPL TMD 3c/1/91
ULUNDI — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he had been given an urgent warning at the weekend that the ANC planned to abduct and kill two of his children.

However the ANC last night dismissed the allegation as "preposterous".

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi also said he had information that the ANC branch in Natal had a hit list containing the names of prominent IFP officials, including its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Chief Buthelezi said the warning was "urgently given", "I don't know the truth of it. There are certain elements in the ANC quite capable of such a thing."

This was happening despite the fact that all South Africans wanted peace. In the light of calls for peace, he would attend President F W de Klerk's peace summit on May 24 and 25.

"Every political party will go except, of course, the ANC, which refuses to come out for peace in the most august national forum that could be created."

Chief Buthelezi also lashed out at Mr Nelson Mandela, accusing him of making "petulant" mid-night phone calls. — Sapa

11A
Cape Times
30/4/91

FWW cash plan

Cape Times 30/4/91

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday launched a fresh initiative to curb the recent spiralling violence which has claimed at least 50 lives since Friday.

Mr De Klerk also announced two new funding projects — one financed by the selling off of strategic oil reserves — to address some of the underlying causes of violence and bring emergency relief to its victims.

He made an impassioned plea for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join him in a crisis

"mini summit" to work out a joint plan to crack down on violence and intimidation.

Introducing the debate on his budget vote, Mr De Klerk said that up to R2 billion freed by the reduction of South Africa's strategic oil stockpiles would be used for development programmes — including projects aimed at ending township violence.

He acknowledged that poverty, joblessness and unacceptable social conditions were contributing to the violence sweeping the country.

Outlining the first aim of the two-pronged initiative, Mr De Klerk said about R10m would be used this year to further social stability and order by funding projects such as the erection of clinics, sport and recreational facilities, schools and the provision of land for housing in poor communities.

The money would come from selling off oil reserves.

As economic relations with the rest of the world continued to improve, the amount could be raised to R2bn.

Disadvantaged communities would help to identify facilities needed and, where possible, also contribute labour. The projects would be co-ordinated with manpower training to ensure as much job creation as possible.

A committee of ministers headed by the Minister of Economic Co-ordination, Dr Dawie de Villiers, would evaluate and co-ordinate projects, which would include the repair of the vital road infrastructure.

The second part of the initiative will be the establishment of a Social Emergency Aid Fund to channel

short-term relief in the form of food, clothing and blankets to violence-ridden communities.

The fund, which would be established in terms of legislation during the current session of Parliament would channel financial support it received through welfare organisations and other approved institutions.

Mr De Klerk committed the government to making "substantial contribution" to the proposed fund. It expressed the hope that the South African public

From page 1

would contribute to the fund and was confident that it would be possible to get international support as well.

He warned that the "violence psychosis" and culture of violence gripping the nation was in danger of plunging the country into "civil war".

"We can't go on like this," he told Parliament. The "senseless" politically motivated violence and intimidation racking the country was jeopardising reform, economic development and the future prospects of South Africa.

Turning to the latest instance of on-the-ground violence, Mr De Klerk said that some black communities were being torn apart and "almost destroyed".

Mr De Klerk said he accepted that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi — as leaders — wished to see an end to violence. "I know that neither of them doubts that I am just as serious about it."

He invited the two leaders to join him in discussions on violence which would precede the proposed Pretoria summit on violence next month.

Mr De Klerk also proposed that they jointly "declare war" on violence and intimidation, co-operate to bring violence to an end and elevate the question of violence "above party-political manipulation".

"The whole country wants this to happen — indeed, even the entire world.

"Let us act in such a way that history will never be able to say that we failed as responsible peace-makers," Mr De Klerk said in what amounted to an impassioned plea for joint action.

Mr De Klerk issued a challenge for all leaders to attend the proposed peace summit in Pretoria by saying: "The time has come for the men of peace to gather."

He added: "If we stand arm-in-arm, we will be able to turn the tide of violence."

To break the spiral of violence, South Africa needed "a massive effort" by all the leaders of society — political, religious, educational and community.

"The time has come for them to speak up in public. We need an outcry against violence."

However, more was needed than mere statements opposing violence, and it was for this reason that he had called a special all-party summit on May 24-25.

Mr De Klerk said the solution to the problem of violence did not lie in apportioning blame or issuing ultimatums. "Confrontation among leaders will merely fan violence."

In an apparent reference to the ANC's planned nationwide mass action programme, he said: "Let us be careful how we demonstrate or protest, so that those who follow us do not get caught up anew in the spirit of blood and flames."

Mr De Klerk said the government was totally committed to the peace process. "We are not playing games and we don't have a hidden agenda.

"If anyone is playing games, we want to know it. The truth must prevail." This was one of the reasons for the proposed establishment of a Standing Commission of Inquiry into violence and intimidation.

"Simultaneously, the leaders of those who are continuously involved in violence have a special responsibility to discipline their followers."

In a side-swipe at Inkatha, he said those who carried traditional weapons should make doubly sure that the symbols they carried in their hands "remain an expression of their true culture".

And in an apparent reference to the ANC, he said: "Let those who are not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically, realise the time for armed struggle is over."

● FW cautions on cultural weapons — Page 5
● Don't trust FW totally, UK warned — Page 5

To Page 5

Tuks burn ANC flag on campus

CAPE TIMES 30/4/91



Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — A large group of right-wingers yesterday prevented ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela from addressing a meeting at the Pretoria University amphitheatre.

An unidentified elderly man confronted Mr Mandela's small party on the stage and was soon joined by noisy right-wing students.

Mr Mandela stood impassively on the platform as the group, waving Vierkleur flags and banners proclaiming "Terug na Ons Volksstaat" and "ANC Scum", shouted "af, af" (get off, get off).

The group of about 100 burnt an ANC flag. They were among about 5 000 who had come to hear Mr Mandela speak at an Afrikaans university for the first time.

Police were not seen at the meeting, which broke up as Mr

Mandela and his party retreated.

A section of the audience protested that Mr Mandela should be given an opportunity to speak, but was shouted down by the mob.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, a former lecturer at Pretoria University, said the meeting was a disgraceful display of closed minds and intolerance.

The university's student representative council condemned the right-wing protest and said it was a blemish on the name of the university.

Vice-rector Professor Flip Smit said the break-up of the meeting was initiated by outsiders and not by students. The university had taken steps to identify those responsible and further action would be taken.

The university's standpoint was that invited speakers were treated as guests and freedom of speech was highly regarded.

CAP- Trent
day, April 30 1991

Winnie: Claim disputed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The state yesterday reopened its case against Mrs Winnie Mandela with a security policeman disputing the claim of a defence witness that he had not accurately recorded a statement by her.

Colonel Abraham Coetzee, who is attached to the Soweto branch of the security police, told the Rand Supreme Court that a "voluntary" statement by Brandfort schoolteacher Mrs Nora Moahloli was accurate.

Last Tuesday Mrs Moahloli testified that the affidavit, made three days before the February 4 start of Mrs Mandela's kidnap and assault trial, contained factual mistakes due to communication problems and police ignoring her requests to correct the mistakes.

The statement contradicts Mrs Mandela's alibi that she was travelling to Brandfort about the same time four people were abducted from a Soweto church manse and assaulted at her home.

In the document, Mrs Moahloli said Mrs Mandela had arrived in Brandfort on December 28, 1988, and had left on December 30 after discussing welfare projects.

Mrs Mandela's evidence is that she arrived in the Free State town a day later on the night of December 29.

Mrs Moahloli said Colonel Coetzee had asked whether Mrs Mandela's visit had spanned the days of December 28, 29 and 30.

She said that when she asked whether December 28 was a Thursday, because she knew Mrs Mandela had arrived on a Thursday night, Colonel Coetzee had ignored her and continued his questions.

Colonel Coetzee denied he had put any dates to Mrs Moahloli, adding that she had first told him that Mrs Mandela arrived on December 27 and left on December 29.

After completing her statement, Mrs Moahloli told him she had made a mistake; that Mrs Mandela had in fact arrived on December 28 and left on December 30.

Colonel Coetzee said he had spoken "mainly in English (and) points (Mrs Moahloli) did not understand" were translated into Sotho by another security policeman.

In cross-examination, Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, asked why the statement was written in Afrikaans if he had spoken in English.

'Hotstix' testifies

Colonel Coetzee replied that he had been using an interpreter.

Earlier in the day Mr Bizos provisionally closed Mrs Mandela's defence after the court had heard testimony from Soweto musician Mr Siphon "Hotstix" Mabusa.

Mr Mabusa said that although three of the assault victims had accompanied Mrs Mandela to the January 4, 1989, funeral of his father he had not noticed that any of them were injured.

He also denied a report written for the London-based Sunday Telegraph by one of the victims, Mr Kenneth Kgase, that he felt embarrassed by the sight of Mr Kgase's beaten face.

Mr Mabusa also denied Mr Kgase's claim that Mrs Mandela had told him (Mr Mabusa) that Mr Kgase had been beaten-up because "he tried to tell too much to the system, so the boys gave him a bit of an education".

The trial continues today.

Fists fly as Mandela is silenced

Staw 30/4/91
Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Pandemonium broke loose at the University of Pretoria yesterday when a group of rowdy right-wing students prevented ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from speaking on campus.

Students burnt two ANC flags and occupied the stage of the students' amphitheatre minutes after Mr Man-

dela, surrounded by security guards and aides, arrived in the stadium.

Pretoria right-winger Hendrik Claasens tried to grab the microphone. Mr Mandela's bodyguards intervened and about 40 students flocked to the stage to "protect a white man from being assaulted by blacks".

Scuffles broke out between the bodyguards, ANC marshals and the rightwingers and a grim-faced Mr Mandela was escorted to safety.

Most of the crowd, esti-

mated at 7 000 by the organisers, watched in shock and chanted "down, down" as the group sang traditional Afrikaans folk songs on the stage and cut the cords of radio and television equipment.

But earlier, they joined in protest when Students for a Democratic Society chairman Hedwig Barry asked the crowd to sing "the national anthem", "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika". The rightwingers turned their backs to the stage and were joined by most people in singing the

official anthem.

The right-wing group waved banners with slogans such as "ANC scum go home", "ANC are murderers" and "Peace for all nations, try apartheid".

Dignitaries, including diplomats from the Canadian, Australian, Italian, Dutch, French and Finnish embassies, were told to leave the venue amid rumours the rightwingers were about to be teargassed.

At a press conference, Ms Barry said the organisers

were appalled at the "undisciplined and revolting" behaviour and wanted to apologise to Mr Mandela. It was a sad day when a politician of Mr Mandela's stature was prevented from speaking.

Dean of student affairs Professor Flip van der Watt said he deeply regretted yesterday's events and added the university would try to identify the culprits.

Mr Claasens was jailed for 10 months more than 30 years ago after breaking up

a meeting in Pretoria addressed by the late ANC president and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli.

● In a statement released last night, the right-wing Afrikaner Studentefront (ASF) said the meeting was broken up because the singing of "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" was announced as the "national anthem".

This was enough "to stir up the emotions of any right-thinking white", the ASF said.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi
... emotional address.

Buthelezi blasts ANC and

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has launched a scorching attack on the ANC, dismissing ANC allegations of Inkatha plans to assassinate ANC leaders before May 9 as vague and groundless.

In an emotionally worded address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi also accused

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela of having lost control over the militarists within the ANC leadership.

Attacks

He said the IFP was not "shivering and shaking" about the ANC's threat to pull out of negotiations.

Chief Buthelezi spoke of an angry April 13 telephone conversation between himself and Mr Mandela on ru-

stev 30/4/91
11A
moured Inkatha attacks on ANC supporters.

Chief Buthelezi said: "I pressed Dr Mandela for details about the information on which he acts when he telephones me in the middle of the night telling me that the poor ANC is going to be attacked.

"He could give no details and when I expressed scepticism, he petulantly says that he 'notes my attitude'.

"None of these allegations

of planned Inkatha attacks had ever been raised at the joint ANC/Inkatha peace committees."

Chief Buthelezi said that if he were to respond to "information or near-information or misinformation" about planned ANC attacks on his supporters, he would have no time for anything else.

He said the ANC had either not translated its "military idiom into a democratic idiom" or remained commit-

ted to making South Africa ungovernable.

"They are stalling on pretext after pretext. They are stalling because they are not ready to negotiate.

"All this bluster, all this thumping the negotiating desk and all this crying wolf is simply symptomatic of Dr Mandela and those who support his leadership in the ANC frantically trying to out-Hani Hani (Chris Hani is the militant Umkhonto we

Mandela

Sizwe chief of staff) and cluck and scratch and cackle like cocks trying to give evidence of being at the top of the pecking order."

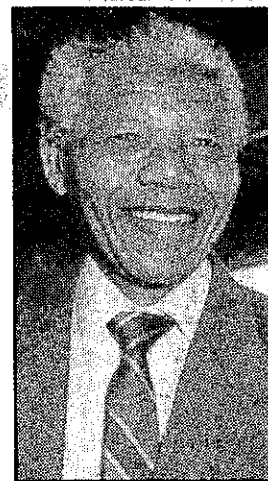
Floundering

He continued: "No, Dr Mandela, I must say to you that your organisation is now so floundering and so falling over each other in some kind of tumbled-up heap of people crying wolf,

that South Africa does not know if the ANC's leadership is Arthur or Martha.

"So tragic. All so very tragic. Dr Mandela, the martyr and the hero and the man we all love, so tied down by the thousands of ANC Gulliver lines that he can only squirm before the whole world."

He added: "Is this programme revolution or peace? Let your leader go. Mayibuye, (let it come back), Dr Mandela."



Nelson Mandela
accused of petulance.

May Day events to focus on ultimatum

Staff Reporter *slaw* 20/4/91.

May Day celebrations this year are to address the issue of the May 9 deadline set by the ANC for the Government to remove obstacles to negotiations.

Yesterday's meeting between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu endorsed the May 9 deadline on violence, the earlier rejection of the summit meeting on violence proposed by President de Klerk and again rejected the proposed standing commission of inquiry into the violence.

A mass meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall will be held tonight, with other "protest" meetings held simultaneously in Lenasia and the Wattville Anglican Church on the East Rand.

Vigils lasting up to midnight will take place elsewhere.

Tomorrow, May Day, a march to the Atteridgeville police station is to take place, followed by a prayer meeting.

Cosatu said 37 rallies would take place throughout the country tomorrow.

Cosatu also said rally speakers are to report back to the ANC's central executive committee on decisions to embark on mass action against violence and threatened to call a general strike unless the Government acted effectively to stop the violence.

Rallies, held in conjunction with the South African Communist Party, would be held from Alice in the Cape to Sebokeng and Soweto.

Speakers were to include ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela, Alfred Nzo and SACP leader Joe Slovo.

These actions would be followed by activities in residential areas on May 8, declared a "day of awareness".

Actions from this date to the May 9 deadline would include hooting by motorists in motorcades at midnight, the ringing of church bells, the banging of electrical poles. Electricity would also be switched off for 10 minutes.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: I think the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition can put these questions in writing and we can answer them at the soonest possible opportunity.

Separate police districts

*4. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he intends creating separate police districts for Indians, Coloureds and Blacks; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 30/4/91

D85E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2)

An investigation is at present being carried out into the institution of additional Police districts and an announcement in this regard will be made shortly.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising from the answers given, is not the question of the establishment of separate Indian, Coloured and Black districts outdated in the light of the reform programme of the Government of the day?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, that question will be addressed in the announcement to be made shortly.

New questions:

Overvaal resorts: racial incidents

*1. Mr A S KAHN asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

- (1) Whether any racial incidents occurred at Overvaal resorts subsequent to the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No 49 of 1953; if so, what are the details in this regard;
- (2) whether he intends transferring the control of these resorts to the Transvaal Provincial Administration; if not, why not; if so, when;

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

- (3) whether he intends appointing persons of colour to the board of the Overvaal resorts; if not, why not; if so, when;

- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

D102E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

As Overvaal Resorts fall under the jurisdiction of the Minister of the Budget and of Welfare, Housing and Works, Administration: House of Assembly, I therefore cannot reply to the question.

New National sports policy

*2. Mr A S KAHN asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether, in view of the possibility of South African sportsmen being re-admitted to international sport, a new sports policy is being envisaged by the Government; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

D103E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) No. The Government's standpoint remains that South African sport is autonomous. Autonomy in sport implies that the various types of sport themselves arrange participation in international sport, either individually or in association. The Government also wishes to confirm its point of view that free international participation in sport should not be constrained by the pursuit of political objectives and that positive steps should be taken to overcome such impediments. It is therefore not necessary to make any policy adjustments.
- (2) No.

Mr Y M MAKDA: Mr Chairman, arising out of the answer furnished by the hon the Deputy Minister, would he agree that it was because of Government policy that many of our sportsmen actually lost out in the international field?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Chairman, I really cannot see how this follow-up question relates to the main question.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: It is a factor.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: It is history.

ANC: prisoners held in foreign countries

*3. Mr M F CASSIM asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

- (1) Whether the Government has entered into negotiations with the ANC regarding the release of prisoners being held in foreign countries; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether, during the course of such negotiations, the Government requested the ANC to assist in bringing about the release of prisoners in detention camps such as Mbarara in Uganda; if not, why not; if so, what has been the response to this request;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 30/4/91

D107E

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1), (2) and (3)

The Government and government agencies are continuously taking steps to procure the release of South Africans finding themselves in detention in foreign countries. In the process contact is often made with a variety of organisations and foreign governments. The success of such efforts is almost always dependent on confidentiality. The particulars asked therefore cannot be provided. From this cannot be deduced that contact was at any time made, or not made, with any particular organisation in this regard.

Transnet: sport sponsorship policy

*4. Mr N SINGH asked the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises:

- (1) Whether it is the policy of Transnet to provide sponsorship for sport; if so, what (a) criteria are applied and (b) procedure is followed in this regard;
- (2) whether Spoornet has announced that it

intends sponsoring rugby; if so, for what reasons? D109E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT (for the Minister for Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises):

The Managing Director of Transnet Limited furnished the following reply to the hon member's question.

- (1) Yes.

- (a) The same as for Corporate Advertising i.e. the cost of the sponsorship is compared to the publicity value which will result from the exposure obtained. *Hansard 30/4/91*
 - (b) Normal budget and expenditure control procedures.
- (2) Yes; for the publicity value that Spoornet would obtain from the exposure.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, would it not be a better policy if sponsorship was provided for those kinds of sports that need upliftment through sponsorship and not those kinds of sports that enjoy significant public patronage?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: Mr Chairman, I am of the opinion that each and every sports organisation can apply for sponsorship from the independent board of directors of Transnet. They will determine where they can get the best value for their money, and then they will sponsor that specific sport's council.

RSA: size of bureaucracy

*5. Mr M F CASSIM asked the Minister of State Expenditure and for Regional Development:

- (1) Whether a scientific assessment of the size of the bureaucracy in the Republic of South Africa has been undertaken recently; if so, (a) by whom, (b) when and (c) what were the findings; if not,
- (2) whether he intends having such an assessment undertaken; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? D110E

The MINISTER OF STATE EXPENDITURE AND FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes, if the hon member means by bureaucracy the Public Service and the Public Sector; *Hansard 30/4/91*

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: I think the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition can put these questions in writing and we can answer them at the soonest possible opportunity.

Separate police districts

*4. Mr K CHETTY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he intends creating separate police districts for Indians, Coloureds and Blacks; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 30/4/91

D85E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2)

An investigation is at present being carried out into the institution of additional Police districts and an announcement in this regard will be made shortly.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising from the answers given, is not the question of the establishment of separate Indian, Coloured and Black districts outdated in the light of the reform programme of the Government of the day?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, that question will be addressed in the announcement to be made shortly.

New questions:

Overvaal resorts: racial incidents

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HOUSE OF DELEGATES

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Hansard 30/4/91

D107E

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- (1) Yes, if the hon member means by bureaucracy the Public Service and the Public Sector; Hansard 30/4/91

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

1 MAY 1977, as it prepared for the final offensive that would enable it to seize power from the justly hated President Anastasio Somoza two years later, the National Directorate of Nicaragua's Sandinista Front (the FSLN) drew up a document entitled the General Political/Military Platform for the Triumph of the Sandinista Popular Revolution.

The principal author was Humberto Ortega, leader of the FSLN's hardline, if somewhat unorthodox, Marxist faction, the Terceristas, then viewed as proponents of a benignly nationalist "third" alternative to capitalism and communism.

The platform, as summarised in David Nolan's FSLN — the Ideology of the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan Revolution (Nolan is currently a US foreign service officer stationed in Namibia), issued the following directives to Sandinista cadres:

- Develop a "minimum programme" of government calling for political pluralism, a mixed economy and international non-alignment in order to attract broad support for action against Somoza;
- Build up "intermediate mass organisations" around "day-to-day" issues on the basis, where necessary, of the minimum programme but all the while ensuring FSLN control. Pre-empt organisational efforts by other groups, especially those on the left;
- In the same vein, create a "broad anti-Somoza front", using the minimum programme to attract "bourgeois/democratic opposition groups" but taking care to preserve "FSLN hegemony";
- Unify the tendencies of the FSLN into a single ideologically pure vanguard;
- Mobilise for insurrection "through agitation in the mass organisations, radicalisation of the broad opposition front and exemplary military actions" of the FSLN. Get ordinary citizens "involved in the direct liquidation of agents of the regime";
- Undermine the integrity of the National Guard, the state's main security force, "while avoiding organisational defections or coups that might defuse the struggle by removing Somoza prematurely; and
- Construct a strong Sandinista

The ANC's strategy smacks of strong Sandinista influence

SIMON BARBER in Washington

11A 149
DIPOM
30/4/91

army "with a developed structure and national coordination ability capable for fielding mobile forces in both rural and urban environments".

Use this "to protect the mass organisations, back up popular uprisings ... and guarantee FSLN control of a post-war government". Engage in a policy of "active accumulation of forces" to gain "combat experience, recruits, supplies and propaganda points".

The phrase "minimum programme", with its connotations of deliberate deceit, are beginning to turn up quite regularly in the context of ANC/SACP front-building.

ANC publicity director Pallo Jordan used it in Harare two weeks ago to describe how the movement was attempting to draw the PAC into a patriotic front.

December's Mayibuye, in an article describing how the ANC proposed to "consolidate its mass base" by attracting everyone from Azapo to Jeugkrag into the fold, argues for "a common minimum platform".

Advance to National Democracy addresses at length the need to co-opt and strengthen "independent, democratic mass formations" as well as organisations representing "cultural workers, the intelligentsia, the business community and others".

The anti-apartheid front, the article urges, must recruit anyone who "can enter into even limited agreements the ANC" so long as care is taken to ensure that the "principle and structured alliance" of the ANC,

SACP and Cosatu remains in control.

To judge by the reception accorded the ANC's latest constitutional proposals, the strategy is succeeding. Hailed as evidence that the ANC is shifting towards liberal democracy, the discussion paper is a piece of classic deception.

If the ANC's electoral system were adopted, South Africans would be voting not for individuals whom they would have a chance to evaluate at first hand, but for lists drawn up by each contending party.



□ JORDAN

In the ANC's case, the list would all too easily be controlled by SA's own Terceristas, seductive moderates all, until unwittingly placed in power by a blind electorate.

Can anyone dispute that "organisational efforts" of others are not being vigorously "pre-empted"? Last year, the ANC's NEC faxed branch offices instructions for the Peace and Democracy Now Campaign scheduled to kick off with mass demonstrations on December 6.

Organisations under the ANC umbrella were to be encouraged to carry placards identifying themselves as such in order to show the ANC's broad appeal.

Woe betide recalcitrants, however. "The strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared."

As for directives five and six in the FSLN's platform, the ANC/SACP's efforts to "liquidate agents of the regime" proceed apace, especially with reference to town councillors.

The alliance's mass mobilisation strategy has been well documented by the SAIRR.

The institute has also demonstrated the movement's exploitation of violence — much of which is itself the product of mass mobilisation — to "radicalise the broad opposition front" and "undermine the integrity" of the security forces.

The ANC/SACP self-defence unit plan might as well have been taken straight from the FSLN directive requiring construction of "a strong Sandinista army" to "protect mass

organisations" and "back up popular uprisings".

The primer For the Sake of Our Lives is transparently designed to achieve an "active accumulation" of revolutionary forces to supplement MK. The purpose can hardly be other than to enforce the ANC/SACP will and thus, to adapt the platform slightly, help "guarantee ANC control of a post-apartheid government". The platform worked.

There is another element of the Sandinista programme, that bears mention, for it may help explain why the ANC/SACP is trying so hard to keep sanctions in place.

Two months after Somoza was toppled, the FSLN inner circle held a secret meeting whose conclusions were distributed to cadres in what would become known as the "72-hour document".

It makes clear that one of the Sandinistas' chief concerns was that their revolution might yet be derailed by the conditional nature of foreign investment and loans, both private and IMF.

The 72-hour document specifically warns against "promoting ... the thought of the indispensable need for the 'takeoff' of the reconstruction to be based on heavy foreign indebtedness".

IMF support is strenuously to be avoided because it "means shackling our economy to all the extortionist policies of imperialism".

Western capital, "joint investments", even "technology and supplies" are to be shunned where possible, and if not, tightly controlled and channelled toward specific development priorities targeted by the state.

New Nicaragua's economy — under "comprehensive national planning whose hub must be the state sector" — should rather seek to become as autarkic as possible while seeking to move away from raw material production to labour-intensive beneficiation and manufacture.

This should be familiar to anyone who has witnessed Perm MD Bob Tucker's current dog and pony show, perused the Path to Power or studied the ANC's latest economic discussion document.

Could it be that the ANC/SACP likes sanctions not only as a "pillar of people's war" but because they will free it to impose its own economic order once in power?

High-powered ANC legal team grapples with constitution

PATRICK BULGER

A GROUP of high-powered constitutional and political lawyers make up the ANC team devising a new constitution for a future SA. *Bizos 26/4/91*

The team is headed by the ANC's constitutional chairman Zola Skweyiya.

It includes two of the country's most high-profile political lawyers — Arthur Chaskalson and George Bizos. Both men defended ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at his treason trial and have kept close contact with him since. Both have a long record of defending accused in political trials.

Chaskalson was involved in helping draft the constitution for post-independence Namibia — a constitution that has been hailed as a vehicle for reconciliation in a previously deeply divided society.

Bizos is defending Winnie Mandela on kidnap and assault charges.

Another of the advocates, Dullah Omar, has been involved with the Mandelas for decades.

Two other important contributors are Albie Sachs and Kadar Asmal. Sachs, who lost an arm in a car bomb blast in Maputo while in exile, is considered an innovative thinker on the ANC's constitutional team and has written extensively on a Bill of Rights and second generation rights in a constitution.

Second generation rights have been a cause of controversy because by implication they give the state a central role in any constitutional system.

A second generation right, for example, may give somebody a constitutionally entrenched right to a job or to a house, rather than the first generation right of perhaps being able to live where one wants and take up employment of one's choosing.

Representation

Guaranteeing a job to a citizen by definition entails the intervention of the state to secure that job which critics argue elevates the state above the individual.

Asmal is an exile lecturing in law at Trinity College, Dublin. He is a keen exponent of the principle of proportional representation in any future SA constitution.

While the constitutional team reflects ANC thinking in its disavowal of a federal system of government, it has made concessions in the form of proportional representation and devolution of power.

The ANC argues that a federal system would dilute the power of central government leaving it impotent to the tasks of reconstruction it deems so vital.

A number of attorneys who became well known in the course of anti-apartheid politics include Pius Langa, Louis Skweyiya, Mbali Mncadi, Fink Haysom, Bulelani Ngcuka and Essa Moosa.

Three top-level figures from the ANC's legal department feature on the committee and would contribute valuable day-to-day advice on constitutional thinking from within the movement. They are Bridget Mabandla, Penuell Maduna and Matthew Phosa.

Maduna and Phosa have served on ANC-government working groups on the armed struggle and prisoners.

A number of representatives are still outside the country. They include the ANC's EC representative Pat Tekane, London representatives Tony O'Dowd and Nathaniel Masemula.

CAA print 30/4/91

Triparty ^{11A} rejects commission

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday called for an independent international judicial committee to be established immediately to monitor and report on the current violence.

"We do not accept the standing commission proposed by Mr F W de Klerk, because such a commission will not have the necessary credibility as it is entirely state-appointed," a joint statement said.

"Since the outbreak of violence, our formations have consistently put forward the perspective of a Peace Conference to be convened by an independent body."

Resolutions were taken to strengthen relations between the three organisations. — Sapa

ANC ^{CML}
youth ^{Tink}
to stage ^{30/4/91}
protests in
city, Tvl

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Youth League will stage a nationwide programme of protest action today, including at Parliament in Cape Town and the Union Buildings and five embassies in Pretoria, in support of an ANC deadline to the government which expires at midnight tonight.

Releasing details of the programme at a media conference here yesterday, the ANCYL said that if the government did not meet the demands it would recommend to the ANC leadership that the negotiation process be suspended "with immediate effect".

Permission

The ANCYL said it would hand in petitions at Parliament, the Union Buildings, the Appellate building in Bloemfontein, other courts countrywide, and the British, US, Japanese, German and Hungarian embassies.

The ANCYL had not requested permission for the mass action programme and did not intend to apply for permission, the league said.

"The aim of the action is to express our revulsion at the failure of the government to honour undertakings that it entered into with the ANC," the ANCYL said in a statement read by its national chairman, Mr Peter Mokaba.

It said the government should have allowed all exiles to return by the end of 1990 and released all political prisoners by April 30, 1991. — Sapa

Don't trust FW totally, UK warned

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — After the chorus of support from the British press for President F W de Klerk, a powerful voice has emerged cautioning that a strong ANC is essential for peace in South Africa.

Writing in the Observer, journalist and author Anthony Sampson, who has produced several books on South Africa, warned Britain not to write off the ANC again, as it mistakenly had done in the past.

The ANC might have been outmanoeuvred by Mr De Klerk, but Mr Nelson Mandela's leadership "eventually defeated all the Afrikaner politicking".

Sampson was not wholly taken in by Mr De Klerk. "Only a few years ago he was supporting every oppressive law under President P W Botha and sometimes criticising him for being too liberal."

"Of the two leaders, Mr Mandela is the more indispensable ... no other black leader has (his) authority, except perhaps (Mr Oliver) Tambo ..."

Safeguard

"Britain cannot put its total trust in Mr De Klerk. We still have a critical and constructive role to play in providing a safeguard for the blacks — after they have abandoned armed struggle and have no sanctions to support them — to ensure they are not once again sold down the river.

"Behind Mr De Klerk's reassurances and promises lurk the shadowy forces. Mr De Klerk has privately admitted some of the South African police may be passing guns to the Zulus."

Mr De Klerk had assured Britain he did not stand to gain from the continuing violence.

"But he has been tempted by the traditional solution of divide and rule, which means playing the Zulus, led by Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi, against the ANC. It may look like providing a democratic alternative; in fact it is unleashing tribal violence which could tear the country apart."

CPA Times 30/4/91

Political Correspondent

MRS Winnie Mandela's claim that the coloured community had come about as a result of whites raping black women was a complete disgrace, the leader of the House of Representatives, Mr Miley Richards, told Parliament yesterday.

In a stinging rebuke of the ANC deputy president's wife, Mr Richards said the coloured community



Mr Richards

MP attacks Winnie's remark

was a product of love — not rape.

"It is disgraceful that

a lady of her stature can describe the birth of a nation in this way.

"The lady must understand we take exception to this.

"It is the most disgraceful declaration ever by a person of standing in the community," he said.

Mr Richards said the only previous statement that might match her "rape" remark was her promise to liberate the country with necklaces and matches.

C

Sisulu calls for unity, peace

Political Staff (11A)
SOUTH AFRICA was facing a grave period politically and economically but at the same time it was an important and challenging time, said ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Speaking in Laudium Pretoria, at the launch of the ANC's signature campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government, Sisulu pleaded for peace.

He also called on South Africans to unite for a peaceful future.

At the Groote Schuur meeting between the ANC and the Government both sides had been confident about the future as well as the peace process developing speedily.



WALTER SISULU

Yet, in a short space of time, doubts began to emerge, Sisulu said.

The confidence created at the Groote Schuur Minute was now being undermined by violence.

The ANC understood that violence would undermine the possibility of negotiations and the organisation could never be part of violence which had destabilised the country. Sowetan 30/1/91

Stressing the ANC's concern about violence ravaging the country, Sisulu said the ANC's

open letter to President FW de Klerk demanding an end to the violence before May 9, was not a demonstration but an expression of a real desire for the creation of a new situation.

The demands were intended to create peace in the country.

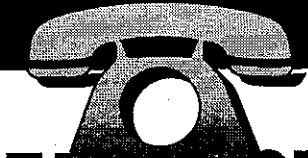
Sisulu said the ANC had made several attempts to create peace, including a meeting with the Inkatha executive.

Some forces, including the Government, were exploiting the violence. The Government's aim was to weaken the ANC, he said.

Violence had created a loss of confidence, especially in the Government. That was why the organisation had not responded favourably to the proposed peace summit.

Sisulu said he did not want to express any views on the peace summit as it was still being considered by the ANC.

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



TALKBACK (11A)

Women must stand up now

Sowetan 30/4/91.

MEN'S arrogance in denying women the right to lead organisations had to be destroyed, callers to the Sowetan Radio Metro TalkBack programme said yesterday.

Women who called the radio station told DJ Tim Modise that men were chauvinistic and selfish. Women would not tolerate that any longer because the concept of discrimination against them was "outdated."

Tembi of Zola North appealed to women to outgrow their traditional role of being the underdogs. She said women's organisations had a duty to educate women about their rights.

Emily of Zola said women should be given platforms in organisations. She said former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had proved that women could successfully lead the nation.

"Thatcher destroyed the myth that a woman's place is in the kitchen," she said.

Another female caller added that behind every successful man was a woman. She urged women to rise up and assert themselves in society.

Nicholas of Mamelodi said it was important that women should voice their own grievances. He said the importance of women in society lay in "neutralising the whole emotional nature in man".

Norman of Meadowlands urged political organisations to include women in their national executive committees.

Colonel 'knew security police watched Winnie'

Argus 30/1/91

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11A
11A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A security police colonel told the Rand Supreme Court that he knew Mrs Winnie Mandela was someone the security police watched, from reading newspaper reports.

Colonel Abraham Coetzee said he worked in administration.

Until he went to Brandfort to take a statement from Mrs Nora Moahloli, the schoolteacher who testified in support of Mrs Mandela's alibi, he had had nothing to do with the investigation, he said.

Mrs Mandela, 56, Miss Xoliswa Falati, 37, and Mr John Morgan, 61, have all pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Colonel Coetzee said he had offered to take the statement because he wanted to spend the weekend in Bloemfontein with family.

He denied that when he went to Brandfort, on February 1 this year, that he knew that Mrs Mandela's trial was due to begin a few days later (on February 4); that Mrs Moahloli had

testified during the Jerry Richardson trial or that the dates December 28/29 1988 were exceptionally important.

Colonel Coetzee said the investigating officer, Captain Fred Dempsey, gave him information which he wrote on a foolscap sheet of paper. He had since misplaced the notes.

He was told to ask Mrs Moahloli if Mrs Mandela was in Brandfort between December 20 1989 and January 1 1989, Colonel Coetzee said.

"She said Mrs Mandela's visit was on December 27, 28 and 29. But when I began taking down the statement, she said she had made a mistake and it was 28, 29 and 30," Colonel Coetzee said. He denied that he suggested the dates.

(The court had already heard Mrs Moahloli testify that Mrs Mandela was in Brandfort on December 29, 30 and 31. It is the State's case that Mrs Mandela was involved in the crimes on December 29.)

Yesterday Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos SC, reserved his right to call a bank employee about the source of funds in State witness Mr Kenny Kgase's bank account.



Rightwingers storm stage

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Pandemonium broke loose at the University of Pretoria when a group of rowdy rightwing students, led by a pensioner, stormed the stage where Mr Nelson Mandela was about to speak.

Students wearing blue Inkatha-style head bands burnt two ANC flags and occupied the stage of the amphitheatre yesterday, minutes after the ANC deputy president, surrounded by security guards and aides, entered.

Chaos erupted after well-known Pretoria rightwinger Mr Hendrik Claasens, 74, tried to grab the microphone. Mr Mandela's bodyguards intervened, and about 40 students flocked to the stage to "protect a white man from being assaulted by blacks", according to Afrikaner Student Front chairman Mr Donal Pols.

Fists flew as the students, carrying flags of the Conservative Party and the Transvaal and Free State Boer re-

publics, scuffled with ANC marshals and bodyguards.

A grim-faced Mr Mandela was escorted out after five minutes of fighting and left for Johannesburg.

The students unfolded banners and burned an ANC flag on the stage. A fight broke out between students in the audience and those on stage. A student was kicked in the face while trying to recover the burning flag. Another student was also assaulted. The rightwing students set the flag alight again.

The rightwingers formed a human chain behind the microphone and some of them cut the wires.

Among the radicals, who numbered about 100, were AWB members, Boer Commando leader Mr Gawie Volschenk, and members of the World Apartheid Movement. Student groups involved were Conservative Party

Pensioner leads Tuks protest

Tuks, Afrikaner Studente Front and a group calling themselves the Vereeniging van Anti-Kommunistiese en Terroristiese Organisasies (Vaktor).

The first ANC flag was burned 30 minutes before the meeting. Students chanted "Vryheid" to which others answered "Amandla".

When asked to sing "the national anthem", Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, the rightwingers were joined by most people in singing the official anthem.

The rightwing group enthusiastically waved banners with slogans such as "ANC scum go home", "ANC is moordenaars (murderers)", and "Where is baas Joe" (SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo).

Dignitaries, including foreign diplomats, were told to leave the venue amid rumours that the rightwingers would be teargassed.

At a Press conference, Students for a Democratic Society chairman Miss Hedwig Barry said the organisers were appalled at the "undisciplined" behaviour and wanted to apologise to Mr Mandela.

She said it was a sad day when a politician of Mr Mandela's stature was prevented from speaking at a university, an environment supposed to be conducive to open discussion.

Earlier, cheers greeted her announcement that student groups would push for a Tuks ban on the rightwing groups.

The dean of student affairs, Professor Flip van der Watt, said the university would launch an investigation.

Political commentator Professor Willem Kleynhans, who was at the meeting, said it was naive to have black marshals at a white meeting.

Mr Claasens was jailed for 10 months 30 years ago after he broke up a meeting addressed by the late ANC president and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli, in Pretoria.

ARGUS 30/11/91